00036724

NOT TO BE ISSUED
OUT OF THE LIBRARY.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018

THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

36724
3347

By WILLIAM MITFORD, Esq.

THE FIRST VOLUME.

LONDON:

Printed by Luke Hansard & Sons, near Lincoln's-Inn Fields,

FOR T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES, IN THE STRAND.

1808.

00036724

CONTENTS

OF THE

FIRST VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

History of GREECE, from the earliest Accounts to the End of the TROJAN WAR.

SECT. I. *State of the World before the first Accounts of Greece. Assyria, Syria, and Egypt civilized; the rest barbarous or uninhabited. Geographical Description of Greece. Unsettled Population of the early Ages. Spirit of War and Robbery. Phenician Navigation in the Grecian Seas, and Settlements on the Coasts* - - - - - - - - - - - p. 1.

SECT. II. *Of the southern Provinces of Greece from the earliest accounts to the Trojan War. Crete: Minos. Sicyon. Corinth. Argos: Pelasgian Dominion in Greece: Egyptian Colonies in Greece: Danaüs: Acrisius: Perseus. Pisa: Colonies from Phrygia and Thessaly under Pelops. Hercules. Atreus: Dominion of the Family of Pelops. Agamemnon. Lacedæmon* - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - p. 14.

SECT. III. *Of the northern Provinces of Greece from the earliest accounts to the Trojan War. Thessaly: Tempe: Deucalion's Flood: Centaurs: Jason: Argonautic Expedition. Bœotia: Flood of Ogyges: Thebes. Ætolia. Attica: Cecrops: Athens: Ægeus. Theseus: Ariadne. Improvement of the Athenian Government by Theseus. The Athenians the first civilized People of Greece* - - - - - - - - - - p. 29.

SECT. IV. *Early People of Asia Minor and Thrace. Origin and Progress of the Trojan State. Licentious Manners of the early Ages. Early Hostilities between Greece and Asia. Expedition of Paris: Rape of Helen: League of the Grecian princes: Sacrifice of Iphigeneia: Difficulties of the Greeks in the Trojan war: Troy taken: Return of the Greeks: Consequences of their absence: Assassination of Agamemnon. Credit due to Homer's historical evidence. Resemblance of the Trojan War to circumstances in modern History* - - - - - - - - p. 52.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Religion, Government, Jurisprudence, Science, Arts, Commerce, and Manners of the early GREEKS.

SECT. I. *Of the Progress of things from the East into Greece, and of the Religion of the early Greeks* - - - - - - - - - - p. 64.
SECT. II. *Of the Government and Jurisprudence of the early Greeks* p. 82.
SECT. III. *Science, Arts, and Commerce among the early Greeks. Letters: Language: Poetry: Music. Husbandry: Traffic. Masonry. Manufactures: Commerce. Art of War. Navigation. Astronomy. Physic* p. 89.
SECT. IV. *Of the Manners of the early Greeks* - - - - - p. 117.

CHAPTER III.

History of GREECE from the TROJAN WAR to the Return of the HERACLEIDS; and of the GRECIAN ORACLES, the Council of AMPHICTYONS, and the OLYMPIAN GAMES.

SECT. I. *Restoration of Orestes to the Throne of Argos. Conquest of Peloponnesus by the Dorians under the Heraclеids, commonly called the Return of the Heraclеids. Distinction of the Greek Nation into Ionic, Æolic, Attic, Doric* - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - p. 131.
SECT. II. *Origin and Progress of Oracles* - - - - - - - p. 136.
SECT. III. *Origin and Constitution of the Council of Amphictyons* - p. 146.
SECT. IV. *Early Dissentions of the Heraclеid Princes. Unsettled state of Peloponnesus. Origin of the Grecian Games. Institution of the Olympian Festival by Iphitus king of Elis* - - - - - - - - p. 151.

APPENDIX TO THE THIRD CHAPTER.

Of the Chronology of Grecian History - - - - - - - - - p. 159.

CHAPTER IV.

History of the southern Provinces of GREECE, from the Return of the HERACLEIDS to the Conquest of MESSENIA by the LACEDÆMONIANS.

SECT. I. *Recapitulation of Events in Greece. General change of Governments from Monarchal to Republican. Different kinds of Government distinguished by the Greeks* - - - - - - - - - - - p. 181.

SECT.

SECT. II. *Summary of the Histories of Crete, Argos, the Calaurean Confederacy, Corinth, Sicyon, Achaia, Eleia, Arcadia* - - - p. 188.
SECT. III. *History of Lacedæmon. Legislation of Lycurgus* - p. 197.
SECT. IV. *History of Messenia from the Return of the Heraclеids, and of Lacedæmon from the Legislation of Lycurgus, to the completion of the conquest of Messenia by the Lacedæmonians* - - - - - p. 222.

CHAPTER V.

Summary View of the State of the Northern Provinces of GREECE; and of the Eſtabliſhment of the early GRECIAN Colonies; with the History of ATHENS, from the TROJAN WAR to the first public Transaction with PERSIA.

SECT. I. *View of the State of the Northern Provinces of Greece, after the Trojan war. History of Athens, from the Trojan war, to the Abolition of Royalty, and the Appointment of Hereditary Archons* - - p. 245.
SECT. II. *Grecian Iſlands: Æolic and Ionic Migrations: Grecian Colonies in Aſia minor, Thrace, Cyprus, Africa, Sicily, Italy* - - p. 251.
SECT. III. *History of Athens from the Abolition of Royalty to the Legislation of Solon* - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - p. 261.
SECT. IV. *Reformation of the Athenian Government and Jurisprudence by Solon* - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - p. 270.
SECT. V. *History of Athens from the Legislation of Solon to the Expulſion of the Peiſiſtratids and the firſt public tranſaction with Perſia* - p. 288.

CHAPTER VI.

View of the Eastern Nations politically connected with GREECE.

SECT. I. *Of Lydia: Aſiatic Grecian Commonwealths; Scythia: Aſſyria: Perſia. Reduction of the Aſian Greeks under the Perſian dominion by Cyrus* - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - p. 309.
SECT. II. *Acceſſion of Cambyſes to the Throne of Perſia. Acquiſition of Tyre and Conqueſt of Egypt by the Perſians. Acceſſion of Darius. Conſtitution of the Perſian Empire: Perſian Religion* - - - p. 322.
SECT. III. *Conqueſt of Thrace, and Invaſion of European Scythia by Darius. Submiſſion of Macedonia to the Perſian Empire. State of the Ægean Iſlands, and hiſtory of Polycrates tyrant of Samos. Situation of the Grecian People under the Perſian Dominion* - - - - - - p. 329.

CHAPTER VII.

Continuation of the History of GREECE during the Reign of DARIUS King of PERSIA.

SECT. I. *Immediate Causes of the Wars between Greece and Persia. Persian expedition against Naxos. Revolt of the Asian Greeks against the Persian Government* - - - - - - - - - - - - - P. 337.

SECT. II. *Affairs of Athens. Invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesians, Bœotians, and Eubœans. Assistance from Athens to the Ionians against Persia. Reduction of the Asiatic Grecian states again under the Persian dominion. History of the Athenian colony in the Thracian Chersonese. Liberal administration of the conquered Provinces under the Persian dominion* - P. 343.

SECT. III. *First Persian armament against Greece under Mardonius: proceeds no farther than Macedonia. The Grecian Cities summoned by Heralds to acknowlege subjection to the Persian empire. Internal Feuds in Greece: Banishment of Demaratus king of Lacedæmon: Affairs of Argos: Banishment and restoration of Cleomenes king of Lacedæmon: Death of Cleomenes: War of Athens and Ægina* - - - - - P. 357.

SECT. IV. *Second Persian armament against Greece under Datis and Artaphernes: reduces the Ilands of the Ægean: invades Attica. Battle of Marathon* - - - - - - - - - - - - - - P. 365.

SECT. V. *Growing Ambition of Athens. Effects of Party-spirit at Athens. Extraordinary honors to the memory of Harmodius and Aristogeiton. Impeachment and death of Miltiades* - - - - - - - - - P. 375.

CHAPTER VIII.

History of GREECE, from the accession of XERXES to the throne of PERSIA till the Conclusion of the first campain of that monarch's Expedition against GREECE.

SECT. I. *Accession of Xerxes to the throne of Persia. Immense Preparations of the court of Persia for conquest in Europe. Assembly of the Army at Sardis, and of the Fleet in the Hellespont. March of the Army. Muster of the Army. Arrival of the Army and Fleet at Thermë in Macedonia* P. 379.

SECT.

SECT. II. *State of Greece at the time of the invasion under Xerxes. Themistocles. Responses of the Delphian oracle concerning the Invasion. Measures for forming a Confederacy of Grecian Commonwealths. Disunion among the Greeks. Assembly of deputies from the confederated commonwealths at Corinth. The Defence of Thessaly given up by the Confederates. Measures for defending the pass of Thermopylæ* - - - - - - p. 387.

SECT. III. *Station of the Grecian Army at Thermopylæ; of the Fleet at Artemisium. Responses of the Delphian oracle. Progress of the Persian Fleet to Sepias; of the Army to Thermopylæ. Numbers of the Persian forces. Storm and shipwreck at Sepias. Battle of Thermopylæ* p. 400.

SECT. IV. *Numbers of the Grecian Fleet. Sea-fights off Artemisium. Retreat of the Grecian Fleet. March of the Persian Army toward Athens. Attempt against Delphi* - - - - - - - - - - - - - p. 411.

SECT. V. *Unsteady Counsels of the Grecian Confederacy. The Athenians, deserted by the Peloponnesians, remove their families from Attica. Aristeides. Ostracism. Athens taken by the Persians. Artemisia. Antient manner of Naval action. Battle of Salamis. Return of Xerxes into Asia* - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - p. 421.

APPENDIX TO THE EIGHTH CHAPTER.

Of the antient Ships of War - - - - - - - - - - - p. 437.

CHAPTER IX.

HISTORY of GREECE, from the Battle of SALAMIS to the Conclusion of the PERSIAN Invasion.

SECT. I. *Return of the Athenians to their Country. Measures of the Grecian Fleet. Dedication to the Gods for the Victory at Salamis. Honors to Themistocles. Revolt of Chalcidice from the Persians. Siege of Potidæa by Artabazus* - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - p. 440.

SECT. II. *Preparations for the Campain. Congress at Athens: Speeches of Alexander king of Macedonia, of the Lacedæmonian ambassador, and of the Athenian minister. Athens a second time abandoned. Zeal of the Athenian People for the prosecution of the Persian War* - - p. 444.

SECT. III. *Campain in Bœotia. Battle of Platæa. Punishment of Thebes* p. 450.

SECT. IV. *Measures of the Grecian Fleet. Battle of Mycalè. End of the expedition of Xerxes* - - - - - - - - - - - - - p. 471.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER X.

View of the People of the Western Countries politically connected with the GREEKS, and of the Grecian Settlements in SICILY and ITALY.

SECT. I. *Of Carthage. Of Sicily: Agrigentum: Phalaris: Syracuse: Gelon: Invasion of Sicily by the Carthaginians: Battle of Himera* - p. 477.

SECT. II. *Of Italy: Tuscany: Rome: Latium: Sybaris: Crotona: Pythagoras: Thurium: Pæstum: Cuma: Campania: Lucania* - p. 491.

CHAPTER XI.

Affairs of GREECE, from the Conclusion of that commonly called the PERSIAN WAR, to the Establishment of Security for the Greeks, against the Barbarians, by the successes of CIMON.

SECT. I. *State of the known World at the time of the Retreat of Xerxes from Greece. Dedications, Festivals, and Monuments in Greece, occasioned by the Victories over the Persians. Restoration of Athens: Jealousy of the Peloponnesians: Administration of Themistocles: Parties at Athens: Banishment of Themistocles* - - - - - - - - - - - - p. 508.

SECT. II. *War prosecuted against Persia under Pausanias and Aristeides. Treason of Pausanias: Athens head of a new Confederacy composed of the Greeks of the Ægean Ilands, Asia minor, and Thrace* - - p. 525.

SECT. III. *Administration of Cimon. Death of Xerxes, and accession of Artaxerxes to the Persian throne. Successes of the Confederate arms under Cimon: Battle of the Eurymedon* - - - - - - - p. 532.

CHAPTER XII.

Affairs of GREECE, from the Establishment of its Security against PERSIA, to the TRUCE for Thirty Years between ATHENS and LACEDÆMON.

SECT. I. *Athens the Seat of Science and Arts. Extension of the Power of Athens: Jealousy of Lacedæmon. Earthquake at Lacedæmon: Revolt of the Helots: Assistance sent from Athens to Lacedæmon: Renunciation of*

of the Lacedæmonian confederacy by the Athenians. War of Argos and Mycenæ - p. 549.

SECT. II. *Change of Administration at Athens, and Banishment of Cimon. Renunciation of the Peloponnesian Confederacy by Megara, and Accession to the Athenian. Difficulties of the new Athenian Administration: Ephialtes; Pericles; Depression of the Court of Areiopagus: Expedition to Egypt. War in Greece; Siege of Ægina; Relief of Megara by Myronides* - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - p. 559.

SECT. III. *War between Doris and Phocis. Hostilities resulting between Athens and Lacedæmon: Battle of Tanagra. Affairs of Bœotia: Battle of Œnophyta: Successes of the Athenians under Myronides. Ægina taken. Successes of the Athenians under Tolmides: Messenians established in Naupactus. Conclusion of the Egyptian expedition. War in Thessaly. Expedition under Pericles to the Western Coast of Greece* - - p. 568.

SECT. IV. *Coälition of parties at Athens, and Recall of Cimon: Truce of Five Years with Peloponnesus. Long Walls of Athens. Restoration of the Order of Knights, or Cavalry. Expedition to Cyprus: Death of Cimon* p. 576.

SECT. V. *Contest for Command of the Temple of Delphi. Athens at the summit of her greatness. State of Parties: Pericles; Thucydides. Policy of the Grecian Republics for holding the weaker Republics in Subjection. Revolt of Bœotia; of Eubœa; of Megara: Invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesians. Thirty-Years Truce. Power of Pericles* - - p. 582.

THE

THE

THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

CHAPTER I.

History of GREECE, from the earliest Accounts to the End of the TROJAN War.

SECTION I.

State of the World before the first Accounts of Greece. Assyria, Syria, and Egypt civilized; the rest barbarous or uninhabited. Geographical Description of Greece. Unsettled Population of the early Ages. Spirit of War and Robbery. Phenician Navigation in the Grecian Seas, and Settlements on the Coasts.

THE first accounts of Greece are derived from ages long before the common use of letters in the country; yet among its earliest traditions we find many things highly interesting. Known at an era far beyond all history of any other part of Europe, its people nevertheless preserved report of the time when their country was uninhabited, and their forefathers lived elsewhere. Among the effects of this extreme antiquity, one is particularly remarkable: the oldest traditionary memorials of Greece relate, not to war and conquest, generally the only

materials for the annals of barbarous ages, but to the invention or introduction of institutions the most indispensable to political society, and of arts even the most necessary to human life. Hence, while the origin of other antient nations is matter only of conjecture for the antiquarian, that of the Grecian people seems to demand some inquiry from the historian. Indeed here, as on many other occasions, the historian of Greece will have occasion to exercise his caution and forbearance, not less than his diligence, while he traverses regions where curiosity and fancy may find endless temptation to wander: but the earliest traditions of that country interest in so many ways, and through so many means, that he would scarcely be forgiven the omission of all consideration of the times to which they relate.

It has been not uncommon, for the purpose of investigating the properties of human nature and the progress of society, to consider MAN in a state absolutely uncultivated; full-grown, having all the powers of body and mind in mature perfection, but wholly without instruction or information of any kind. Yet whatsoever advantages may be proposed from speculation upon the subject, it may well be doubted whether a human pair in such a state ever really existed; and if we proceed to inquire whence they could come, the fortuitous concurrence of atoms, fancied by Democritus and Epicurus, will be found perhaps as probable an origin for them as it is possible for imagination to devise. But since the deep researches of modern philosophers in natural history, assisted by the extensive discoveries of modern navigators, through the great inlargement of our acquaintance with the face of our globe, have opened so many new sources of wonder, without affording any adequate means to arrive at the causes of the phenomena, new objections have been made to the Mosaïc history of the first ages of the world; which, it has been urged, must have been intended to relate, not to the whole earth, but to those parts only with which the Jewish people had more immediate concern. Many, however, and insuperable as the difficulties occurring in that concise historical sketch may be, some arising from extreme antiquity of idiom, some perhaps from injury received in multifarious transcription, and others from that allegorical style, always familiar and always in esteem in the

East[1], invention still has never been able to form any theory equally consistent with the principles of the most inlightened philosophy[2], or equally consonant to the most authentic testimonies remaining from remotest ages, whether transmitted by human memory, or borne in the face of nature. The traditions of all nations, and appearances in every country, bear witness, scarcely less explicitly than the writings of Moses, to that general flood which nearly destroyed the whole human race; and the ablest Greek authors, who have attempted to trace the history of mankind to its source, all refer to such an event for the beginning of the present system of things on earth[3]. Not therefore to inquire after that state of man, wholly untaught and unconnected, which philosophers have invented for purposes of speculation; nor to attempt, which were indeed beyond our object, the tracing of things regularly to their origin through the obscure and broken path alone afforded by the Hebrew writers; the subject before us seems to refer more particularly, for its source, to a remarkable fact mentioned by those writers, to which strong collateral testimony is found, both in the oldest heathen authors, and in the known course of human affairs. Mankind, according to the most antient of historians, considerably informed and polished, but inhabiting yet only a small portion of the earth, was inspired generally with a spirit of migration. What gave at the time peculiar energy to that spirit, which seems always to have existed extensively among men, commentators have indeed, with bold absurdity, undertaken to explain; but the historian himself has evidently intended only general, and that now become obscure information[4]. All history, however, proves that such a spirit has operated over

Genesis, c. 10. & 11.

[1] The original and principal purpose of that allegorical style which, whatever its advantages, or whatever its inconveniencies, the wisest men of antiquity never imputed either to fraud or folly in the writer, seems well explained in few words by Macrobius: Philosophi, si quid de his (summo Deo et mente) assignare conantur, quæ non sermonem tantummodo, sed cogitationem quoque humanam superant, ad similitudines & exempla confugiunt. Somn. Scip. l. i. c. 2. This subject is learnedly treated in the second volume of Bishop Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses, and ingeniously commented upon in Governor Pownall's Treatise on the Study of Antiquities.

[2] See Pownall's Treatise, p. 130.

[3] See particularly the beginning of Plato's third Dialogue on Legislation.

[4] 'The schemes that men of warm imagination have raised from a single expression in the Bible, and sometimes from the

over the far greater part of the globe; and we know that it has never yet ceased to actuate, in a greater or less degree, a large portion of mankind; among whom the numberless hords yet wandering over the immense continent, from the north of European Turkey to the north of China, are remarkable. The Mosaïc writings then, the general tenor of tradition preserved by heathen authors[5], and the most authentic testimonies, of every kind, of the state of things in the early ages; vestiges of art and monuments of barbarism, the unknown origin of the most obstruse sciences, and their known transmission from nation to nation; all combine to indicate the preservation of civility and knowlege, under favor of particular circumstances, among a small part of mankind; while the rest, amid innumerable migrations, degenerated into barbarians and savages.

The provinces bordering upon the river Euphrates, supposed by many to have been the first settled after the flood, were certainly among the first that became populous. Here, from the climate, the wants of man are comparatively few, and those plentifully supplied, by a soil of exuberant fertility, level to a vast extent, naturally unincumbered with wood, and consequently little exposed to depredation from beasts of prey[6]. The families remaining in this country were not likely soon to lose the civility, the arts, and the science of their forefathers. Accordingly, whether they retained, or whether they invented, astronomy and dialling existed among the Babylonians at a period beyond all means of investigating their rise; and notwithstanding the deep obscurity in which the origin of letters is involved, we still can trace every known alphabet to the neighbourhood at least of Babylon.

Herodot. l. 1. c. 193. Strab. l. 16.

Herodot. l. 2. 109.

Of the families who went in quest of new settlements, or who

'supposition of a fact nowhere to be found, 'are astonishing. If you believe the He- 'brew doctors, the language of men, which 'till that time (the building of Babel) had 'been ONE, was divided into seventy 'languages. But of the miraculous division 'of languages there is not one word in the 'Bible.' Dissertation on the Origin of Languages, by Dr. Gregory Sharpe, second ed. p. 24, where are some judicious observations on the Mosaïc account of the dispersion of mankind.

[5] This has been largely collected by Mr. Bryant, in his Analysis of Antient Mythology.

[6] The geography of this country has been investigated, and Herodotus's account of it confirmed, by the diligence and judgement of Mr. Gibbon, in his History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

wandered,

wandered, perhaps many of them, without any decided intention of settling, those who took possession of Egypt seem to have been the most fortunate. That singular country, given, by its situation among deserts, to injoy more than insular security, offered, in wonderful abundance, the necessaries of life. Its periodical floods, which, to the unexperienced, might appear ministers only of desolation, would be known, by those who had seen the Euphrates or Tigris periodically overflow their banks, to be among the most precious boons of nature. For, from the operation of the waters of the Nile, almost the whole of that strictly called Egypt, receives a kind of tillage, as well as a very rich manuring; so that, beside producing spontaneously a profusion of herbs and roots, nearly peculiar to itself, which form a coarse but wholesome food, it is moreover very advantageously prepared, by the hand of nature almost alone, for the reception of any grain that man may throw into it. Thus invited, the occupants of Egypt gave their attention to agriculture: and, the fertility of the soil making the returns prodigiously great, populousness quickly followed abundance; polity became necessary; and we are told that in this country was constituted the first regular government: by which seems to be meant, the first government in which various rights, and various functions, were regularly assigned to different ranks of men. Science appears to have originated in Asia. Of the arts, Egypt was probably the mother of many, as she was certainly the nurse of most. The sciences appear to have received attention there in proportion to their supposed importance to civil life. The very erroneous calculation of the year, probably carried from the East into Greece, and maintained in a great degree always there, received early very important correction in Egypt; where five intercalary days were added to twelve months of thirty days each. Geometry is said to have been the offspring of the peculiar necessity of the country; for the annual overflowings of the Nile obliterating ordinary landmarks, that science alone could ascertain the boundaries of property.

Diodor. Sic. l. i. c. 10. & 43. & 80.

Herod. l. 2. c. 4. c. 109. Diod. l. 1. c. 81. Strab. l. 16. p. 757. & 787.

The singularly daring and unfeeling hardiness, attributed, by the Roman lyrist, to the man who first committed himself in a frail bark to the winds and waves, appears by no means necessary for the origin of navigation. In so warm a climate as the middle of Asia, bathing would

Horat. ode 3. l. 1.

be

be a common refreshment and recreation; and the art of swimming, especially when so many terrestrial animals were seen to swim untaught, could not be long in acquiring. The first attempt at the management of a boat was thus deprived of all terror: and as it could not escape observation that wood floated naturally, and that the largest bodies floating were easily moved, the construction and use of canoos[7] required no great stretch of invention. Every circumstance therefore leads to suppose, that vessels of that simple contrivance were employed on rivers before the first emigrations took place. The occupants of Phenicia, coming to the coast of the Mediterranean with these slender rudiments of naval knowlege, would find many inducements to attempt the improvement of the art. Their country, little fruitful in corn, but abounding with the finest timber, had a ready communication by sea and the mouths of the Nile with Egypt; which, with all its fertility, being almost confined to the production of annual plants, had occasion for many things that Phenicia could supply. Thus arose commerce.

Not then to extend inquiry to those remote and inhospitable, tho polished regions of the East, whose history is known only from writings without an alphabet, and where the study of a long life scarcely suffices for learning to read; nor to hazard any decision concerning the mysterious claims of a people, somewhat less remote, and who appear to have injoyed early the use of letters, but whose riches and whose weakness have conspired to expose them, from times beyond certain tradition, to continual revolutions and constant subjugation; among the inhabitants of the earth, westward at least of the Indus, the Assyrians, and the Egyptians, with the people of the countries immediately about or between them, seem alone never to have sunk into utter barbarism. Assyria was a powerful empire, Egypt a most populous country governed by a very refined polity, and Sidon an opulent city, abounding with manufactures and carrying on extensive commerce, when the Greeks, ignorant of the most obvious and necessary arts, are said to have fed upon acorns[8]. Yet was Greece the first country of Europe that emerged from

[7] Called by the Greeks Μονόξυλα.

[8] Some writers, confining their ideas to the acorn of the English oak, have expressed a doubt if it were a food on which men could subsist. But it is to be observed, that *acorn*, *glans*, βάλανος, have been used in

from the savage state; and this advantage it seems to have owed intirely to its readier means of communication with the civilized nations of the East.

The

in their several languages as general terms, denoting all the various fruits of the acorn and mast kind. Our old herbalist Gerard, after Galen and Pliny, reckons chesnuts among acorns, and Xenophon calls dates βάλανοι τῶν φοινίκων, palm-acorns, (Anab. l. 2. c. 3. sec. 9.) That the acorn or mast of a tree common in Greece would afford a wholesome nourishment for men, and yet that, in civilized times, it was not a very favorite food, we may learn from a passage in Plato's republic, where Socrates, specifying the diet to which he would confine his citizens, proposes to allow them μύρτα καὶ φηγούς, myrtle-berries, and mast or acorns; to which Glaucon replies, 'If you were 'establishing a colony of swine, what other 'food would you give them?' (Plat. de repub. l. 2. p. 372. t. 2. ed. Serran.) Pausanias informs us that acorns continued long to be a common food of the Arcadians; not however, he says, the acorns of all oaks, τῶν δρυῶν πασῶν, but only of that called *fagus*, φηγός, (Pausan. l. 8. c. 1. p. 599.) Pliny also bears testimony to the superior merit of the acorn of the fagus, *dulcissima omnium glans fagi;* probably having the indigenous trees of Italy only then in his contemplation; for chesnuts, he tells us, were not such, having been imported from Lydia. (Hist. Nat. l. 15. c. 23.) What the tree thus spoken of by the name of *fagus* was, remains to be ascertained. I have never heard or red of acorns used as food for men in modern Italy; but in Spain, according to a living traveller of diligent inquiry and undoubted veracity, the peasants of the mountains, on the confines of Catalonia and Valencia, live most part of the year upon roasted acorns of the evergreen oak; a food which, he adds, he and his fellow-traveller, sir Thomas Gascoyne, 'found surprizingly savory and palatable, tho not very nourishing;' (Swinburne's Travels through Spain, letter 2. p. 85.) And in the account of a still later journey through Spain, the following testimony occurs: 'For the first two leagues (in 'the way from Salamanca to Alba) we 'ascended gradually; then entered a forest 'of ilex, which, as my guide informed me, 'stretches east and west near forty leagues. 'The acorns here are of the kind described 'by Horace, as the origin of war among the 'rude inhabitants of an infant world, "glandem atque cubilia propter;" not austere, 'like those of the oak or of the common 'ilex, but sweet and palatable, like the 'chesnut; they are food, not meerly for 'swine, but for the peasants, and yield 'considerable profit.' Townsend's Journey through Spain, p. 91. v. 2.

I cannot help observing here, that Cæsar has been very arrogantly criticized for asserting that the *fagus*, and even for asserting that the *abies* was not in his time found in Britain; and, on the other hand, it has been absurdly enough contended, on his authority, that the beech is not indigenous in our island. It appears abundantly evident that the tree called φηγός, *fagus*, by Plato, Pausanias, and Pliny, was not the beech: Abete is the modern Italian name for the silver-fir; and we may reasonably believe that neither the silver-fir, nor that kind of evergreen oak which bears the sweet acorn, was in Cæsar's time to be found in Britain.

A few years ago, when the foregoing remarks were written, a kind of rage had been gaining over Europe for historical scepticism and historical invention; for overthrowing whatever accounts of early times have been transmitted on best authority, and imagining new schemes of antient history. Whatever check those deeply-interesting

The migrating hords mostly found countries overgrown with wood, and inhabited only by beasts. Hunting was their ready resource for a livelihood: arms their first necessaries: their life was thus spent in action: they spred far; had few neighbours; and, with those few, little intercourse. Such people were inevitably barbarous: but they would, much sooner than more civilized people, give inhabitants to every part of the globe. Those who came to the western coast of Asia Minor would have many inducements to cross to the adjacent ilands. Security from savage beasts, and men as savage, would be the first solicitude of families; and this those ilands would seem to promise in a greater degree than the continent. Other ilands appearing beyond these, and beyond those again still others, navigation would here be almost a natural employment. The same inducements would extend to the coasts of the continent of Greece, indented as it is with gulphs, and divided into peninsulas. But Greece was very early known to the Egyptian and Phenician navigators; perhaps soon after its first population; and as no part of it was very distant from the sea, the whole thus participated of means for civilization which the rest of Europe wanted.

This country, called by the antient inhabitants HELLAS, by the Romans GRÆCIA, and thence by us GREECE, so singularly illustrious in the annals of mankind, was of small extent, being scarcely half so large as England, and not equal to a fourth of France or Spain. But as it has natural peculiarities which influenced, not a little, both the manners and the political institutions of the inhabitants, a short geographical account of it may be a necessary introduction to its history.

GREECE is included between the thirty-sixth and forty-first degrees of northern latitude, and is surrounded by seas, except where it borders upon EPIRUS and MACEDONIA. These two provinces were inhabited by a people who participated of the same origin with the Greeks, were of similar manners, and similar religion, and spoke a dialect of the same language; but we shall see in the sequel circumstances tending to hold

interesting circumstances which have turned the attention of all minds from old history to new politics may have given to such fancies, I am still desirous to vindicate the just credit of such a writer as Cæsar, tho on a matter in itself so little important.

the

the more southern Greeks, tho divided under numerous governments, still united as one people, to the exclusion of the Epirots and Macedonians. Of what, therefore, according to Strabo's phrase, was universally allowed to be Greece, THESSALY was the most northern province. It is an extensive vale, of uncommon fertility, completely surrounded by very lofty mountains. On the north, OLYMPUS, beginning at the eastern coast, divides it from Macedonia. Contiguous ridges extend to the CERAUNIAN mountains, which form the northern boundary of Epirus, and terminate, against the western sea, in a promontory called Acroceraunus, famed for its height and for storms. PINDUS forms the western boundary of Thessaly, and ŒTA the southern. Between the foot of mount Œta and the sea, is the famous pass of Thermopylæ, the only way, on the eastern side of the country, by which the southern provinces can be entered. The lofty, tho generally narrow ridge of PELION, forming the coast, spreads in branches to Œta, and is connected by Ossa with Olympus. The tract extending from Epirus and Thessaly to the Corinthian isthmus, and the gulphs on each side of it, contains the provinces of Acarnania, Ætolia, Doris, Locris, Phocis, Bœotia, and Attica. Many branches from the vast ridges of Pindus and Œta spread themselves through this country. ÆTOLIA was everywhere defended by mountains with difficulty passable; excepting that the sea bounds it on the south, and the river ACHELOUS divides a small part of its western frontier from ACARNANIA. DORIS was almost wholly mountainous. The ridge of Parnassus effectually separated the eastern and western LOCRIANS. PHOCIS had one highly fruitful plain, but of small extent. BŒOTIA consisted principally of a rich vale with many streams and lakes; bounded on the north-east by the Opuntian gulph, touching southward on the Corinthian, and otherwise mostly surrounded by the mountains PARNASSUS, HELICON, CITHÆRON, and PARNES. The two latter formed the northern boundary of ATTICA; a rocky barren province, little fruitful in corn and less in pasture, but producing many fruits, particularly olives and figs, in abundance and perfection.

Strab. l. 7. p. 321.

l. 9. p. 416.

Southward of this tract lies the peninsula of PELOPONNESUS, not to be approached by land but across the Bœotian or Attic mountains,

which on each side of the isthmus, rise precipitous from the sea, and shoot into the isthmus itself. The peninsula, according to the division of Strabo, contains Achaia[9], Argolis, Elis or Eleia, Arcadia, Messenia, and Laconia. ARCADIA, the central province, is a cluster of mountains, bearing, however, as on their shoulders, some plains, high above the level of the sea. Lofty ridges, the principal of which are TAYGETUS and ZAREX, branch through LACONIA to the two most southern promontories of Greece, TÆNARUM, and MALEA. Between these the EUROTAS runs: the vales are rich,, but nowhere extensive. From CYLLENE, the most northern and highest of the Arcadian mountains, two other branches extend in a south-easterly direction; one to the ARGOLIC gulph, the other, by EPIDAURUS, to the SCYLLÆAN promontory, the most easterly point of the peninsula. These include the vale of ARGOS, remarkable for fruitfulness. ACHAIA is a narrow strip of country on the northern coast, pressed upon by the mountains in its whole length from CORINTH to DYME. To avoid confusion, however, in the political division of the country, it must be observed, that the Corinthian territory, and the Sicyonian, were distinct from that properly called Achaia, and, till a late period, were never included under the name[10]. ELIS and MESSENIA are less mountainous than the other Peloponnesian provinces. The latter particularly is not only the most level of the peninsula, and the best adapted to tillage, but, in general produce, the most fruitful of all Greece.

Like Italy, or more than Italy, in large proportion a rough and

[9] Or Achæa. It is in some instances difficult to decide what may be deemed the proper English orthography of Greek names. There was a time when the French fancy of altering forein names to vernacular terminations prevailed with our writers. This inconvenient practice, utterly useless in a language which neither declines its nouns, nor has any certain form of termination for them, has long been justly exploded with us; and, excepting a very few, upon which custom has indelibly fixed its stamp, we write Latin names only as they are written in Latin. But the practice has prevailed of following the later Latin writers in their alterations of Greek names, insomuch that in regard to many circumstances the rule appears established. There are, however, still circumstances in regard to which no respectable authority is to be found, and, for some, precedents vary. In this uncertainty of rule I have thought it best to approach always as near to the Greek orthography as the tyranny of custom, and, it should be added, the different nature of the alphabets, will permit.

[10] Pausanias, in a late age, attributes Corinthia and Sicyonia, not to Achaia but to Argolis. Pausan. l. 8. c. 1.

intractable country, Greece nevertheless injoyed many great and even peculiar advantages. The climate is very various. The summer-heat generally great: the winter-cold in some parts severe: but the former brings the finest fruits to perfection; the latter braces and hardens the bodies of the inhabitants, while the sea, nowhere very distant, assists extensively to temper both. The long winding range of coast abounds with excellent harbours. The low grounds afford rich herbage; the higher corn, wine, and oil; and of the mountains, all producing pasture, some to a great extent were covered with variety of timber; some formed of the finest marble; some contained various valuable metals. And this variety in the surface which gives occasion to such various produce, affords at the same time variety of climate in every season of the year.

Descrip. Geog. du Golfe de Venise & de la Morée, par Bellin.

The first emigrants who took possession of this country, if they retained the least relic of civility, could want no inducement to settle themselves in the rich and beautiful vales with which it abounds. Even the most savage, for the habitation of a family, would prefer a fruitful plain; especially where mountain-forests were everyway at hand for the resource of hunting, when the vale, ill-cultivated or uncultivated, might no longer afford subsistence. But perhaps the beasts of prey, with which the old world has always been infested so much more than the new, have contributed not a little to the quicker progress of society and civilization. The first inhabitants of Greece could hardly subsist without mutual support against the ravenous beasts of the woods and mountains, which everywhere surrounded them. Lions had made their way into Europe; and, so late as the age of Herodotus, the breed remained in a long line of wild country, from the Achelous in Acarnania to the Nestus in Thrace. In the time of Hesiod and Homer, security against wild beasts was an important purpose of human society. Some degree of political association would therefore from the first be necessary to settlers in Greece: the inhabitants of every vale would constitute a state more or less regular.

Herod. l. 7. c. 125, 126.

But the spirit of migration seems not soon to have subsided among mankind. Many whole hords, either dissatisfied with their settlements, or, like the Arabs and Tartars to this day, without a desire to settle, quitted the spots they had first chosen, and wandered still in

quest of others[11]: and it appears to have been a universal practice, when an eligible situation was overstocked with inhabitants, which might soon happen where, not only manufactures and commerce, but even agriculture was unknown or unpractised, to send out colonies, often to parts very distant. An instance occurs in holy writ, so illustrating many circumstances in early Grecian history, that it may be not improper to report it here. The patriarchs Esau and Jacob, having acquired large property in herds and flocks during their father's life, found their stock so increased by the inheritance on his death, that, according to the phrase in our translation, 'it was more than that they 'might dwell together.' The land of Canaan, whither their grandfather Abraham had migrated from Chaldæa, 'could not bear them because 'of their cattle.' In these circumstances it was the choice of Esau, the elder brother, to emigrate. Land open to the first occupier was readily to be found, and land, perhaps for his purpose, preferable to that of Canaan. Moving accordingly with his followers and stock, he occupied mount Seir, and left the land of his father, as an insignificant part of the inheritance, to his younger brother.

Genesis, c. 35. v. 29. — c. 37. v. 1.

In very early times we find Greece overrun by many different people, of whom the Greek writers in the most inlightened ages could give no satisfactory account. Some came by land from the north; some by sea from the east or south; some mixed amicably with the antient inhabitants; some subdued or expelled them. The rich vales, which without cultivation would give large support for cattle, were the coveted territories; and these were continually changing their possessors. Of the expelled, some wandered in quest of unoccupied vales; or in their turn drove out the inhabitants of the first they came to, if they found them weaker than themselves. Others took to the neighbouring mountains; and thence, harrassing the intruders, not unfre-

Strab. l. 5. p. 221. & l. 7. p. 321. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 2.

[11] Μάλιστα μέν οὖν κατὰ τὰ Τρωϊκὰ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, γενέσθαι τὰς ἐφόδους καὶ τας μεταναστάσεις συνέβη, τῶν τε βαρβάρων ἅμα καὶ των Ἑλλήνων ὁρμῇ τινι χρησαμένων πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀλλοτρίας κατάσασιν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ τῶν Τπωϊκῶν ἦν ταῦτα· τό τε γὰρ Πελασγῶν ἦν φῦλον καὶ τῶν Καυκώνων καὶ Λελέγων· εἴρηται δ' ὅτι πολλαχοῦ τῆς Ἐυρώπης ἐτύγχανε τοπαλαιὸν πλανώμενα. Strab. l. 12. p. 572. The Amsterdam edition of 1707 has πρὸς for πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκων· evidently an error of the press, and indeed corrected in the Latin version: tho, it should be observed, the Latin version is by no means always to be trusted.

quently

quently recovered in time their old settlement in the vale. When pressed by a superior force, any of them quitted their possessions with little regret; 'thinking,' as Thucydides observes, 'that a livelihood might 'be had anywhere, and anxious for nothing more: for being always 'uncertain when a more powerful clan might covet their territory, 'they had little incouragement to build, or plant, or provide in any 'way farther than for present need.'

Greece thus, in its early days, was in a state of perpetual maroding and piratical warfare. Cattle, as the great means of subsistence, were first the great object of plunder. Then, as the inhabitants of some parts by degrees settled to aggriculture, men, women, and children were sought for slaves. But Greece had nothing more peculiar than its adjacent sea; where small ilands were so thickly scattered, that their inhabitants, and in some measure those of the shores of the surrounding continents also, were mariners by necessity, and almost by nature. Water-expeditions, therefore, were soon found most commodious for carrying off spoil. The Greeks, moreover, in their most barbarous state, became acquainted with the value of the precious metals: for the Phenicians, whose industry, ingenuity, and adventurous spirit of commerce, led them early to explore the farthest shores of the Mediterranean, and even to risk the dangers of the ocean beyond, discovered mines of gold and silver in some of the ilands of the Ægean, and on its northern coast. They formed establishments in several of the ilands; and Thasus, which, having itself mines of both silver and gold, lay conveniently also for communication with the most productive of the continent, became the seat of their principal factory. Thus was offered the most powerful incentive to piracy, in a sea whose innumerable ilands and ports afforded singular opportunity for the practice. Perhaps, as Homer, not less than the later Grecian authors, insinuates, the conduct of the Phenicians towards the uncivilized nations, among whom the desire of gain led them, was not always the most upright or humane. Hostilities would naturally insue; and hence might first arise the estimation of piracy, which long prevailed among the Greeks as an honorable practice. But whencesoever this opinion had its origin, however deserving the utmost reprobation, and however even unaccountable

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 5.

Strab. l. 3. p. 169. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 8. Herodot. l. 2. c. 44. & l. 6. c. 47.

Odyss. l. 20. v. 414.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 5.

countable it may appear to civilized people who have no intercourse with barbarians, it will yet be found that equal degrees of civility and of barbarism have occasioned manners and sentiments nearly similar in all ages and all nations. It is not very long since robbery was held in esteem among the native Irish; and a hospitable highland Scottish chief, proud of his fabled descent from kings and heroes, would have boasted of his atchievements in that way: in Sicily such sentiments even yet prevail; and among all the Arabian tribes, from the middle of Asia to the end of Africa, the idea of union between honor and robbery has been transmitted unaltered through hundreds of generations.

Pennant's Account of Scotland. Brydone's Account of Sicily. Wood on Homer.

SECTION II.

Of the southern Provinces of Greece from the earliest Accounts to the Trojan War. Crete: Minos. Sicyon. Corinth. Argos: Pelasgian Dominion in Greece: Egyptian Colonies in Greece: Danaüs: Acrisius: Perseus. Pisa: Colonies from Phrygia and Thessaly under Pelops. Hercules. Atreus: Dominion of the Family of Pelops. Agamemnon. Lacedæmon.

Before Christ 1006, Newton's Chronology, 1406. Blair's Chronology.

SUCH was the wild and barbarous state of Greece in general, when CRETE, the largest of its ilands, had acquired a polity singularly regular, attended of course with superior civilization. In vain however would we inquire at what precise period, in what state of society, by what exertions of wisdom and courage, and through what assistance of fortunate contingencies, so extraordinary a work was accomplished: for many centuries elapsed before written records became common; and traditions are vague, various, and, for the most part, inexplicably mixed with fable. Crete is thus a great object for the dissertator and the antiquarian. Curiosity is excited by those scanty glimmerings of information, which have preserved to us the names of the Cabeiri, Telchines, Curetes, Corybantes, Idæi Dactyli, with Saturn, Jupiter, and other personages, either of this iland, or connected with it in mysterious history. Still more it is excited by that system of laws, which,

Strab. l. 10. p. 466.

which, in an age of savage ignorance, violence, and uncertainty among surrounding nations, inforced civil order, and secured civil freedom to the Cretan people; which was not only the particular model of the wonderful polity, so well known to us through the fame of Lacedæmon, but appears to have been the general fountain of Grecian legislation and jurisprudence; and which continued to deserve the eulogies of the greatest sages and politicians, in the brightest periods of litterature and philosophy.

Plat. Minos, & de Leg. Aristot. Polit. l. 2. Strab. l. 10. p. 480, 481. Plutarch Lycurg. Strab. l. 10. p. 477. Plat. de Leg. l. 1. p. 631. t. 2. ed. Serran.

The glory of this establishment is generally given to Minos, a prince of the iland; whose history was however so dubiously transmitted to posterity, that it remained undecided among Grecian writers, whether he was a native or a foreiner. Some indeed attributed the final improvement only to Minos, referring the first institution to Rhadamanthus, in a still earlier age; and some have supposed two princes of the name of Minos, in different periods. The evidence of Homer, however, tho delivered partly in the enigmatical language in which poetry often indulges, appears to determine that Minos, the only Minos whom he knew, and, it may be added, whom Aristotle knew, was not of Cretan origin, but a chief of adventurers from Phenicia; that Rhadamanthus was not his predecessor, but his younger brother; and that he was himself the great and original legislator. We are indeed without materials for any connected history of Crete, even after the age of Minos; but there remains, from the most respectable authorities, a general account of its polity. This will however not obtain, from the liberal spirit of modern Europe, that full approbation which it earned from antiquity. It rested upon two principles; that freemen should be all equal; and that they should be served by slaves. The lawgiver therefore allowed no private property in land, nor scarcely in anything. The soil was cultivated by slaves, on the public account: the freemen ate together at public tables, and their families were subsisted from the public stock. The monarch's authority, as we shall find, generally through Greece in the early ages, was, except in war, extremely limited. The magistracies were wisely adapted to the spirit of the government. A severe morality was in some instances inforced by law. The youth, in the course of an education particularly directed to form soldiers, were

Aristot. Polit. Homer. Iliad. l. 13. v. 450. & Odyss. l. 19. v. 178. Strab. l. 10. p. 480. Diodor. Sic. l. 4. c. 60. & l. 5. c. 79. Aristot. Polit. l. 2. c. 10.

Plat. de Leg. l. 1. Aristot. Polit. l. 2. c. 9. & 10.

Plat. de Leg. l. 1. p. 635.

Plat. de Leg. l. 1. p. 626. & l. 2. p. 666. Aristot. Polit. l. 7. c. 2.

were restrained to the strictest modesty and temperance; superiority was the meed only of age and merit. But while a comparatively small society thus lived in just freedom, and honorable leisure, a much larger portion of mankind was, for their sakes, doomed to rigid and irredeemable slavery.

It is difficult to account for the first establishment of such a system, but upon the supposition that a band of adventurers, from the polished countries of the east, seizing the lands, like the Spaniards in the West-Indian ilands, deprived the antient inhabitants of arms, and compelled them to labor. Accordingly we find it remarked that the Cretan constitution was not that of a civil, but of a military community; not so much of a state as of a camp[12]. Yet Homer enumerates five different hords in Crete, using different dialects; all apparently free; for slaves are never reckoned among the people of a Grecian state; and all subject to the laws and government of Minos. But thus one people, under three names, Angles, Jutes, and Saxons, conquered our iland; and if we add the Danes, Norwegians, and Normans, who afterward became its masters, they were all members of one nation. Homer also mentions the wealth and populousness of Crete, the wisdom of the legislator, and his singular favor with Jupiter: but the account goes no farther; and after Homer the traditions concerning Minos became peculiarly loaded with fable.

Odyss. l. 19. v. 175.

Ibid. & Iliad. l. 2. v. 65.

Some circumstances, however, of principal importance, seem to remain sufficiently warranted for history. From a strong concurrence of testimony it appears that Minos was an able prince, who availed himself of advantages open to him from the command of a people formed to regular government, and not unacquainted with useful arts. Against those pirates, who infested every part of the Grecian seas, he kept armed vessels in constant employ; and his measures were so vigorous and judicious that he established security throughout the Ægean. Hence he has the credit, among historians, of having been the first Grecian prince who acquired the sovereinty of the sea. By

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 8. Plat. Minos, & de Leg. l. 4. p. 706.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 3. & 4. Dionys. Hal. Antiq. Rom. l. 5.

Herodot. l. 1.

[12] Στρατοπέδου γὰρ πολιτείαν ἔχετε, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν ἄστεσι κατῳκηκότων. Plat. de Leg. l. 2. p. 666. Vid. & Plat. de Leg. l. 1. p. 626. & Aristot. Polit. l. 7. c. 2. So Isocrates of the Lacedæmonian constitution: Πολιτείαν ὁμοίαν κατεσησάμεθα στρατοπέδῳ καλῶς διοικουμένῳ. Archid. p. 66. t. 2. ed. Auger.

means

means of his fleet he extended his authority far among the ilands: he was respected throughout the coast of the neighboring continents; and he left behind him a wide reputation for wisdom, justice, and power. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 4. Plat. Minos. Aristot. Polit. l. 2. c. 10. Plutarch vit. Thes.

Before the reign of this great prince, as that early and able historian Thucydides assures us, such had been the excesses of piracy, that all the shores, both of the continent and ilands of Greece, were nearly deserted: the ground was cultivated only at a secure distance from the sea, and there only towns and villages were to be found. But no sooner was the evil repressed, than the active temper of the Greeks led them again to the coast: the most commodious havens were occupied; the spirit of adventure and industry, which had before been exerted in robbery, was turned to commerce; and, as wealth accrued, towns were fortified, so as to secure them against a renewal of former evils. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 7. l. 1. c. 8.

In earlier times, however, some settlements had been made, capable of resisting piratical attempts from the sea, or incursions of wandering freebooters by land. SICYON, on the northern coast of Peloponnesus, claimed, in the civilized ages, to be the oldest town of Greece. A town implies not only an intention of settled occupancy, but also some provision against occurrences, of whatsoever kind, that might renew the necessity of migration. Some municipal government is indispensable. The town then, having more to apprehend than to hope from any political connection with the rude people from whom it sprung, undertakes to suffice for itself, and becomes an independent state. Thus, or at least partly thus, it seems to have been that the Greek word, which we commonly translate CITY, came to signify, together with the town, its municipal government; and when we read in Grecian authors of a city founded, it is generally by the same words implied that an independent government was established. A long list of names is transmitted, as of chiefs who ruled Sicyon with that title which, in process of ages, acquired more precisely the same import with our term of King. But this list comes wholly unwarranted by Grecian writers of best authority. The history of the kings of Sicyon is more-

over as uninteresting as uncertain; and, till a very late period, the state they governed made little figure in the affairs of Greece.

The happier situation of CORINTH, founded in a very early age in the neighbourhood of Sicyon, perhaps prevented the growth of the elder town. Near the south-western point of the neck that joins Peloponnesus to northern Greece, and within the same rich plain in which Sicyon stands, a mountain-ridge, scarcely three miles long, rises to a height, remarkable even in a country of lofty mountains. The summit is at the northern extremity: three sides are precipices almost perpendicular; and, even on the fourth, ascent is difficult. Little beneath the pointed vertex is a plentiful source of pure water; which, so situated, might help the poets to the fancy that there the winged horse Pegasus, drinking, was caught by Bellerophon. This most advantageous and nearly inexpugnable post, by the name of Acrocorinthus, became the citadel; and at its foot grew the town of Corinth, which, as early as Homer's time, was noted for wealth acquired by commerce. For by land it was the key of communication between northern and southern Greece; and by sea it became, through its ports, one on the Saronic, the other on the Corinthian gulph, the emporium for all that passed between the east and the west, as far as Asia on one side, and Italy and Sicily on the other; the passage round the southern promontories of Peloponnesus being so dangerous, to coasting navigators, that it was generally avoided. Among the early princes of Corinth were Sisyphus, Glaucus, and Bellerophon or Bellerophontes; names to which poetry has given fame, but not delivered down to us objects of history.

Strab. l. 8. p. 379. Liv. Hist. Rom. l. 45. c. 28. Pausan. l. 2. c. 5. Wheeler's Journey into Greece, b. 6. p. 440. Pind. Olymp. 13. Homer. Iliad. l. 2. v. 570. & Thucyd. l. 1. c. 13. Strab. l. 8. p. 378.

The pretensions of Sicyon, however, to superior antiquity among the cities of Greece, are not undisputed; for Argos, which was certainly the first to acquire political eminence, has also been esteemed, by some of the most judicious antiquarians, to have had the more plausible claim to the earliest origin. It is said to have been founded by Inachus, son of the ocean; a title which, in the language of the age, might possibly imply that the bearer came from beyond sea, nobody knew whence; or perhaps from the banks of the Nile, which is said to have borne, in early times, the name of Ocean. But some Grecian

Pausan. l. 2. c. 15. Diod. l. 1.

writers

writers have doubted whether Inachus were ever really the name of a man, or only of a small river near Argos; and these attribute the foundation of the city to Phoroneus, whom the others call son of Inachus. The age of Phoroneus was indeed the term beyond which, as Plato assures, nothing was known of Greece; and the more probable tradition concerning the origin of Sicyon supposed its founder, Ægialeus, cotemporary and even brother of Phoroneus.

Plat. Timæus, p. 22. t. 3. ed. Serran.

The chronology of these times will, however, be the subject of future inquiry; which yet, it may here be confessed, cannot lead to certainty. It has been computed by chronologers, who have found credit with some of the most learned even of the present age, that Sicyon was founded two thousand and eighty-nine years before the Christian era, and only two hundred and fifty-nine after the Flood: that the foundation of Argos followed after a period of two hundred and thirty-three years, and that the reign of Minos in Crete was still four hundred and fifty years later. Sir Isaac Newton's conjecture, far more consonant to the most authoritative traditions concerning the train of events, is, that Sicyon and Argos may have been founded nearly together, about one thousand and eighty years before the Christian era, and less than eighty before the reign of Minos. Indeed from the traditions preserved by the oldest poets, and all the inquiries reported to us by the most judicious Grecian prose-writers concerning the antiquities of their country, it appears rather probable that scarcely a wandering hunter had ever set foot in Peloponnesus, so early as the period assigned by chronologers, even to the founding of Argos.

Blair's Chronological Tables.

Newton's Chronology.

But towns are not usually at once built, and a new state formed, by the natives of a country. In the more common course of things they grow so imperceptibly, that not a rumor of their origin can remain. The accounts, therefore, which refer the foundation of the principal cities of Greece to particular eras and particular persons, mark them for colonies. Indeed, amid all the darkness and intricacy of early Grecian history, we find a strong concurrence of testimony to a few principal facts. It was a received opinion, among the most informed and judicious Grecian writers, that Greece was originally held by Barbarians; a term appropriated, in the florishing ages of the nation,

See Herodotus's Account of the Pelasgians, Thucydides's Introduction, Plato, Aristotle,

as a definition for all people who were not Greeks. Among the uncertain traditions of various hords, who in early times overran the country, the PELASGIAN name is eminent. This name may be traced back into Asia: it is found in the ilands; and the people who bore it appear to have spred far on the continent of Europe, since they are reckoned among the earliest inhabitants of Italy. It was very generally acknowleged, as the accurate and judicious Strabo assures us, that the Pelasgians were antiently established all over Greece, and that they were the first people who became powerful there. Consonant to this we find every mention of the Pelasgians by Herodotus and Thucydides; from the former of whom we learn, that Pelasgia was once a general name for the country. But a passage of the poet Æschylus concerning this people, for its antiquity, its evident honesty, its probability, and its consistency with all other remaining evidence of best authority, appears to deserve particular notice. The Pelasgian princes, he says, extended their dominion over all the northern parts of Greece, together with Macedonia and Epirus, as far as the river Strymon eastward, and the sea beyond the Dodonæan mountains westward. Peloponnesus was not peopled so early: for Apis, apparently a Pelasgian chief, crossing the Corinthian gulph from Ætolia, and destroying the wild beasts, first made that peninsula securely habitable for men; and hence it had from him its most antient name Apia.

and most particularly Strabo, b. 7. p. 321. and b. 9. p. 401. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 3. Hom. Il. l. 2. v. 347. l. 10. v. 429. & l. 17. v. 288. & 301. Odyss. l. 15. v. 175. Herod. l. 5. c. 26. l. 6. c. 136. l. 7. c. 42. Strab. l. 5. p. 221. Dionys. Hal. Antiq. Rom. l. 1. Strab. l. 5. p. 220, 221. & l. 7. p. 327. Herod. l. 2. c. 56. Æschyl. Danaid. p. 316. ed. H. Steph.

It appears that, in a very remote period, some revolutions in Egypt, whose early transactions are otherwise little known to us, compelled a large proportion of the inhabitants to seek forein settlements[13]. To this event probably Crete owed its early civilization. Some of the best supported of antient Grecian traditions relate the establishment of Egyptian colonies in Greece; traditions so little accommodated to national prejudice, yet so very generally received, and so perfectly consonant to all known history, that, for their more essential circum-

[13] That such revolutions, and more particularly that such migrations happened, appears not doubtful, tho the investigators of Egyptian antiquities disagree about both the circumstances of these events, and the persons principally concerned. See Shuckford's Connection of Sacred and Profane History, and Bryant's Analysis of Antient Mythology.

stances,

stances, they seem unquestionable[14]. These settlers of course brought with them many oriental traditions; which, in process of ages, through the unavoidable incorrectness of oral delivery, became so blended with early Grecian story, that, when at length letters came into use, it was no longer possible to ascertain what was properly and originally Grecian, and what had been derived from Phenicia or Egypt. Hence the abundant source, and hence the unbounded scope of Grecian fable. Hence too the variety of ingenious but discordant fancies of so many learned men, concerning the truths which probably lie everywhere concealed under the alluring disguise, but which will also probably for ever evade any complete detection.

With all the intricacy of fable, however, in which early Grecian history is involved, the origin of the Greek nation from a mixture of the Pelasgian, and possibly some other barbarous hords, with colonies from Phenicia and Egypt, seems not doubtful. Argos, according to all accounts, was an Egyptian colony. We are told that the first chief, whether Inachus or Phoroneus, or whatever may have been his name, brought the wild natives of the neighbourhood to submit to his government, introduced some form of religion among them, and made a progress toward their civilization. We can little expect objects for history among traditions concerning the early state of such a colony. But the successors of Phoroneus have afforded ample matter for fable; which yet we find universally tinged with some reference to Egypt and the East. Io, daughter of one of those princes, but of which is not agreed, had, according to poetical report, an amour with the god Jupiter, was by him transformed into a cow, in that shape travelled into Egypt, and there became a goddess. Herodotus gives no improbable account, if not of the origin of this fiction, yet of the origin of its connection with Grecian story; and, as it serves to mark the manners of the age, it may be worth relating. Some Phenician merchants, he says, brought a cargo of the manufactures of their country to Argos. The Grecian women, eager to procure toys and utensils

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 3.

Pausan. l. 2. c. 15.

Æschyl. Prometh. ed Danaid.

Herod.

[14] They are confirmed by the concurring testimonies particularly of Herodotus, Plato, Aristotle, Isocrates, Strabo, and Diodorus Siculus, with the added evidence of the popular poets Æschylus and Euripides.

which

which their own towns, yet without manufactures, did not furnish, came in numbers to the sea-shore. The Phenicians, to whom women were in the East very profitable merchandize, having allured or forced many into their vessels, and among them Io, daughter of the chief of the district, sailed away[15].

Among the kings of Argos also we find another personage of great fame in poetry, the Egyptian Danaüs, whose fifty daughters, it is said, married on the same day the fifty sons of his brother Ægyptus, king of Egypt, and all, except Hypermnestra, wife of Lynceus, killed their husbands on the wedding-night. Of this family too we have some circumstances related which characterize the times. Danaüs, through whatsoever cause, for reports are various, finding his situation uneasy in Egypt, imbarked with his family and what followers he could collect, to seek a settlement. Failing in an attempt to establish his colony in the iland of Rhodes, he proceeded to Peloponnesus, and landed near Argos, where Gelanor then reigned. The favor with which he was received by the rude inhabitants, or which he had the art quickly to acquire among them, was so extraordinary, that it inspired him with the confidence to demand the sovereinty of the state as his legal right. His claim, according to the tradition transmitted to us, had no better foundation than a pretended descent from the Argian princess, whose story has been just related. But if an Egyptian colony had before been established at Argos, an Egyptian prince might have other pretensions to interest, or even to command there. A different cause is, however, reported for his favor with the people. The Argians were so uninformed that, upon the failure of spontaneous fountains, they often suffered for want of water; tho the ground, on which the city stood, abounded with excellent springs at little depth. Danaüs taught them to dig wells. The boon was, in a hot climate particularly, of high importance, The temper of the Greeks was warm: admiration and gratitude became the ruling passions at Argos, and produced an inclination toward

Schol. ad v. 42. l. 1. Iliad.

Isocrat. Helen. encom.

Diodor. l. 5. c. 58. Æschyl. Danaid. Pausan. l. 2. c. 19.

Strab. l. 8. p. 371.

[15] That these were probable circumstances we may judge from a similar story, related of different persons, by Homer, Odyss. l. 15. Mr. Bryant derives the story of Io from a very different origin. His supposition, however, does not at all impugn the credibility of Herodotus's anecdote, who leaves it wholly unaccounted for how the stolen princess should acquire, in a forein country, the reputation of a goddess.

Danaüs

Danaüs so violent, that Gelanor was constrained to admit him peaceably to plead his right to the sovereinty, before an assembly of the people, held for the purpose, in the fields without the city. The dispute, however, was so equally maintained, that it became necessary to defer the decision till the morrow. By daybreak, accordingly, the people were crowding out of the gate, when a wolf from the neighboring mountains caught their attention, while he attacked a herd, grazing near the city-wall, and killed the bull. This was taken as an omen declaring the divine will: the wolf was interpreted to signify the stranger, the bull their native prince, and the kingdom was adjudged to Danaüs. Whatever credit we give to the circumstances of these and similar stories, they convey to us at least the idea which the succeeding Greeks had of the manners, as well as of the history, of their ancestors. Probably they are not wholly unfounded: certainly they are not the invention of adulation and partiality; and they are the only memorials remaining to characterize those early ages.

Pausan. ut sup.

The people of Argos, at the arrival of Danaüs, were, according to Æschylus, Pelasgians, and subjects of a prince whose dominion extended over all Greece, including Epirus and Macedonia. Probably the Egyptian colony of Inachus or Phoroneus, little numerous, had been unable to maintain itself in independency against the antient chief of so extensive a territory. But Danaüs made his establishment firm: he transmitted it as an inheritance to his posterity; and such was the prevalence of his power and fame in Peloponnesus, that, according to Euripides, the people of that peninsula, before called Pelasgians, received from him the name of Danaäns, which remained to Homer's age[16].

Æschyl. Danaid. p. 316. ed. H. Steph.

Danaüs was succeeded in the sovereinty of Argos by Lynceus, his son-in-law, an Egyptian born. Acrisius, grandson of Lynceus, most

Pausan. l. 2. c. 16. Herodot. l. 2. c. 91.

[16] Δαναὸς, ὁ τεντήκοντα θυγ τνέρων πατὴρ,
Ελθὼν εἰς Ἄργος, ᾤκισεν Ἰνάχου πόλιν·
Πελασγιώτας δ' ὀνομασμένους τοπρὶν
Δαναοὺς καλεῖσθαι νόμον ἔθηκ' ἀν' Ἑλλάδα.
Strab. l. 5. p. 221. & l. 8. p. 371.

Æschylus calls Danaüs and his Egyptians Barbarians, and seems to consider the Pelasgians as true Greeks. Strabo, in a later age, speaks of the Pelasgians as barbarians: Πέλασγοι καὶ ἄλλοι βάρβαροι, b. 9. p. 410. But Ovid and Virgil, both much versed in the antient Grecian traditions, frequently use the *Pelasgian* name as synonymous with *Greek*; and by the higher authority of Euripides we find Argos in Peloponnesus called Ἄργος Πελασγικὸν (Phœniss. v. 265). and the army of the Seven before Thebes. Πελασγικὸν στράτευμα. (Phœniss. v. 107.)

known

known through the poets as father of the celebrated Danaë, would much more on another account demand the notice of history, were it possible to trace and connect the circumstances of his reign. We learn, however, only from scattered mention of him, that he acquired influence far beyond the bounds of Peloponnesus, and that he gave form and stability to a very important institution in the northern provinces of Greece, which will require more particular notice hereafter, as a principal efficient in uniting and holding together, as one people, the various hostile tribes who occupied the country. By what means his power became thus extended we are wholly uninformed. Some confused traditions only, of troubles toward the end of his reign, account for its decay. Perseus, son of Danaë, daughter of Acrisius, is the first Grecian recorded to posterity, even in poetry and fable, as great in deeds of arms. He stands therefore at the head of the list of those antient warriors, whose names the poetical genius of their country has made so singularly illustrious, but whose actions almost wholly elude the scrutiny of history. Perseus is the reputed founder of the city of Mycenæ, which he made the capital of his dominion. Argos was still governed by its own chief magistrate, with the title of king, but dependent upon the King of Mycenæ, who is styled by Homer, King of many ilands, and of ALL ARGOS: a term which, with that author, implied the whole of Peloponnesus. The tragic poets, to whose purposes the vicissitudes in the fortune of the two cities were little important, have, as Strabo has remarked, frequently used the names indifferently one for the other; but, in history, we shall find it necessary to avoid the confusion.

Before Christ, About { 1000, Newton. 1313, Blair.

Strab. l. 8. p. 377. Pausan. l. 2. c. 15.

Iliad, l. 2. v. 108. Strab. l. 7. p. 365. & l. 8. p. 371. Strab. l. 8. p. 377.

Cotemporary with Perseus was Pelops, son of Tantalus, king of Phrygia, or, according to Pindar, of Lydia, in Asia Minor; who, it is said, pressed by unsuccessful war, quitted his country, with the easiness usual in those early ages, at the head of his partizans, to seek better fortune elsewhere. Defectively as the circumstances of this prince's story are transmitted, and mingled with romantic fable, yet some of the most important remain strongly authenticated. It appears that the western provinces of Asia Minor preceded Greece in arts and civilization. This, for which we have many grounds of surmize, receives

Isocrat. Helen. encom. Strab. l. 8. p. 321. Pindar. Olymp. 1.

confirmation from the judicious and candid Thucydides, who relates that, while the Greeks were yet barbarous and their country poor, Pelops, bringing with him treasures to an amount before unknown, quickly acquired an interest superior to that of any native. We are farther informed by Polybius, whose testimony, in itself weighty, is confirmed by Strabo and Pausanias, that Pelops was attended into Peloponnesus by a body of Achaians from Thessaly, whom he established in Laconia. But we learn from Homer, that the Achaian name spred far in the peninsula; for he calls the Argians, with all the people of the north-eastern coast, Achaians; and he distinguishes the whole of Peloponnesus from the rest of Greece by the name of Achaian Argos. A large concurrence of tradition affirms that the Phrygian prince married Hippodameia, daughter of Œnomaüs, chief of Pisa in Eleia, whom he succeeded in the sovereinty of that territory; and that in the course of a long reign he established his influence, not so much by wars, as by the marriages of his numerous issue, and by his wise conduct, assisted, however, probably, by some terror of his power, throughout the peninsula; insomuch that it derived from him the name which it retained so many ages, and which is not yet wholly obsolete [17].

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 9.

Polyb. l. 2. p. 178. Strab. l. 8. p. 383. Pausan. l. 2. c. 18. & l. 5. c. 13. Iliad, l. 2. v. 559. Strab. l. 8. p. 369. Diod. l. 4. c. 75, 76. B. C. 993. N.

Astydameia, daughter of Pelops, was married to Sthenelus, king of Argos, son of Perseus. Their son and successor Eurystheus is known for his enmity to Heracles, or, as we usually write with the Latins, Hercules, descended also from both Perseus and Pelops. This hero, the Grecian or the Theban Hercules, as he is often called to distinguish him from some great men of other countries known among the Greeks by the same name, was born at Thebes in Bœotia, of Alcmena, wife of Amphitryon king of that city; but, according to poetical report, his father was the god Jupiter. In vain would history investigate the particulars of the life of this celebrated personage; whose great actions,

Diod. l. 4. c. 9. Pausan. l. 5. c. 13.

Homer. Iliad, l. 14. v. 324. & l. 19. v. 98. Odyss. l. 11. v. 265.

[17] The Genoese and Venetians, in their conquests in the Levant, totally changed the names of many principal places of Greece and the Grecian seas; and the French in all their writings, and, what is worse, in some of the best maps extant, have so mutilated and barbarized classical names, particularly the Greek, that a dictionary is often wanting to explain what the deformed appellations mean. The modern Greeks retain the antient names almost universally, and generally with little deviation, often none, from the classical orthography.

Hesiod. Scut. Herc. & Theogon, v. 943. Pind. Nem. 10. Herod. l. 2. c. 43. Homer. Iliad, l. 5. 638. & l. 11. 689.

consigned to fame by an ingenious people in a romantic age, have been so disguised with fictitious ornament, as even to have brought his existence into question. But beside a large concurrence of other testimony, Homer leaves no room to doubt, either that there was such a Grecian prince, or who and what he was. He represents him, not that vagabond unattended savage, which later poets have made him, whose only covering was a lion's skin, whose only weapon a club (an attire which he rather owes perhaps originally to the statuaries) and whose single strength was equal either to the discomfiture of hosts, or to the labor of a thousand hardy hinds; but, on the contrary, a prince commanding armies, which were the ministers of his great actions. Yet while his own fame, and still more that of his posterity, who became singularly illustrious in Grecian story, forbid to pass him unmentioned, scarcely more can be done than to assign him his rank, as greatest among the heroes of that peculiarly called the heroic age; who, prompted by a spirit similar to what many ages after animated the northern and western nations, devoted themselves to toil and danger in the service of mankind and the acquisition of honest fame; opposing oppressors, and relieving the oppressed, wherever they were to be found, and bearing thus the sword of universal justice, while governments were yet too weak to wield it[18].

[18] Respice vindicibus pacatum viribus orbem,
Quà latam Nereus cærulus ambit humum.
Se tibi pax terræ, tibi se tuta æquora debent:
Implesti meritis Solis utramque domum.
Ovid. Epist. Deian. Herc.

An ingenious attempt to elicit history from the poetical traditions concerning the Grecian Hercules, may be seen in Dr. Samuel Musgrave's Dissertation on Grecian Mythology. Remaining testimonies concerning the eastern heroes, whom the Greeks called by the same name, are collected in Mr. Bryant's System of Antient Mythology. It is truly observed by Dr. Musgrave, that the name Heracles bears all appearance of being originally Grecian, formed by the same analogy as Diocles, Athenocles, and other Greek names. It is however well known that the Greeks continually altered forein names, to accommodate them to their own pronuntiation and to the inflexions of their language: sometimes they translated them; and sometimes, by a less violent change, by the transposition or alteration of a letter or two, reduced them to bear intirely a Grecian appearance, with a meaning however totally different from the original. Mr. Bryant has collected instances of all these circumstances.

The hatred of Eurystheus, which pursued Hercules through life, was continued, after his death, to his children and friends. Compelled to quit Peloponnesus, they found a generous reception at Athens. The Argian monarch invaded Attica, but, in a battle with the Athenians, was defeated and slain. This event made way for new honors and power to the family of Pelops. Atreus, son of that prince, and uncle of Eurystheus, had been intrusted by his nephew with the regency of his Peloponnesian dominions during the Attic expedition. On the death of Eurystheus, Atreus assumed the sovereinty; the greatness of his connections, and the popularity of his character (such is the opinion which Thucydides professes) precluding competition. The claims of the Perseid and Pelopid families, thus by right or violence, united in the house of Pelops, extended over all or nearly all Peloponnesus. Eleia had been inherited from Œnomaüs. Laconia, including, according to Strabo, great part of Messenia, was occupied by the colonies from Phrygia and Thessaly which had followed the fortune of Pelops. Achaia, then called Ægialos, or Ægialeia, with Corinth, was of the particular domain of Mycenæ. Still several cities of Peloponnesus had each its chief, presiding over its municipal government; and the degree of dependance of these upon the paramount soverein, was little exactly defined by either compact or custom: but the superiority of the head of the house of Pelops in rank, and his claim to military command, appear to have been undisputed. Under these advantageous circumstances the Argian scepter devolved to Agamemnon, son or grandson of Atreus; for the succession is variously related [19]. Tradition is, however, uniform concerning a circumstance of

Herod. l. 9. c. 27. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 9. Isocr. Paneg. p. 198. t. 1. ed. Auger. Strab. l. 8. p. 377. Diod. Sic. l. 4.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 9. Strab. l. 8. p. 359. Iliad, l. 2. v. 575. Strab. l. 8. p. 383. Pausan. l. 5. c. 1. & l. 7. c. 1. Iliad, l. 2. v. 570. Pausan. l. 2. c. 4. Homer. Iliad, l. 1. v. 185. & 278. l. 9. v. 32. & seq. v. 96. & seq. & v. 160. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 9. Isocr. Panath. p. 472.

[19] Homer says that the scepter, presented from Jupiter by Mercury to Pelops, was given by him to Atreus, who at his death left it to Thyestes, who bequeathed it, with the sovereinty of all Argos and many ilands, to Agamemnon (1). He mentions nothing of the murder of Chrysippus, eldest son of Pelops, by Atreus, nor of any of those horrors of domestic discord between the surviving brothers, which in after-ages filled the scenes of the tragic poets, and found place even in the narration of grave historians. The flight of Atreus from his father's residence, on account of the death of Chrysippus, is indeed mentioned by Thucydides (2), but nothing further. The scholiast on Homer (3) reports, that Atreus, dying, bequeathed his kingdom to his brother

(1) Iliad. l. 2. v. 103. (2) Thucyd. l. 1. c. 9. (3) Iliad. l. 2. v. 107.

Thyestes,

B. C. 919. N. 1198. B. of more historical importance; an accession of fortune, which brought all the southern part of Peloponnesus under the dominion of Agamemnon.

The city of LACEDÆMON, otherwise called SPARTA, was founded at a period beyond certain memorials. It appears from Homer to have been among the most considerable of the remote ages, but is little known for any remarkable personages or events till the reign of Tyndareus, whose wife, the poetical Leda, was mother of the celebrated brothers Castor and Polydeuces, or, as the Romans abbreviated the name, Pollux, and the still more celebrated sisters Clytemnestra and Helen. The brothers, afterward for their heroic deeds deified and numbered among the signs of the zodiac, died in early manhood. The sisters were married, Clytemnestra to Agamemnon, and Helen to his brother Menelaüs. Thus, by inheritance through these princesses, a large and valuable domain accrued to the house of Pelops. The command of Lacedæmon was given to Menelaüs. But the time to which we now approach being distinguished by that very celebrated event the Trojan war, one of the great epochs of Grecian history, it will be necessary, before we proceed farther in the account of Peloponnesus, to take such a view, as remaining memorials will inable us to take, of the rest of Greece.

Thyestes, on condition that he should resign it to Agamemnon, son of Atreus, on his attaining manhood, and that Thyestes faithfully executed the trust. Æschylus, Strabo, and Pausanias agree with the scholiast (4) in calling Agamemnon and Menelaüs sons of Atreus. Others (5) have supposed them his grandsons by his son Pleisthenes, who died young. The general notoriety only, it should seem, of the parentage of Agamemnon in Homer's age could occasion his neglect to particularize it, when he has so carefully recorded the pedigrees of many inferior personages.

(4) Æschyl. Agamem. Strab. l. 8. p. 372. Pausan. l. 3. c. 1. (5) Clem. Alex. in Strom.

SECTION III.

Of the northern Provinces of Greece from the earliest Accounts to the Trojan War. Thessaly: Tempë: Deucalion's Flood: Centaurs: Jason: Argonautic Expedition. Bœotia: Flood of Ogyges: Thebes. Ætolia. Attica: Cecrops: Athens: Ægeus: Theseus: Ariadne. Improvement of the Athenian Government by Theseus. The Athenians the first civilized People of Greece.

OF the provinces without the peninsula, the two whose fruitfulness most attracted the attention of emigrants, were THESSALY and BŒOTIA; and these were under very peculiar natural circumstances. Through the middle of the former runs the river Peneius, which, receiving, in its course along the plain, many smaller streams and the overflowings of two considerable lakes, forces its way into the sea, through the narrow valley of Tempë, between the mountains Olympus and Ossa. A country thus abounding with waters, and inclosed by mountains, could not but be subject to inundations. Herodotus, whom, on this as on many other occasions, Strabo has not disdained to follow, relates a tradition that Thessaly was originally one vast lake, without visible outlet; till an earthquake, rending Olympus from Ossa, formed the valley of Tempë. Still, however, the frequency of smaller floods appears to have coöperated with that fruitfulness of soil, which invited rapine, in making Thessaly yet more subject to revolutions in its population than any other Grecian province; and hence perhaps Homer was the better inabled to attribute to his hero, Achilles, the principal chieftain of those parts at the time of the Trojan war, the honor of having a goddess for his mother, and for his father a mortal indeed, but only second in descent from Jupiter.

Herod. l. 7. c. 129. Strab. l. 8. p. 430.

Plat. de Rep. l. 3. p. 391. Schol. ad v. 14. l. 16. Iliad.

THESSALY was, however, unless we should except Crete, the oldest object of poetical story and popular tradition of any part of Greece; and, had we means of investigation, were perhaps the worthiest of historical curiosity. We read of kings there, who extended their dominion

dominion southward as far as the Corinthian isthmus, and who left monuments of their wisdom that survived almost all memory of their power. These will require our future notice. Thessaly was always famous for its horses, and for the turn of its people to horsemanship; which the story of the centaurs apparently indicates to have been earlier known there than elsewhere in Greece. Whether those poetical people were native Thessalians, or foreign invaders who settled in Thessaly, the traditionary character of the centaur Chiron seems to imply that they were a people superior in acquirements to the southern Greeks of their age[20]. In Thessaly also, at the port of Iolcus, we are told, was made the first successful attempt to build a ship of size superior to what had before been known; and thence sailed the celebrated expedition of the Argonauts. Tho we do not believe all the romantic, and still less the

Plat. Menon. t. 2. p. 70. & Hip. Maj. t. 3. p. 284. Xenoph. de venat. c. 1.

[20] The most inquisitive and judicious of the antient antiquarians appear to have been at a loss what to think of the Centaurs. Strabo calls them ἀγριόν τι φῦλον (1), a mode of expression implying his uncertainty about them, while he gives them an epithet for which no reason appears. Hesiod (2) and Homer never speak of them as a savage race, and seem to have known nothing of their equine form; which, if not an Egyptian invention, has been found out by the ingenuity of later ages. The scholiast on Homer indeed says that, where Nestor, in the first book of the Iliad (3), speaks of mountain beasts destroyed by Theseus, he means the Centaurs; but this interpretation seems violently far fetched, and as unwarranted as unnecessary, while the meaning of the words in their common acceptation is obvious, and perfectly consonant to every account of the state of things in that age. Nor does the scholiast seem better founded in supposing that the Centaurs are intended, in the second book of the Iliad (4), under the description of hairy wild beasts of mount Pelion. In the Odyssee (5) we find the centaur Eurytion, whose very name imports a respectable character, mentioned with the honorable epithet ἀγακλυτὸς, not likely to be given to one of a tribe fit to be described by the gross appellations of mountain-beasts and hairy savages. He behaved ill; but it was in great company; and it is expressly mentioned as an extraordinary circumstance, the consequence of accidental drunkenness. The story indeed seems to be intended by the poet as an instance that persons of highest rank and most respectable character, if they yield to intemperance, reduce themselves, for the time, to a level with the lowest and most profligate, and are liable to suffer accordingly. Pindar in his 3d, 4th, and 9th Pythian Odes, and 3d Nemean, describes the Centaur Chiron as a most paradoxical being, which yet, in the fourth Pythian, he has defined in two words, φὴρ θεῖος, a godlike wild beast. But even in Xenophon's time, it should seem, the term Centaur did not of itself discriminate the imaginary animal half-man and half-horse; for that author, wanting to particularize such animals, never calls them simply Centaurs, but always Hippocentaurs, Horse-centaurs. See Cyropæd. b. 4.

(1) Strab. l. 9. p. 439. (2) So. Herc. v. 184. (3) v. 268. (4) v. 743. (5) l. 21. v. 295.

impossible

impossible tales, which poets, and even some grave historians, have told of those famous adventurers; tho we are aware of the mixture of eastern tradition with early Grecian history, of the unavoidable confusion of chronology through a long course of oral delivery, and of the blending of events of distant countries and different ages, yet it seems unreasonable to discredit intirely the Argonautic expedition; which on the authority of antient writers, and with perfect consonance to probability and the character of the times, may be fairly related thus. Jason, a young man of high birth, high spirit, and superior bodily accomplishments, circumstances which excited a jealousy that made his situation uneasy at home, was ambitious of conducting a pirating expedition, then an honorable undertaking, to a greater distance than any had ventured before him. With the assistance of the wealth and power of his uncle, who was prince of the district, and of the skill of a Phenician mechanic, he built a vessel larger than had hitherto been common among the Greeks. His own rank and character, together with the fame of his ship, induced young men of distinction from other parts of Greece to join in the adventure. They directed their course to Colchis, on the eastern coast of the Euxine sea; a country in some degree civilized; according to Herodotus, by an Egyptian colony, and abounding in mines of gold, silver and iron. They encountered many difficulties, and suffered some loss; and their success upon the whole appears doubtful; but, in one great object of the ambition of the age, their chief at least was gratified: the princess Medeia, daughter of the king of the country, went off with him and passed into Greece. It was a practice of the Colchians, as we are told by Strabo and Arrian, to collect gold on mount Caucasus, by extending fleeces across the beds of the torrents: as the water passed, the metallic particles remained intangled in the wool. Hence, according to those informed and judicious writers, the adventure was named the expedition of the golden fleece.

Pind. Pyth. 4. Diod. l. 4. c. 41. Justin. l 42. c. 2.

B. C. 937. N. 1263. B.

Herodot. l. 2. c. 104. Strab. l. 1. p. 45.

Strab. l. 11. p. 499. Arrian de Bell Mithridat.

BŒOTIA was under natural circumstances yet more extraordinary than Thessaly. It is a vale, full of subterranean caverns, and peculiarly subject to earthquakes. The surrounding mountains pour in their streams on all sides, forming rivers and lakes, without any such

Strab. l. 9. p. 406.

advantageous

advantageous and permanent outlet as the valley of Tempë gives to the waters of Thessaly. By the concussions of the earth watercourses were stopped, and the stream found a new channel, sometimes underground: even lakes were laid dry and new lakes formed, and, with the cultivated country, towns were overwhelmed by the waters. The flood of Ogyges was probably an inundation in this country, unusually destructive, which drove all the inhabitants, that escaped with life, to seek safety in the adjoining hilly province of Attica. The flood of Deucalion was a calamity of the same kind in Thessaly, or, according to Aristotle, rather in the western provinces about Dodona and the river Acheloüs. Indeed the same season might produce similar consequences in both; and the ignorance of aftertimes, confounding the traditions of these inundations with the imperfect reports remaining concerning the general deluge, produced that field for fable and poetical invention, of which Grecian ingenuity has made such ample use.

Aristot. Meteorolog. l. 1. c. 14.

These natural calamities, to which Bœotia was so liable, were not sufficient to induce the inhabitants finally to desert a country of such fertility, or to deter adventurers from endeavoring to establish themselves there. Cadmus, leading a colony, immediately from Phœnicia, but originally, according to the supposition of many, from Egypt, is said to have founded the celebrated city of Thebes. It appears indeed that, in process of ages, Bœotia, as well as Thessaly, became less subject to those desolating inundations. A principal relief was derived, according to Strabo, from the accidental forming of a subterranean opening, by which the river Cephisus, and the overflowings of the lake Copaïs, formerly destitute of any known vent, were discharged into the sea. No part of Greece was more fruitful in matter for fable and poetry than Thebes. The stories of Cadmus himself, of Semelë, Bacchus, Antiopë, Zethus, Amphion, Amphitryon, Alcmena, Hercules, Laius, Jocasta, Œdipus, Eteocles, Polynices, may be red with pleasure and advantage in the works of the Greek and Latin poets, but scarcely elsewhere. From those stories, however, we may collect that Thebes was, in that remote age, one of the most florishing and powerful cities

B.C. 1045. N. 1493. B.

Strab. l. 9. p. 401. Isocrat. Helen. encom.

of

of Greece[21]. The war which it sustained against the seven chiefs, authenticated to us by Hesiod and Homer, and made illustrious by the tragedy of Æschylus, and the epic poem of Statius, is the first instance of a league among Grecian princes, and of anything approaching to regular war. B. C. 928. N. 1225. B. Hes. Op. & Di. l. 1. v. 160. Il. l. 4. v. 377. l. 6. 5. 223. & l. 14. v. 114. Odyss. l. 15. v. 247. Iliad, l. 2. v. 641.

The ÆTOLIANS were, in these early times, not inferior to their neighbors, in civilization, or in consequence among the Grecian people. Poetry has immortalized their heroes Tydeus, Meleager, and others. Homer adverts in two lines, strongly marked by that power, which he singularly possessed, of expressing the deepest pathetic in the simplest terms, to the catastrophe of the family of Œneus, king of the country, as to a story well known among his cotemporaries. Thoas, commander of the Ætolian troops at the siege of Troy, is represented, not only as a leader of general merit, but for his eloquence remarkable. Their towns, Calydon and Pleuron, were among the principal of Greece. Hereafter we shall find great inferiority in the comparative progress of the Ætolians. The adjoining people of Acarnania, alone of all the Greeks, had not the honor of partaking in the Trojan war; and, for some centuries after that event, these western provinces had little communication with the rest of Greece. Phocis, Doris, and Locris, are also without objects of history; but Attica, were it only for its subsequent fame, will demand some notice of its early traditions. Il. l. 15. v. 284. Strab. l. 8. p. 450.

OGYGES has had the reputation of being the first king of ATTICA; and chronologers have undertaken even to fix the time of his reign. It is set by some above two hundred, and by the most moderate a hundred and fifty years before the next event, and even before the next name of a man recorded in Attic history. But we have no assurance that even the name of Ogyges was known to the older Grecian authors[22]. If anything can be gathered from the traditions Blair's Tables, and Chronol. Table in Hist. of Greece by Cousin Despreaux.

[21] ——— Τὰ μέγις' ἐτιμάσθης,
Ταῖς μεγάλαισιν ἐν Θήβαις ἀνάσσων.
Sophoc. Oedip. Tyr. v. 1126.

[22] Ogyges, I believe, is not mentioned by Hesiod, Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, or even Strabo; to all of whom, apparently, he must have occurred as an object of mention, had his story been at all known in their times, or at least, had it had any credit.

concerning such a personage, reported by later writers of best authority, it is that, at some period too far beyond connected history for any calculation of its date, a flood, desolating the rich fields of Bœotia over which he reigned, drove many of the inhabitants to establish themselves in the adjoining country of Attica; hilly, rocky, and little fruitful; yet preferable to the mountainous tracts every other way surrounding their former settlements. Both Strabo and Pausanias mention a tradition, that antiently there had been towns in Bœotia called Athens and Eleusis, which had been overwhelmed by a deluge. But in the very early ages we find the same names given to various places, often widely distant; a circumstance probably owing to the frequency and extent of migration, while the variety of language over the world was little. Thus, beside the Bœotian Thebes and the vast capital of Upper Egypt, there were towns of the same name in Pamphylia, in Mysia, and in Thessaly: the name of Larissa was yet more common through Greece and Asia Minor; and, beside the Argos in Peloponnesus, there was an Argos in Thessaly, another in Acarnania, and a fourth in Italy. Strabo says that Bœotia was antiently called Ogygia[23]. From the time of Euripides at least to that of Pausanias, one of the gates of Thebes in Bœotia was called the Ogygian gate, and Sophocles calls the city Ogygian Thebes: but the early Æschylus gives the epithet Ogygian to Thebes on the Nile; whence it seems most likely that Egypt was its original country.

Strab. l. 9. p. 407. Pausan. l. 9. c. 24.

Strab. l. 9. p. 440.

Eurip. Phœn. v. 1130. Pausan. l. 9. c. 8. Soph. Oed. Col. v. 1853. Æschyl. Pers. v. 39.

With Ogyges, however, even rumor of events in Attica ceases, till Cecrops became prince of the province; leading thither, according to the most received and probable accounts, a colony from Egypt. According to every account, he found the natives a wild and ignorant people; a circumstance far from adverse to his purpose of forming a settlement. The country also, tho not offering the most alluring prospect to the vulgar covetousness of the age, was yet, to the more

B.C. 1080. N. 1556. B.

[23] He adds, that it was then under the government of Cecrops. It is certainly a probable conjecture of the learned Mr. Bryant, that the oriental manner of expression, by which a name in the singular signified a people, as Israel often meant the whole people descended from the patriarch Israel, may have led to much confusion in Grecian tradition. The name Cecrops, Cranaus, Cadmus, and others, open wide fields for conjecture, in which, however, it were little proper for the historian to expatiate.

informed

informed and penetrating eye, far from uninviting. On the verge of a plain, watered by two small streams, a haven presented itself, commodious for the vessels of the time. Between the streams, near their junction, about three miles from the shore and five from the haven, a rock, rising nearly perpendicular on all sides, had every advantage for a fortified post. Precisely this union of circumstances was what the early Greeks most desired for the situation of a city. Such was that of Argos, with its citadel Larissa and port of Nauplia, Corinth, with the Acrocorinthus and port of Lechæum, and many others; and Edinborough, with its castle-rock and its port of Leith, affords a perfect exemplification of it. Mountains, but not of that formidable height common through Greece, at some distance surrounded the plain; which, tho not of the first fertility, appeared yet not adverse to cultivation. Cecrops occupied the rock, and, how far by force, how far by persuasion, we are not informed, he extended his dominion over the whole tract afterward called Attica. He divided this territory into twelve districts, with a principal town, or rather perhaps village, in each, where he caused justice to be administered according to some salutary laws which he established; and he taught his subjects a more regular and effectual mode of defence against the incursions of the Bœotians, their only neighbours, from which even their poverty did not exempt them; for in all times neighbor and enemy have, in the language of politics, been nearly synonymous. The fortress, which he made his residence, was from his own name called Cecropia, and was peculiarly recommended to the patronage of the Egyptian goddess, whom the Greeks worshipped by the name of Athena, and the Latins of Minerva. Many, induced by the neighborhood of the port, and expecting security both from the fortress and from its tutelary deity, erected their habitations around the foot of the rock; and thus arose early a considerable town which, from the name of the goddess, was called Athenai, or, as we after the French have corrupted it, ATHENS.

Strab. l. 9. p. 397. Plutarch. Thes.

This account of the rise of Athens, and of the origin of its government, tho possibly a village, and even a fortress, may have existed there before Cecrops, is supported by a more general concurrence of traditionary testimony, and more complete consonancy to the rest of

history, than is often found for that remote age[24]. The subsequent Attic annals are far less satisfactory. Strabo declines the endeavor to reconcile their inconsistencies; and Plutarch gives a strong picture of the uncertainties and voids which occurred to him in attempting to form a history from them. 'As geographers,' he says, 'in the outer 'parts of their maps, distinguish those countries which lie beyond 'their knowlege with such remarks as these, All here is dry and desert 'sand, or marsh darkened with perpetual fog, or Scythian cold or 'frozen sea; so of the earliest history we may say, All here is mon-'strous and tragical land, occupied only by poets and fabulists.' If this apology was necessary, even from Plutarch, for such an account as could in his time be collected of the life of Theseus, none can now be wanting for omitting all disquisition concerning the four or seven kings, for even their number is not ascertained, who are said to have

Strab. l. 9. p. 392.

[24] In an ingenious dissertation on Grecian mythology, by Dr. S. Musgrave, it has been endeavored to prove that Cecrops was a native Greek, and that the religion of Athens was not derived from Egypt. Other works, however, of deeper inquiry, abundantly support the contrary position; particularly Blackwell's Life of Homer, Monboddo on Language, Bryant's Antient Mythology (1), Pownall on the Study of Antiquities, and Recherches sur l'Origine & les Progrès des Arts de la Gréce. That the Athenians were a mixed people, we learn not only from many passages of Herodotus, scarcely to be questioned, but also from the direct testimony of Thucydides, which must be esteemed unquestionable. The early communication between Greece and Egypt is also established beyond contradiction; and that this intercourse operated powerfully upon Grecian religion is not reasonably to be doubted. Herodotus expressly mentions not only the belief of gods, but the practice of religious ceremonies imported from Egypt into Greece, and in his time performed in the same manner in both countries (2). We may easily conceive Attic vanity, in later times, hurt by the idea that the founder of Athens was an Egyptian, and that even their tutelary deity, whom the Athenians were fond of esteeming their peculiar protectress, was borrowed. Both facts militated with their title of Autochthones, which, in the decline of their glory, comparing themselves with the numerous Grecian states of later fame, and colonies of known date, the flattery of their orators taught them vainly to assume. But Thucydides, if he had any respect for that title, had certainly no faith in it; and when Herodotus, Plato, Strabo, and Diodorus, who all travelled into Egypt purposely to inform themselves upon such subjects, agree in representing the Athenian Minerva as the same goddess peculiarly worshipped at Saïs in Egypt, it does not appear what can authorize a modern to controvert it. Ἀθηναῖοι δ' ὥσπερ περὶ τα ἄλλα φιλοξενοῦνλες διατελοῦσιν, οὑτω καὶ περὶ τους θεους· πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν ξενικῶν ἱερῶν παρεδέξαντο. Strab. l. 10. p. 471.

(1) See particularly vol. 1. p. 183.

(2) Herod. l. 2. c. 171.

governed

governed Attica from Cecrops to Ægeus, father of that hero. The name of Amphictyon indeed, whose name we find in the list, excites a reasonable curiosity: but as it is not in his government of Athens that he is particularly an object of history, farther mention of him may occur more advantageously hereafter.

Various, uncertain, and imperfect then as the accounts were which passed to posterity concerning the early Attic princes, we are yet assured by Thucydides, that Attica was the province of Greece in which population first became settled, and where the earliest progress was made toward civilization. Being nearly peninsular, it lay out of the road of emigrants and wandering freebooters by land; and its rocky soil, supporting few cattle, afforded small temptation to either. The produce of tillage was of less easy removal, and the gains of commerce were secured within fortifications. Attica therefore grew populous, not only through the safety which the natives thus injoyed, but by a confluence of strangers from other parts of Greece: for when either forein invasion or intestine broil occasioned anywhere the necessity of emigration, the principal people commonly resorted to Athens, as the only place of permanent security, and where strangers of character, able by their wealth or their ingenuity to support themselves and benefit the community, were easily admitted to the privilege of citizens.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 2.

Thucyd. ib.

But, as population increased, the simple forms of government and jurisprudence established by Cecrops were no longer equal to their purpose. Civil wars arose: the country was invaded by sea: Erechtheus, called by later authors Erichthonius, and by the poets styled Son of the Earth, acquired the sovereinty, bringing, according to some not improbable reports, a second colony from Egypt[25]. Eumolpus, with

Thucyd. l. 2. c. 15. Iliad, l. 2. v. 158. Isocr. Panath. p. 510. & 561. Diod. l. 1. c. 29.

[25] It is clear, as Sir Isaac Newton has observed, that Homer describes (1) under the name of Erechtheus, the same prince whom the chronologers, and even Pausanias, would distinguish from Erechtheus by the name of Erichthonius. The name of Erichthonius, as an Athenian, is mentioned by Plato (2); but with no more authority for inserting it in the list of Athenian kings, than the name of Erisichthon, which occurs in the same passage. On the contrary, as Newton has farther justly observed (3), Plato himself has called that prince Erechtheus, whom later writers call Erichthonius.

(1) Iliad. l. 2. v. 547. (2) Critias. p. 110. t. 3. ed. Serran. (3) Chronol. p. 144.

Isocrates

B.C.1035. N. 1487. B. with a body of Thracians, about the same time established himself in Eleusis. When, a generation or two later, Ægeus, cotemporary with Minos, succeeded his father Pandion in the throne, the country seems to have been well peopled, but the government ill constituted and weak. Concerning this prince, however, and his immediate successor, tradition is more ample; and, tho abundantly mixed with fable, yet in many instances apparently more authentic than concerning any other persons of their remote age. Plutarch has thought a history of Theseus, son of Ægeus, not unfit to hold a place among his parallel lives of the great men of Greece and Rome; and we find his account warranted, in many points, by strong corresponding testimony from other antient authors of various ages. The period also is so important in the annals of Attica, and the accounts remaining altogether go so far to illustrate the manners and circumstances of the times, that it may be proper to allow them some scope in narration.

Lycurg. con. Leocr. p. 201. t. 4. Or. Gr. Reiske. Strab. l. 7. p. 321. Pausan. l. 1. c. 38. B. C. 994. N. 1283. B.

Ægeus, king of Athens, tho an able and spirited prince, yet, in the divided and disorderly state of his country, with difficulty maintained his situation. When past the prime of life he had the misfortune to remain childless, tho twice married; and a faction headed by his apparent heirs, the numerous sons of Pallas his younger brother, gave him unceasing disturbance. Thus urged, he went to Delphi to implore information from the oracle how the blessing of children might be obtained. Receiving an answer which, like most of the oracular responses, was unintelligible[26], his next concern was to find some person capable of explaining to him the will of the deity thus mysteriously declared. Among the many establishments which Pelops had procured for his family throughout Peloponnesus, was the small town

Plut. Thes.

Isocrates says that Erichthonius, son of Vulcan and the Earth, succeeded Cecrops, who died without male issue (4). Nor is there any appearance of the second Cecrops and the second Pandion being known to the earlier Grecian writers, or even to Trogus Pompeius, if we may trust his epitomizer (5). Pausanias indeed thought he had discovered authority for them, yet the very manner in which he relates the succession of Athenian kings shows that what he reports was before little known, and remained for him, in a very late age, to investigate.

[26] Ὥσπερ ὁ Λοξίας, οὐδὲν ἀποσαφεῖς. Lucian. vit. auct.

(4) Isocr. Panathen. p. 510.

(5) Justin. l. 2. c. 6.

and

and territory of Trœzen, on the coast opposite to Athens, which he put under the government of his son Pittheus. To this prince Ægeus applied. He was not only in his own age eminent for wisdom, but his reputation remained even in the most florishing period of Grecian philosophy; yet so little was he superior to the ridiculous, and often detestable superstition of his time, that, in consequence of some fancied meaning in the oracle, which even the superstitious Plutarch confesses himself unable to comprehend, he introduced his own daughter Æthra to an illicit commerce with Ægeus.

Before Cecrops, if we may believe traditions received in the polished ages, the people of Attica were in knowlege and civilization below the wildest savages discovered in modern times. The most necessary arts, and the most indispensable regulations of society, were unknown to them. Marriage was introduced by Cecrops: the culture of corn is said to have been of later date. But the colonies from Egypt, Phenicia, and Thrace quickly made the Atticans a new people. At a period far beyond connected history we find all the principal oriental tenets and maxims of society firmly established among them. Marriage was held highly sacred[27]; virginity in mysterious respect; infidelity in a wife deeply disgraceful; but concubinage for the husband as lawful as it was common; bastardy little or no stain upon children; and polygamy, apparently, and divorces were equally unknown. Ægeus had a wife living at the time of his visit to Pittheus; and marriage seems, on that occasion, to have been intended by no party. Æthra, however, proved shortly pregnant; while the affairs of Attica, in the utmost confusion, required the immediate return of Ægeus. His departure from Trœzen is marked by an action which, to persons accustomed to consider modern manners only, may appear unfit to be related but in a fable, yet is so consonant to the manners of the times, and so characteristical of them, as to demand the notice of the historian. He led Æthra to a sequestered spot, where was a small cavity in a rock.

Justin. l. 2. c. 6.

Plutarch. Thes. Pausan. l. 1. c. 27.

[27] Ἐυνὴ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ μοιρσίμη,
Ὅρκου τε μείζων τῆ δίκῃ φρουρουμένη:—A declaration which Æschylus puts into the mouth of Apollo himself. Æschyl. Eumen. p. 279. ed. H. Steph.

Depositing

Depositing there a hunting-knife[28] and a pair of sandals, he covered them with a marble fragment of enormous weight; and then addressing Æthra, 'If,' said he, 'the child you now bear should prove a boy, let 'the removal of this stone be one day the proof of his strength; when 'he can effect it, send him with the tokens underneath to Athens.'

Pittheus, well knowing the genius and the degree of information of his subjects and fellowcountrymen, thought it not too gross an imposition to report that his daughter was pregnant by the god Poseidon, or, as we usually call him, with the Latins, Neptune, the tutelary deity of the Trœzenians. A similar expedient seems indeed to have been often successfully used to cover the disgrace which, even in those days, would otherwise attend such irregular amours in a lady of high rank, tho women of lower degree appear to have derived no dishonor from concubinage with their superiors. Theseus was the produce of the singular connection of Æthra with Ægeus. He was carefully educated under the inspection of his grandfather, and gave early proofs of uncommon vigor both of body and mind. When he had attained manhood, his mother, in pursuance of the injunction of Ægeus, unfolding to him the reality of his parentage, conducted him to the rock where his father's tokens were deposited. He removed the stone which covered them, with a facility sufficiently indicating that superior bodily strength, so necessary, in those days, to support the pretensions of high birth; and, thus incouraged, she recommended to him to carry them to Ægeus at Athens. This proposal perfectly suited the temper and inclination of Theseus; but when he was farther advised to go by sea, on account of the shortness and safety of the passage, piracy being about this time suppressed by the naval power of Minos king of Crete, he positively refused.

[28] The Greeks of the heroic age usually carried two weapons of the sword kind, one called ξίφος, the other μάχαιρα, very different one from the other, but commonly both rendered in English by the word SWORD. The Xiphos was a large broad-sword; the Machaira was but a large knife, and used for the purpose of a knife equally and a weapon. Plutarch, who is not always solicitous about accuracy, in describing the depositing of the weapon by Ægeus, calls it the Xiphos: the story which he afterward relates induces the necessity that it should become the Machaira. For authority for the distinction Homer's Iliad may be seen, b. 3. v. 271. b. 11. v. 843. and b. 19. v. 252.

The journey by land was more than four times longer, and highly dangerous. That age, says Plutarch, produced men of extraordinary dexterity, of extreme swiftness, of unwearied strength; who used those natural advantages for no good purpose, but placed their injoyment in the commission of insult, outrage, and cruelty; esteeming the commendations bestowed upon modesty, righteousness, justice, and benevolence, as proceeding from fear to injure, or dread of receiving injury, and little becoming the powerful and the bold. Strange as these principles may appear, we find them reported by Plato as not obsolete in his time, but on the contrary held by many, and even maintained in disputation. The picture indeed seems that of all countries, where, with a competency of inhabitants, a regular and vigorous government is wanting. Five centuries ago, it would have suited England, France, and all western Europe. It agrees so perfectly with all the accounts remaining of early Greece, and particularly those of Homer, whose testimony is unquestionable, and of Thucydides, the most authoritative of any following writer, that we may hence conclude the poetical stories of the golden age, and the reign of Saturn, were not originally Grecian, but derived from the East[29]. It remained for the idle learned, of refined and luxurious times, to imagine that the savage state is most favorable to general virtue among men. The idea began to get vigor in the Augustan age: Horace and Virgil found it advantageous for poetry: it was buried under the ruins of the Roman empire, and seems not to have florished again till some time after the revival of learning in Europe; where, in our western parts, the turbulence of barbarism produced consequences remarkably similar to what had been antiently experienced in Greece[30]. It is amid anarchy and desolation that great virtues,

Plat. de Rep. l. 2. p. 364. & seq. t. 2.

[29] Hesiod's brazen age (1) so exactly corresponds with Plutarch's account of the age of Theseus, that it seems evidently a description of the same times in the same country. But if the mythological passages with which it is connected should appear to any to lessen its authority, Homer will abundantly make good the deficiency: a passage in the 18th book of the Odyssee, v. 139, is particularly to the purpose.

[30] The Gothic yet learned and elegant Muse of Spenser, preferring the real to the imaginary picture, has thus described the antient state of our iland.

(1) Op. & Di. l. 1. v. 142.

virtues, as well as great vices, have the strongest incentives to exertion, and the most frequent opportunities of becoming conspicuous. While governments were unable to repress outrages, individuals generously undertook the glorious task. Afterward societies were formed for the purpose. Thus arose the Italian republics, the free cities of Germany, and the corporations throughout Europe; and by the same necessity the several towns of Greece were driven to form themselves into independent states. Through the greatest part of modern Europe, the feudal subordination had efficacy enough to keep the otherwise disjointed members of the several great kingdoms united under one head; till the progress of civilization and science inabled legislation to form of the whole one harmonized and vigorous body. In Greece, such a bond of union failing, every town sought absolute independency as essential to freedom and equal government. In modern Italy also, which, in some

Robertson's Introd. to the Hist. of Charles the Fifth.

The land which warlike Britons now possess,
And therein have their mighty empire rais'd,
In antique times was salvage wilderness.

Ne did it then deserve a name to have;
Till that the venturous mariner, that way,
Learning his ship from those white rocks to save,
Which all along the southern seacoast lay,
Threatening unheedy wreck and rash decay,
For safety sake that same his seamark made,
And named it Albion. But later day,
Finding in it fit ports for fisher's trade,
Gan more the same frequent, and farther to invade.

But far inland a salvage nation dwelt,
Of hideous giants and half-beastly men,
That never tasted grace, nor goodness felt;
But, like wild beasts, lurking in loathsome den,
And flying fast as roebuck through the fen,
All naked, without shame or care of cold,
By hunting and by spoiling lived then;
Of stature huge, and eke of courage bold,
That sons of men amazed their sternness to behold.

They held this land ———
Until that Brutus, antiently derived
From royal stock of old Assarac's line,
Driven by fatal error, here arrived,
And them of their unjust possession deprived.

Faery Queen, b. 2. cant. 10. st. 5. to 9.

material

material circumstances of the feudal connection, differed from the rest of Europe, independency was ardently desired by the commonwealths, and they attained it. The age of Theseus was the great era of those heroes, to whom the knights errant of the Gothic kingdoms afterward bore a close resemblance. Hercules was his near relation. The actions of that extraordinary personage had been for some years the subject of universal conversation, and were both an incentive and a direction to young Theseus in the road to fame. After having destroyed the most powerful and atrocious freeboters throughout Greece, Hercules was, according to Plutarch, gone into Asia; and those disturbers of civil order, whom his irresistible might and severe justice had driven to conceal themselves, took advantage of his absence to renew their violences. Being not obscure and vagabond thieves, but powerful chieftains, who openly defied law and government, the dangers to be expected from them were well known at Trœzen. Theseus, however, persevered in his resolution to go by land: alledging that it would be shameful, if, while Hercules was traversing earth and sea to repress the common disturbers of mankind, he should avoid those at his door; disgracing his reputed father by an ignominious flight over his own element, and carrying to his real father, for tokens, a bloodless weapon, and sandals untrodden, instead of giving proofs of his high birth by actions worthy of it.

Plut. vit. Thes.

Plut. vit. Thes. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 5.

Thus determined, he began his journey, with what attendants we are not informed. He had not, however, proceeded far, before he had occasion to exercise his valor. Periphetes was a chief of the Epidaurian mountains, famous for his robberies. Attacking Theseus, he fell by his hand. The Corinthian isthmus was a spot particularly favorable to the purpose of freebooters. Simmis, who had his station there, also attacked Theseus, and was slain. The neighbourhood of Crommyon, on the isthmus, was infested by a wild sow of enormous size and uncommon fierceness; or, as some have reported, by a female leader of robbers, whose gross manners procured her the appellation of sow. The name Phæa, attributed to her by both, seems to favor the latter opinion. Whatever the pest was, Theseus has the credit of having delivered the country from it. Proceeding in his journey along the

Strab. l. 9. p. 391. Diod. l. 4. c. 61. Plutarch. Thes. Pausan. l. 1. c. 44. l. 2. c. 1.

mountainous coast of the Saronic gulph, he still found every fastness occupied by men, who, like many of the old barons of the western European kingdoms, gave protection to their dependents, and disturbance to all beside within their reach, making booty of whatever they could master. His valor, however, and his good fortune procured him the advantage in every contest, and carried him safe through all dangers, tho he found nothing friendly till he arrived on the bank of the river Cephisus, in the middle of Attica. There he met some people of the country, who saluted him in the usual terms of friendship to strangers. Judging himself then past the perils of his journey, he requested to have the accustomed ceremony of purification from blood performed upon him, that he might with propriety join in sacrifices and other religious rites. The courteous Atticans readily complied, and afterward entertained him at their houses. An antient altar commemorating this meeting, and dedicated to Jupiter, with the epithet of Meilichius, the friendly or kind, remained to the time of Pausanias [31].

Pausan. l. 1. c. 37. Plutarch. Thes.

When Theseus arrived at Athens, Ægeus, already approaching dotage, was governed by the Colchian princess Medeia, so famous in poetry, who, in her flight from Corinth, had prevailed on him to afford her protection. At the instigation of that abandoned woman, Theseus, as an illustrious but dangerous stranger, was invited to a feast, where it was proposed to poison him; but on drawing his hunting-knife, as it seems was usual, to carve the meat before him, he was recognized by Ægeus. The old king, embracing his son, acknowleged him before the company, and summoning an assembly of the people, presented Theseus as their prince. The heroic youth, the fame of whose exploits, so suited to acquire popularity in that age, had already prepossessed the people in his favor, was received with warm tokens of general satisfaction. But the party of the sons of Pallas was powerful: their disappointment was equally great and unexpected; and no hope remaining to accomplish their wishes by other means, they withdrew from the city, collected their adherents, and returned

[31] Pausanias travelled through Greece in the reign of Antoninus Pius, who succeeded to the Roman empire in the year after Christ 151.

in

in arms. The tide of popular inclination, however, now ran so violently toward Theseus, that some even of their confidents were drawn away with it. A design which they had formed to surprize the city was discovered to their adversaries; part of their troops were in consequence cut off; the rest dispersed, and the faction was completely quelled.

Quiet being thus restored to Athens, Theseus sought every opportunity to increase the popularity he had acquired. Military fame was the mean to which his active spirit chiefly inclined him; but, as the state had now no enemies, he exercised his valor in the destruction of wild beasts, and added not a little to his reputation by delivering the country from a savage bull, which had done great mischief in the neighbourhood of Marathon. Report went, congenial to the superstition of the age, that this furious animal was the minister of vengeance of the god Neptune against the people of Attica. Theseus took him alive, and, after leading him in procession through the city, sacrificed him to Minerva[32]. If these anecdotes were no otherwise worthy of notice, they tend at least to characterize the times, and to mark the circumstances which gave that great estimation to bodily ability and personal courage. But there seems another view in which they are not wholly undeserving attention. In this age, and particularly in this country, where happily wild beasts dangerous to man are strangers, we are apt to look upon stories of destructive bulls and boars as ridiculous fables. Yet the testimony which Herodotus gives to the authenticity of them, in the first book of his history, must be allowed a very strong one. He tells us that, not long before the age in which himself lived, the Mysians, then subjects of Crœsus, king of Lydia, sent a formal deputation to their monarch to request his assistance against a monstrous boar, which made great ravages in their fields; and, in their several attempts to destroy him, had done them mischief but received none. How far indeed boars were terrible animals, we may judge from a passage in Hesiod's Shield of Hercules, where they

Isocrat. Helen. encom. Diod. l. 4. c. 61. Plutarch. Thes. Pausan. l. 1. c. 27.

[32] Diodorus says, to Apollo, and he is followed by Plutarch. It is of little consequence upon this occasion; only it may be observed that Pausanias is generally better authority than either; more accurate than Plutarch, and more judicious than Diodorus.

are

are described fighting with lions, and nearly equal in the combat. But fire-arms give us, in these times, a superiority over the brute creation, which men in the early ages were far from possessing. To this day, when a tiger shows himself about the villages of the unwarlike inhabitants of India, they apply to Europeans, if any are near, for assistance, as against an enemy which themselves are unable to cope with.

Plutarch. Thes. Plat. de Leg. l. 4. p. 706. t. 2. ed. Serran. Isocrat. Helen. encom. Pausan. l. 1. c. 27.

An opportunity, however, soon offered for Theseus to do his country more essential service, and to acquire more illustrious fame. The Athenians, in a war with Minos, king of Crete, had been reduced to purchase peace of that powerful monarch by a yearly tribute of seven youths and as many virgins. Coined money was not common till some centuries after his age; and slaves and cattle were not only the principal riches, but the most commodious and usual standards by which the value of other things was determined. A tribute of slaves, therefore, was perhaps the most convenient that Minos could impose; Attica maintaining few cattle, and those being less easily transported. The burthen was, however, borne with much uneasiness by the Athenians; and the return of the Cretan ship at the usual time to demand the tribute, excited fresh and loud murmurs against the government of Ægeus. Theseus took an extraordinary step, but perfectly suited to the heroïc character which he affected, for appeasing the popular discontent. The tributary youths and virgins had been hitherto drawn by lot from the body of the people. He voluntarily offered himself as one of them. Report went that those unfortunate victims were thrown into the famous labyrinth built by Dædalus, and there devoured by the Minotaur, a monster, half-man and half-bull. This fable was probably no invention of the poets who embellished it in more polished ages: it may have been devised at the very time we are treating of, and even have found credit among a people of an imagination so lively, and a judgement so uninformed, as were then the Athenians. The offer of Theseus, therefore, really magnanimous, appeared thus an unparalleled effort of patriotic heroïsm. Antient writers, who have endeavored to investigate truth among the intricacies of fabulous tradition, tell us that the labyrinth was a fortress, where prisoners were

usually kept, and that a Cretan general, its governor, named Taurus, which in Greek signifies a bull, gave rise to the fiction of the Minotaur. There appears, however, sufficient testimony that Theseus was received by Minos more agreeably to the character of a great and generous prince, than of a tyrant who gave his captives to be devoured by monsters. But during this the florishing age of Crete, letters were, if at all known, little used in Greece. In aftertimes, when the Atheniaus bore the sway in litterature, their tragedians, flattering vulgar prejudices, exhibited Minos in odious colors; and through the popularity of their ingenious works, their calumnious misrepresentations, as Plutarch has observed, overbore the eulogies of the elder poets, even of Hesiod and Homer. Thus the particulars of the adventures of Theseus in Crete, and of his return to Athens have been so disguised, that even to guess at the truth is difficult. For these early ages Homer is our best guide; but he has mixed mythology with his short notice of the adventure of Theseus in Crete. A rational interpretation nevertheless is obvious. Minos, surprized probably at the arrival of the Athenian prince among the tributary slaves, received him honorably, became partial to his merit, and, after some experience of it, gave him his daughter Ariadnë in marriage. In the voyage to Athens, the princess was taken with sudden sickness; and, being landed in the iland of Naxos, where Bacchus was esteemed the tutelary deity, she died there. If we add the supposition that Theseus, eager to communicate the news of his extraordinary success, proceeded on his voyage while the princess was yet living, no farther foundation would be wanting for the fables which have made these names so familiar. What alone we learn with any certainty from Athenian tradition is, that Theseus freed his country from farther payment of the ignominious and cruel tribute.

Plutarch. Thes.

Plat. Minos.

Odyss. l. 9. v. 520.

This atchievement, by whatsoever means effected, was so bold in the undertaking, so complete in the success, so important and so interesting in the consequences, that it deservedly raised Theseus to the highest popularity among the Athenians. Sacrifices and processions were instituted in honor of it, and were continued while the Pagan religion had existence in Athens. The vessel in which he made his voyage

was

Plat. Phædon. p. 58. t. 1. ed. Serran.

was sent yearly in solemn pomp to the sacred iland of Delos, where rites of thanksgiving were performed to Apollo. Through the extreme veneration in which it was held it was so anxiously preserved, that in Plato's time it was said to be still the same vessel; tho at length its frequent repairs gave occasion to the dispute, which became famous among the sophists, whether it was or was not still the same. On his father's death the common voice supported his claim to the succession, and he showed himself not less capable of improving the state by his wisdom, than of defending it by his valor. The twelve districts into which Cecrops had divided Attica, were become so many independent commonwealths, with scarcely any bond of union but their acknowlegement of one chief, whose authority was not always sufficient to keep them from mutual hostilities. The inconveniencies of such a constitution were great and obvious, but the remedy full of difficulty. Theseus, however, undertook it, and effected that change which laid the foundation of the future glory of Athens, while it ranks him among the most illustrious patriots that adorn the annals of mankind. Going through every district, with that judicial authority which, in the early state of all monarchal governments, has been attached to the kingly office, and with those powers of persuasion which he is said largely to have possessed, he put an end to civil contest. He proposed then the abolition of all the independent magistracies, councils, and courts of justice, and the substitution of one common council of legislation, and one common system of judicature. The lower people readily came into his measures. The rich and powerful, who shared among them the independent magistracies, were more inclined to opposition. To satisfy these, therefore, he offered, with a disinterestedness of which history affords few examples, to give up much of his own power; and appropriating to himself only the cares and dangers of royalty, to share with his people authority, honor, wealth, all that is commonly most valued in it. Few were inclined to resist so equitable and generous a proposal: the most selfish and most obstinate dared not. Theseus therefore proceeded quietly to new-model the commonwealth.

Thucyd. l. 2. c. 15. Strab. l. 9. p. 397. Plutarch. Thes.

Thucyd. l. 2. c. 15. Xenoph. de Venat. c. 1. Isocrat. Helen. encom. Plutarch. Thes.

Isocr. Helen. encom. Plutarch. Thes.

Thucyd. l. 2. c. 15. Plutarch. Thes.

He began with the dissolution of all the independent councils and jurisdictions in the several towns and districts, and the removal of all

the

the more important civil business to Athens; where he built a council-hall and courts of justice, in the place (says Plutarch, who wrote about the beginning of the second century of the Christian era) where they now stand. This was the improvement of most obvious advantage: his next measure has at least the appearance of a deeper policy. Having observed that sense of weakness natural to all mankind, which induces them to look up to some superior being, known or unknown, for protection[33]; having remarked the effects, on the minds of his fellow-countrymen, of the various opinions held among them upon this universally interesting subject; having probably adverted particularly to their superstitious attachment to the imaginary deities esteemed peculiarly tutelar of the respective towns; he wisely judged that the civil union, so happily effected, would be incomplete, or at least unstable, if he did not cement it by an equal union in religious concerns. He wisely avoided, however, to shock rooted prejudices by any abolition of established religious ceremonies. Leaving those peculiar to each district as they stood, he instituted, or improved and laid open for all in common, one feast and sacrifice, in honor of the goddess Athena, or Minerva, for all the inhabitants of Attica. This feast he called Panathenæa, the feast of all the Athenians or people of Minerva; and thenceforward, apparently, all the inhabitants of Attica, esteeming themselves unitedly under the particular protection of that goddess, uniformly distinguished themselves by a name formed from hers: for they were before variously called, from their race, Ionians; from their country, Atticans; or from their princes, Cranaäns, Cecropians, or Erechtheids[34]. To this scheme of union, conceived with a depth of judgement,

B. C. 968. N. 1234. D.

Thucyd. l. 2. c. 15. Plutarch. Thes.

[33] ——Πάντες δὲ θεῶν χατέουσ' ἄνθρωποι. Odyss. l. 3. v. 48.

[34] Herodotus reports, that the original inhabitants of Attica were of the Pelasgian hord, and distinguished by the name of Cranaäns (1); that when Cecrops became prince of the country, his subjects were called, from his name, Cecropians; and that under the reign of Erechtheus the name of Athenians first obtained. But it has been generally held by later writers, that Cranaüs succeeded Cecrops in the throne of Attica; and that from him the people must have had the name of Cranaäns, as they afterward sometimes bore that of Erechtheids from Erechtheus. Hence the modern learned have supposed a fault in the copies of Herodotus, and have proposed ingenious

(1) Herodot. l. 8. c. 44.

Xenoph. de Venat. c. 1.

judgement, and executed with a moderation of temper, so little to be expected in that age, the Athenians may well be said to owe all their after greatness. Without it Attica, like Bœotia and other provinces, whose circumstances will come hereafter under notice, would probably have contained several little republics, united only in name; each too weak to preserve dignity, or even to secure independency to its separate government; and possessing nothing so much in common as occasions for perpetual disagreement.

Plutarch attributes to Theseus the honor of having been the first prince ever known to have resigned absolute power with the noble purpose to establish a free government. All early tradition, however, and even the narration of Plutarch himself, shows that the Attic monarchs, whatever they might arrogate, were far from possessing absolute power; and from the more accurate Strabo it appears, as indeed from every account of the Cretan constitution, that Minos has the fairer claim to preëminence in patriotic glory. It is emphatically said by Strabo, that the Cretan lawgiver seems to have proposed the liberty of the subject as the great object of his institutions; and much of the noble liberality of Theseus's system has probably been derived from the Cretan source. It may have been on better foundation asserted by Plutarch, that Theseus was the first Grecian lawgiver who established a distinction of ranks; tho even this is contradicted by Strabo, who says that Ion, son of Xuthus, had before divided the people of Attica nearly in the manner ascribed by Plutarch to Theseus. The age and actions of Ion are, however, of very uncertain historical evidence; and, except in Egypt, we are little assured of the existence of any such political arrangement before Theseus. Under that prince something of the kind became the more necessary, according to Plutarch, from the number of strangers who, in consequence of public incouragement, resorted to Athens, and, conformably to antient

Strab. l. 10. p. 480.

Strab. l. 8. p. 383.

Plutarch. Thes.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 2.

amendments (2). Perhaps, however, we had better leave the copies of Herodotus as we find them, and pay a little more attention to an expression of Strabo, where he is treating of the early history of Attica, Ὅτε δὴ τὴν Ατθίδα συγγράψαντες πολλὰ διαφωνοῦντες. Strab. l. 9. p. 392.

(2) See Wesseling's Herodotus, b. 7. c. 44. note 74, 75.

custom,

custom, were admitted to the rights of citizens. The whole commonwealth was therefore divided into three classes; nobility, husbandmen, and artificers. The executive and judicial powers, with the superintendency of religion, were appropriated to the former. A share in the legislature, extending to all, insured civil freedom to all; and no distinction prevailed, as in every other Grecian province, between the people of the capital and those of the inferior towns, but all were united, under the Athenian name, in the injoyment of every privilege of Athenian citizens. When his improvements were completed, Theseus, according to the policy which became usual for giving authority to great innovations and all uncommon undertakings, is said to have procured a declaration of divine approbation from the prophetical shrine of Delphi. Plutarch. Thes.

Thus the province of Attica, containing a triangular tract of land with two sides about fifty miles long, and the third forty [35], was molded into a well-united and well-regulated commonwealth, whose chief magistrate was yet hereditary, and retained the title of king. In consequence of so improved a state of things, the Athenians began, the first of all the Greeks, to acquire more civilized manners. Thucydides remarks that they were the first who dropped the practice, formerly general among the Greeks, of going constantly armed; and who introduced a civil dress in contradistinction to the military. This particularity, if not introduced by Theseus, appears to have been not less early, since it struck Homer, who marks the Athenians by the appellation of long-robed Ionians [36]. If we may credit Plutarch, Theseus coined money, which was certainly rare in Greece two centuries after. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 6.

The rest of the history of Theseus affords little worthy of notice. It is composed of a number of the wildest adventures, many of them consistent enough with the character of the times, but very little so

[35] Barthelemi makes Attica less; but Stuart's survey, in the third volume of his Antiquities of Athens, gives nearly the measures in the text.

[36] Ἰάονες ἑλκεχίτωνες. Iliad, l. 13. v. 685. We may wonder that the commentators on Homer, and particularly that Mr. Wood should have been at any loss to apply this name IAONES; for the scholiast says that the Athenians are meant by it: he is supported by Strabo, b. 9. p. 392. and if there could be any doubt of their authority, it would be removed by the use which Æschylus has made of exactly the same name, calling Attica Ἰάονων γῆν. Pers. p. 133. ed. H. Steph.

with what is related of the former part of his life. It seems indeed as if historians had inverted the order of things; giving to his riper years the extravagance of his youth, after having attributed to his earliest manhood what the maturest age has seldom equalled. He is said to have lost, in the end, all favor and all authority among the Athenians, and, tho his institutions remained in vigor, to have died in exile. After him Menestheus, a person of the royal family, acquired the sovereinty, or at least the first magistracy with the title of king, and commanded the Athenian troops in the Trojan war.

Homer. Il. l. 2. v. 552.

SECTION IV.

Early People of Asia Minor and Thrace. Origin and Progress of the Trojan State. Licentious Manners of the early Ages. Early Hostilities between Greece and Asia. Expedition of Paris: Rape of Helen: League of the Grecian Princes: Sacrifice of Iphigeneia: Difficulties of the Greeks in the Trojan War: Troy taken: Return of the Greeks: Consequences of their absence: Assassination of Agamemnon. Credit due to Homer's historical Evidence. Resemblance of the Trojan War to Circumstances in modern History.

IT appears, from a strong concurrence of circumstances recorded by antient writers, that the early inhabitants of Asia Minor, Thrace, and Greece, were the same people. The Leleges, Caucones, and Pelasgians, enumerated by Homer among the Asiatic nations, are mentioned by Strabo as the principal names among those, whom at the same time he calls Barbarians, who in earliest times occupied Greece. Homer speaks of the Thracian Thamyris contending in song with the Muses in Peloponnesus. But the Muses themselves, according to Hesiod, were of Pieria, which, till it became incorporated with the Macedonian kingdom, was esteemed a Thracian province; and the whole Thracian people were, by some antient writers, included within the Ionian name; the general name, with all the orientals, for the Greek nation. Herodotus asserts that the antient hymns sung at the festival of Apollo at Delos, were

Iliad. l. 5. v. 429. Strab. l. 7. p. 321.

Iliad. l. 2. v. 595. & Strab. l. 8. p. 350. Hes. Op. & Di. v. 1.

Hesych. voc. Ἴωνες.

Herodot. l. 4. c. 35.

were composed by Olen, a Lycian; and Pausanias says that the hymns of Olen, the Lycian, were the oldest known to the Greeks, and that Olen, the Hyperborean, who seems to have been the same person, was the inventor of the Grecian hexameter verse. It seems a necessary inference that the language both of Thrace and of Lycia was Greek. The hymns of Thamyris and Orpheus were admired for singular sweetness even in Plato's time: and the Thracians Thamyris, or Thamyras, Orpheus, Musæus and Eumolpus, with the Lycian Olen, were the acknowleged fathers of Grecian poetry, the acknowleged reformers of Grecian manners; those who, according to Grecian accounts, began that polish in morals, manners, and language, which in after-ages characterized the Greek, and distinguished him from the barbarian[37]. Olympus, the father of Grecian music, whose compositions, which Plato calls divine, retained the highest reputation even in Plutarch's time, was a Phrygian[38]. In the Grecian mythology we find continual references to Asiatic and Thracian stories; and even in the heroic ages, which followed the mystic, the Greeks and Asiatics appear to have communicated as kindred people. Pelops, a fugitive Asiatic prince, acquired a kingdom by marriage in Peloponnesus; and Bellerophon, a prince of Corinth, in the same manner acquired the kingdom of Lycia, in Asia. Herodotus remarks that the Lydian laws and manners, even in his time, very nearly resembled the Grecian; and the Lycians and Pamphylians were so evidently of the same race with the Greeks, that he supposed them the descendants of emigrants from Crete, from Athens, and other parts of Greece. The inhabitants of Thrace are not distinguished by Homer for that peculiar barbarism which afterward characterized them: apparently they were upon a level nearly in civilization with the other people around the Ægean. But while Greece, protected by barrier mountains and almost-surrounding seas, had neither disturbance nor alarm but from the petty contentions of

Pausan. l. 1. c. 18. l. 5. c. 7. l. 9. c. 27. & l. 10. c. 5.

Plat. de Leg. l. 8. p. 829. t. 2. ed. Serran.

Iliad. l. 6. v. 152.

Herod. l. 1. c. 35. & 73. & 94. & l. 7. c. 91, & 92.

Strab. l. 14. p. 668.

Pausan. l. 7. c. 3.

[37] Ὀρφεὺς μὲν γὰρ τελετὰς δ' ἡμῖν κατέδειξε, φόνων τ' ἀπέχεσθαι.

Aristoph. Ranæ. v. 1064.

[38] ——— Μαρσύας καὶ Ὄλυμπος ὁ Φρύξ. Τούτων δὴ καὶ τὰ ἀυλήματα θειότατά ἐστι, καὶ μόνα κινεῖ,——καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν μόνα λοιπά ἐστιν ὡς θεῖα ὄντα. Plat. Minos. p. 318. t. 2. Ὄλυμπος ὁ Μαρσύου μαθήτης——ἀρχηγός τῆς Ελληνικῆς καὶ καλῆς μουσικῆς. Plutarch. de Music.

its

its own people, Thrace, bordering on a vast extent of continent, the prolific nourisher of the fiercest savages known in history, had other difficulties to combat. Probably among those general movements of nations, those many migrations and expulsions which, according to Strabo, followed the Trojan times, the hords of the northern wilds, pouring down in irresistible numbers from the snowy heights of Hæmus and Rhodopë, overwhelmed the civilized people of the coast; destroying many, driving some to seek securer settlements elsewhere, and reducing the rest by degrees to their own barbarism.

Strab. l. 12. p. 572.

ASIA MINOR, upon the whole less favorably circumstanced than Greece, was yet far more fortunately situated than Thrace; defended on three sides by seas, and on the fourth communicating by land with those countries whence all civilization came. But the western coast of Asia Minor is universally described as one of the most delicious countries in the world; remarkable for fruitfulness of soil, and particularly excelling Greece in softness of climate. The governments formed there, in the earliest times, mostly commanded a greater extent of territory than those of Greece; an advantage which they seem to have owed, not intirely to a higher degree of civilization in the people, but much to the extent of the Asiatic plains, less divided by mountains and seas into small portions with difficulty accessible from each other. But a country so happy by nature could not, without a polity very superior to what was then common, escape those miseries which the passions or the necessities of mankind were continually occasioning. The coast was nearly deserted; people civilized enough to cultivate the arts of peace withdrew from the ravages of piracy to inland tracts, less fertile and less favored by climate, but where, through the security injoyed, some considerable sovereinties appear to have arisen at a very remote period.

Pausan. l. 7. c. 5.

The first powerful settlement upon the coast, of which we are informed, was that of Troy; and the sketch which Homer has left us of the rise of this state, slight as it is and mingled with fable, is yet perhaps the clearest as well as the most genuine picture existing, of the progress of population and political society in their approach to

Europe[39]. The origin of Dardanus, founder of the Trojan state, has been very variously related; but we may best believe the testimony of Homer to the utter uncertainty of his birth and native country, delivered in the terms that he was the son of Jupiter[40]. Thus, however, it appears that the Greeks not unwillingly acknowleged consanguinity with the Trojans; for many, indeed most, of the Grecian heroes also claimed their descent from Jupiter. It is moreover remarkable that, among the many geneälogies which Homer has transmitted, none is traced so far into antiquity as that of the royal family of Troy. Dardanus was ancestor in the sixth degree to Hector, and may thus have lived from a hundred and fifty to two hundred years before that hero. On one of the many ridges projecting from the foot of the lofty mountain of Ida, in the north-western part of Asia Minor, he founded a town, or perhaps rather a castle, which, from his own name, was called Dardania. His situation commanded a narrow but highly fruitful plain, watered by the streams of Simois and Scamander, and stretching from the roots of Ida to the Hellespont northward, and the Ægean sea westward. His son Erichthonius, who succeeded him in the sovereinty of this territory, had the reputation of being the richest man of his age. Much of his wealth seems to have been derived from a large stock of brood mares, to the number, according to the poet, of three thousand, which the fertility of his soil inabled him to maintain, and which, by his care and judgement in the choice of stallions, produced a breed of horses superior to any of the surrounding countries. Tros, son of Erichthonius, probably extended, or in some other way improved the territory of Dardania; since the appellation by which it was known to posterity was derived from his name. With the riches the population of the state of course increased. Ilus, son of Tros, therefore ventured to move his residence from the mountain, and founded, on a rising ground beneath, that celebrated city

Iliad. l. 20. v. 215.

Iliad. l. 22. v. 216.

Strab. l. 13. p. 583, 584.

Plat. de Leg. l. 3. p. 682. Strab. l. 13. p. 593.

[39] Thus it appears Plato thought. See his third Dialogue on Legislation, p. 681. vol. 2.

[40] Homer seems to have known nothing of Teucer, who is said by Diodorus, and other later writers, to have been the founder of the Trojan state; in the sovereinty of which, according to them, he was succeeded by Dardanus, who married his daughter. Virgil has chosen to abide by Homer's account. Æn. l. 6. v. 650. & l. 8. v. 134.

which

which was called from his name Ilion, but which is more familiarly known in modern languages by the name of Troy, derived from his father. The temptation however to attack, was augmented in full proportion with the means to defend. Twice, before that war which Homer has made so famous, Troy is said to have been taken and plundered: and for its second capture, by Hercules, in the reign of Laomedon son of Ilus, we have Homer's authority. The government however revived, and still advanced in power and splendor. Laomedon, after his misfortune, fortified his city in a manner so superior to what was common in his age, that the walls of Troy were said to be a work of the gods. Under his son Priam the Trojan state was very florishing and of considerable extent; containing, under the name of Phrygia, the country afterward called Troäs, together with both shores of the Hellespont, and the large and fertile iland of Lesbos [41].

Iliad. l. 5. v. 640. & Pindar. Olymp. 8.

Iliad. l. 24. c. 544. Strab. l. 13.

A frequent communication, sometimes friendly, but oftener hostile, was maintained between the eastern and western coasts of the Ægeän sea: each was an object of piracy more than of commerce to the inhabitants of the opposite country. Cattle and slaves constituting the principal riches of the times, men, women, and children, together with swine, sheep, goats, oxen, and horses, were principal objects of plunder. But scarcely was any crime more common than rapes: and it seems to have been a kind of fashion, in consequence of which the leaders of piratical expeditions gratified their vanity in the highest degree, when they could carry off a lady of superior rank. How usual these outrages were among the Greeks, we may gather from the condition said to have been exacted by Tyndareus, king of Sparta, father of the celebrated Helen, from the chieftains who came to ask his daughter in marriage: he required of all, as a preliminary, to bind themselves by solemn oaths, that, should she be stolen, they would assist with their utmost power to recover her. This tradition, with many other stories of Grecian rapes, on whatsoever founded, indicates with certainty the opinion of the

[41] Strabo (1) distinguishes the Trojan country by the name of Hellespontine Phrygia. It was divided by Mysia from the large inland tract afterward called Phrygia, whose people are mentioned in Homer's Catalogue as allies of the Trojans coming from afar (2).

(1) b. v. 13. p. 363. (2) Iliad. l. 2. v. 862. Strab. l. 12. p. 564.

later

later Greeks, among whom they were popular, concerning the manners of their ancestors[42]. But it does not follow that the Greeks were more vicious than other people equally unhabituated to constant, vigorous, and well-regulated exertions of law and government. Equal licentiousness, but a few centuries ago, prevailed throughout western Europe. Hence those gloomy habitations of the antient nobility, which excite the wonder of the traveller, particularly in the southern parts; where, in the midst of the finest countries, he often finds them in situations so very inconvenient and uncomfortable, except for what was then the one great object, security, that now the houseless peasant will scarcely go to them for shelter[43]. From the licentiousness were derived the manners, and even the virtues of the times; and hence knight-errantry with its whimsical consequences.

Robertson's History of Charles V.

The expedition of Paris, son of Priam king of Troy, into Greece, appears to have been a maroding adventure, such as was then usual. We are told, indeed, that he was received very hospitably and entertained very kindly by Menelaüs, king of Sparta. But this also was consonant to the spirit of the times; for hospitality has always been the virtue of barbarous ages: it is at this day no less characteristical of the wild Arabs than their spirit of robbery; and we know that, in the Scottish Highlands, robbery and hospitality equally florished together till very lately. Hospitality, indeed, will be generally found to have florished, in different ages and countries, very nearly in proportion to the necessity for it; that is, in proportion to the deficiency of jurisprudence, and the weakness of government. Paris concluded his visit at Sparta with carrying off Helen, wife of Menelaüs, together with a considerable treasure: and whether this was effected by fraud, or, as some have supposed, by open violence, it is probable enough that, as Herodotus relates, it was first concerted, and afterward supported, in revenge for some similar injury done by the Greeks to the Trojans.

Iliad. l. 3. v. 354.

[42] The story of the oath required by Tyndareus is mentioned by Thucydides (l. 1. c. 9.) in a manner that indicates it to have been both antient and generally received.

[43] So it was in the south of France, at least before the revolution, when this volume was written.

An outrage, however, so grossly injurious to one of the greatest princes of Greece, especially if attended with a breach of the rights of hospitality, might not unreasonably be urged as a cause requiring the united revenge of all the Grecian chieftains. But there were other motives to ingage them in the quarrel. The hope of returning laden with the spoil of the richer provinces of Asia, was a strong incentive to leaders poor at home, and bred to rapine. The authority and influence of Agamemnon, king of Argos, brother of Menelaüs, were also weighty. The spirit of the age, his own temper, the extent of his power, the natural desire of exerting it on a splendid occasion, would all incite this prince eagerly to adopt his brother's quarrel. He is besides represented by character qualified to create and command a powerful league; ambitious, active, brave, generous, humane; vain, indeed, and haughty, sometimes to his own injury, yet commonly repressing those hurtful qualities, and watchful to cultivate popularity. Under this leader all the Grecian chieftains, from the end of Peloponnesus to the end of Thessaly, together with Idomeneus from Crete, and other commanders from some of the smaller ilands, assembled at Aulis, a sea-port of Bœotia. The Acarnanians alone, separated from the rest of Greece by lofty mountains and a sea at that time little navigated, had no share in the expedition. A story acquired celebrity in aftertimes, that, the fleet being long detained at Aulis by contrary winds, Agamemnon sacrificed his daughter Iphigeneia, as a propitiatory offering, to obtain from the gods a safe and speedy passage to the Trojan coast. To the credit of his character however it is added that he submitted to this abominable cruelty with extreme reluctance, compelled by the clamors of the army, who were persuaded that the gods required the victim; nor were there wanting those who asserted that, by a humane fraud, the princess was at last saved, under favor of a report that a fawn was miraculously sent by the goddess Diana, to be sacrificed in her stead. Indeed the story, tho of such fame, and so warranted by early authorities, that some notice of it seemed requisite, wants, it must be confessed, wholly the best authentication for matters of that very early age; for neither Homer, tho he enumerates Agamemnon's daughters, nor Hesiod, who not only mentions the assembling of the Grecian forces

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 9.

Isocrat. Panathen. p. 472. ed. Paris. Auger. Homer. Iliad. passim. B. C. 914. N. 1193. B. Hesiod. Op. & Di. l. 2. v. 269.

Pausan. l. 9. c. 19.

Pind. Pyth. 2. Æschyl. Agamem. p. 220. ed. H. Steph. Iliad. 9. 145.

forces under his command at Aulis, but specifies their detention by bad weather, have left one word about so remarkable an event as this sacrifice.

The fleet at length had a prosperous voyage. It consisted of about twelve hundred open vessels, each carrying from fifty to a hundred and twenty men. The number of men in the whole armament, computed from the mean of those two numbers mentioned by Homer as the complement of different ships, would be something more than a hundred thousand; and Thucydides, whose opinion is of the highest authority, tells us that this is within the bounds of probability; tho, as he adds, a poet would go to the utmost of current reports. The army, having made good their landing on the Trojan coast, were so superior to the enemy as to oblige them immediately to seek shelter within the city-walls; but here the operations were at a stand. The hazards to which unfortified and solitary dwellings were exposed from pirates and free-booters, had driven the more peaceable of mankind to assemble in towns for mutual security. To erect lofty walls around those towns for defence, was then an obvious invention, and required little more than labor for the execution. More thought, more art, more experience were necessary for forcing the rudest fortification, if defended with vigilance and courage. But the Trojan walls were singularly strong; Agamemnon's army could make no impression upon them. He was therefore reduced to the method most common for ages after, of turning the siege into a blockade, and patiently waiting till want of necessaries should force the enemy to quit their shelter. But neither did the policy of the times amount, by many degrees, to the art of subsisting so numerous an army for any length of time; nor would the revenues of Greece have been equal to it with more knowlege; nor indeed would the state of things have admitted it, scarcely with any wealth, or by any means. For in countries without commerce, the people providing for their own wants only, supplies can never be found equal to the maintenance of a superadded army. No sooner therefore did the Trojans shut themselves within their walls, than the Greeks were obliged to give their principal attention to the means of subsisting their numerous forces. The common method of the times was to ravage

Homer. Iliad. l. 2.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 10.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 11.

Iliad. l. 1. v. 366. l. 9. v. 329. & l. 20. v. 91. & 188. Odyss. l. 3. v. 106. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 11.

the adjacent countries; and this they immediately put in practice. But such a resource soon destroys itself. To have therefore a more permanent and certain supply, they sent a part of their army to cultivate the vales of the Thracian Chersonese, then abandoned by their inhabitants on account of the frequent and destructive incursions of the wild people who occupied the interior of that continent.

Large bodies being thus detached from the army, the remainder scarcely sufficed to deter the Trojans from taking the field again, and could not prevent succour and supplies from being carried into the town. Thus the siege was protracted to the enormous length of ten years. It was probably their success in maroding marches and pirating voyages that induced the Greeks to persevere so long. Achilles is said to have plundered no less than twelve maritime and eleven inland towns. Lesbos, then under the dominion of the monarch of Troy, was among his conquests; and the women of that iland were apportioned to the victorious army, as a part of the booty. But these circumstances, alarming all neighboring people, contributed to procure numerous and powerful allies to the Trojans. Not only the Asiatic states, to a great extent eastward and southward, sent auxiliary troops, but also the European westward, as far as the Pæonians of that country about the river Axius, which afterward became Macedonia. At length, in the tenth year of the war, after great exertions of valor and the slaughter of numbers on both sides, among whom were many of the highest rank, Troy yielded to its fate. Yet was it not then overcome by open force: stratagem is reported by Homer: fraud and treachery have been supposed by later writers. It was, however, taken and plundered: the venerable monarch was slain: the queen and her daughters, together with one only son remaining of a very numerous male progeny, were led into captivity. According to some, not only the city was totally destroyed, but the very name of the people from that time lost. Others, and among them Strabo, maintain, on the authority of Homer himself, whose words upon the occasion seem indeed scarcely dubious, that Æneas reigned afterward at Troy, and his posterity after him, for some generations; and they suppose the final destruction of the Trojan state and name to have taken place in that subsequent

Homer. & Plat. de Leg. l. 3. p. 682. Iliad. l. 9. v. 329.

Iliad. l. 6. v. 129. Odyss. l. 3. v. 106.

Iliad. l. 2. v. 844. & seq. & Strab. l. 7. p. 330. B. C. 904. N. 1184. B.

Odyss. l. 8. v. 492.

Wood on Homer. Strab. l. 13. p. 608. Iliad. l. 20. v. 302. Xenoph. de Venat. c. 1.

Grecian

Grecian invasion, of which mention will hereafter occur under the name of the Æolic migration.

Nothing apparently so much as the poetical elegance of ingenuity, everywhere intermixed with early Grecian history, has driven many to slight it as meerly fabulous, who have been disposed to pay great respect to the early history of Rome; giving a credit to the solemn adulation of the grave historians of Italy to their own country, which they deny to the fanciful indeed and inaccurate, but surely honest and unflattering accounts remaining of elder Greece. Agamemnon, we are told, triumphed over Troy: and the historical evidence to the fact is large. But the Grecian poets themselves universally acknowlege that it was a dear-bought, a mournful triumph. Few of the princes, who survived to partake of it, could have any injoyment of their hard-earned glory in their native country. None expecting that the war would detain them so long from home, none had made due provision for the regular administration of their affairs during such an absence. It is indeed probable that the utmost wisdom and forethought would have been unequal to the purpose. For, in the half-formed governments of those days, the constant presence of the prince, as supreme regulator, was necessary to keep the whole from running presently into utter confusion. Seditions, therefore, and revolutions were almost as numerous as the cities of Greece. Many of the princes were compelled to imbark again with their adherents, to seek settlements in distant countries, without a hope of revisiting their native soil. A more tragical fate awaited Agamemnon. His queen, Clytemnestra, having given her affection to his kinsman Ægistheus, concurred in a plot against her husband, and the unfortunate monarch, on his return to Argos, was assassinated; those of his friends who escaped the massacre, were compelled to fly with his son Orestes; and, so strong was the party, which their long possession of the government had inabled the conspirators to form, the usurper obtained complete possession of the throne. Orestes found refuge at Athens; where alone, among the Grecian states, there seems to have been a constitution capable of bearing both the absence and the return of the army and its commander, without any essential derangement.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 12. Plat. de Leg. l. 3. p. 682.

Odyss. l. 1. c. 36. & al. Plat. Theages. p. 124. t. 1.

Such

Such were the Trojan war and its consequences, according to the best of the unconnected and defective accounts remaining, among which those of Homer have always held the first rank. The authority, however, of the great poet as an historian has in modern times been variously estimated. Among the antients it was less questioned. As it is of highest importance to the history of the early ages that it should have its due weight, I will mention here some of the circumstances which principally establish its authority: others will occur hereafter. In Homer's age then, it should be remembered, poets were the only historians; whence, tho it does not at all follow that poets would always scrupulously adhere to truth, yet it necessarily follows that veracity, in historical narration, would make a large share of a poet's merit in public opinion: a circumstance which the common use of written records, and prose histories, instantly and totally altered. The probability, and the very remarkable consistency of Homer's historical anecdotes, variously dispersed as they are among his poetical details and embellishments, form a second and powerful testimony. Indeed the connection and the clearness of Grecian history through the very early times of which Homer has treated, appear very extraordinary, when compared with the darkness and uncertainty that begin in the instant of our losing his guidance, and continue through ages. In confirmation then of this presumptive evidence, we have very complete positive proof to the only point that could admit of it, his geography; which has wonderfully stood the most scrupulous inquiries from those who were every way qualified to make them. From all these, with perhaps other considerations, followed, what we may add in the fourth place, the credit given to Homer's history by the most judicious prose-writers of antiquity; among the early ones particularly by Thucydides, and among the later by Strabo.

But the very fame of the principal persons and events celebrated by Homer seems to have led some to question their reality. Perhaps it may not be an improper digression here to bring to the reader's recollection a passage in the history of the British ilands, bearing so close an analogy to some of the most remarkable circumstances in

Homer's history, that it affords no inconsiderable collateral support to that poet's authority, as a faithful relater of facts and painter of manners. Exploits like that of Paris were, in the twelfth century, not uncommon in Ireland. In a lower line they have been frequent there still in our days; but in that age popular opinion was so favorable to them, that even princes, like Jason and Paris, gloried in such proofs of their gallantry and spirit. Dermot, king of Leinster, accordingly formed a design on Dervorghal, a celebrated beauty, wife of O'Ruark, king of Leitrim; and, between force and fraud, he succeeded in carrying her off. O'Ruark resented the affront, as might be expected. He procured a confederacy of neighboring chieftains, with the king of Connaught, the most powerful prince of Ireland, at their head. Leinster was invaded, the princess was recovered, and, after hostilities continued with various success during many years, Dermot was expelled from his kingdom. Thus far the resemblance holds with much exactness. The sequel differs: for the rape of Dervorghal, beyond comparison inferior in celebrity, had yet consequences far more important than the rape of Helen. The fugitive Dermot, deprived of other hope, applied to the powerful monarch of the neighboring iland, Henry the Second; and in return for assistance to restore him to his dominions, offered to hold them in vaffalage of the crown of England. The English conquest of Ireland followed[44].

[44] Mr. Hume, in his History of England, has written the name of the heroine of this story OMACH. Dr. Leland's History of Ireland is here followed, with which Mr. Hume's more abridged account, in all material circumstances, sufficiently tallies. Lord Lyttelton, in his History of Henry the Second, both relates the facts and writes the names nearly as Dr. Leland.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Religion, Government, Jurisprudence, Science, Arts, Commerce, and Manners of the early GREEKS.

SECTION I.

Of the Progress of Things from the East into Greece, and of the Religion of the early Greeks.

HOWEVER less complete than we might wish the historical information remaining from Homer may be, we have yet, from his masterly hand, a finished picture of the manners and principles of his age, domestic as well as political; which, sublime and magnificent as it is in the general outline and composition, descends at the same time to so many minute particulars, as to leave our curiosity scarcely in anything ungratified. It belongs not to history to detail every circumstance of this entertaining and instructive tablet, which yet abounds with matter not to be left unnoticed.

But, in considering the first ages of Greece, we find our view continually led toward those earliest seats of empire and of science, which we usually call collectively the East. And there so vast and so interesting a field of inquiry presents itself, yet, like forms in distant landscape, so confused by aërial tints, and by length and intricacy of perspective, that it is not easy to determine where and how far investigation ought to be attempted, and when precisely the voice of caution should be obeyed, rather than that of curiosity. Certainly to bewilder himself will not generally be allowed to the historian as a venial error. Sometimes, however, and without far wandering from well-trodden paths, he may venture to search for some illustration of his subject in that utmost verge of history's horizon.

In all countries, and through all ages, RELIGION and Civil Government have been so connected, that no history can be given of either without

without reference to the other. But in the accounts remaining of the earliest times, the attention everywhere paid to religion, the deep interest taken in it, by individuals and by communities, by people polished equally and unpolished, is peculiarly striking. A sense of dependancy on some superior being seems indeed inseparable from man; it is in a manner instinct in him[1]. His own helplessness, compared with the stupendous powers of nature which he sees constantly exerted around him, makes the savage ever anxiously look for some being of a higher order on whom to rely: and the man educated to exercise the faculties of his mind, has only to reflect on himself, on his own abilities, his own weakness, his own knowlege, his own ignorance, his own happiness, his own misery, his own beginning, and his end, to be directed, not only to belief in some superior being, but also to expectation of some future state, through meer conviction that nature hath given him both a great deal more and a great deal less than were necessary to fit him for this alone. Religion, therefore, can never be lost among mankind; but, through the imperfection of our nature, it is so prone to degenerate, that superstition in one state of society, and scepticism in another, may, perhaps not improperly, be called nature's works. The variety, indeed, and the grossness of the corruptions of religion, from which few pages in the annals of the world are pure, may well on first view excite our wonder. But, if we proceed to inquire after their origin, we find immediately such sources in the nature and condition of man, that evidently nothing under a constant miracle could prevent those effects to which the history of all countries in all ages bears testimony. The fears of ignorance, the interest of cunning, the pride of science, have been the mainsprings: every human passion has contributed its addition.

A firm belief, however, both in the existence of a deity, and in the duty of communication with him, appears to have prevailed universally in the early ages[2]. But religion was then the common care of all

[1] —— Πάντες δὲ Θεῶν χατέουσ' ἄνθρωποι. Homer. Odyss. l. 3. v. 48.

[2] Ἀρχαῖος μὲν οὖν τις λόγος καὶ πάτριός ἐστι, πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ὡς ἐκ Θεοῦ τὰ πάντα, καὶ διὰ Θεοῦ, συνέστηκεν· ἀυδεμία δὲ φύσις ἀυτὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἀυτάρκης, ἐρημωθεῖσα τῆς ἐκ τούτου σωτηρίας. Aristot. de Mundo, c. 6.

Παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρῶποις πρῶτον νομίζεται τοὺς Θεοὺς σέβειν. Xen. mem. Socr. l. 4. c. 4. s. 19.

Shuckford's Connection of Sacred and Profane History, v. 2. b. 6. p. 89.

men; a sacerdotal order was unknown: the patriarch, or head of the family, was chief in religious as in civil concerns: a preference to primogeniture seems always to have obtained[3]: the eldest son succeeded regularly to the right of sacrificing, to the right of being priest of the family. When younger sons became fathers of families, they also superintended the domestic religion, each of his own household, and performed the domestic sacrifices; the patriarch and his successors remaining chief priests of the tribe. This order of things passed, remarkably unvaried, to Egypt, to Greece, to Rome, and very generally over the world[4]. But, concomitant circumstances differing in different countries, consequences of course differed. In Asia extensive empires seem almost to have grown as population extended. From earliest times the people were accustomed to look up to one family as presiding over national concerns, religious equally and political, by a hereditary right, partaking, in public opinion, of divine authority. Ideas and habits were thus acquired, congenial to despotic government: and in all the violent revolutions which that large and rich portion of the earth has undergone, the notion of attachment to a particular family, as presiding by divine appointment over both the religious and civil polity of the nation, has prevailed and prevails very extensively to this day. We have no certain account when or how the sacerdotal order of the magians arose. But it is a remarkable circumstance, of which

Herodot. l. 1. c. 113.

we are informed by the most unsuspicious testimony, that by far the purest religion known among heathen nations, remained in those countries whence all migration has been supposed to have originated: with extent of wandering, savage ignorance grew.

We are not without information of peculiar causes which made Egypt the great school of superstition, while it was the seat of arts and knowlege. A prodigious population was there confined within a narrow territory; whose surrounding seas and deserts prevented exten-

[3] This it was, according to Homer, that gave Jupiter himself his right of supremacy over his brothers; and the Fates and Furies were the vindicators of that right:

Ὣς ἄρ' ὃς πρεσβυτέροισιν Ἐρινύες αἰὲν ἕπονται.
Iliad. l. 15. v. 204.

[4] This subject is treated diffusively, with many references to the Scriptures and to heathen authors, in the sixth book of Shuckford's Connection of Sacred and Profane History.

sion

sion of dominion, and checked communication with strangers. A more refined polity than prevailed in Asia, and freer communication of rights, becoming indispensable, the powerful families shared with the monarch in the superintendancy of the national religion. The priesthood, thus, and the nobility of the nation, were one[5]; and, by a singular policy, professions and callings were made hereditary through all ranks of men; so that the business of every man's life was unalterably determined by his birth. Priestcraft thus, among the rest, became the inalienable inheritance of particular families; and learning was their exclusive property. Natural wonders, more frequent there than elsewhere, assisted in disposing the people to superstition[6]; while, with singular interest, to promote it, a sacerdotal nobility had singular means. Thus the superstition of Egypt, rising to an extravagance unknown in any other country, was also supported by a union of powers that never met elsewhere. Diod. Sic. l. 1. c. 28.

The circumstances of Greece differed very materially. Its inhabitants were long barbarous, often migrating, continually liable to expulsion, and without regular government. Among wandering savages no idea could hold of a divine right inherent in any family to direct either the religious or the civil concerns of others. But if the accounts of Grecian authors are to be believed, the rude natives always readily associated with any adventurers from the civilized countries of the East. It was not difficult for these to explain the advantages of a town, where the people might find safety for their persons when danger threatened their fields; and where, meeting occasionally to consult in common, they might provide means for ready exertion of united strength, to repel those evils to which the unconnected inhabitants of scattered villages were perpetually exposed. A man of knowlege and experience must preside in council, and direct the execution of what had been resolved in common. A town thus was built and fortified, a form of government settled, and an oriental superintending was honored with the title of king. Many of the principal

[5] Diodorus compares the order of priests in Egypt to the order of nobles, the eupatrids, at Athens.

[6] Τέρατά τε πλέω σφι ἔυρηται ἢ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἅπασι ἀνθρώποισι. Herodot. l. 2.

Grecian cities, according to Grecian tradition, had their origin from a concurrence of circumstances like these. Constantly the king exercised supremacy in religious concerns; he was always chief priest[7]; and he always endeavoured to acquire the reputation of divine authority for all his establishments. But the government being notoriously formed by compact, no idea of indefeasible right, inherent in a soverein family, could readily gain: the compact alone could be supposed or pretended to be divinely authorized. The person of the king had no privilege but by the gift of the people. His civil consequence, therefore, depended upon his abilities and conduct. His religious character was otherwise estimated: not the person or family, but the title and office, were held sacred. It is remarkable that Athenian and Roman superstition, without any connection between the people, should have agreed so exactly in the extraordinary circumstance, that after the abolition of royalty among both, and while the very name of king was abhorred as a title of civil magistracy or military command, yet equally the title and the office were scrupulously retained for the administration of religious ceremonies. It has been observed that a priesthood was first established among the Jews when their government became a regular commonwealth. Such appropriation of religious functions, if the ministers are confined to their proper object, is perhaps not less advantageous to civil freedom than necessary to the maintenance of religion.

Shuckford's Connection. Warburton's Div. Leg.

It was the opinion of Herodotus, that Homer and Hesiod principally settled the religious tenets of the Greeks; which before them were totally vague, floating about partially as they happened to arise, or to be imported by foreiners, particularly Egyptians: and indeed if ever there was any standard of Grecian orthodoxy, it must be looked for in the works of those two poets. But the very early inhabitants of Greece had a religion far less degenerated from original purity. To this curious and interesting fact abundant testimonies remain. They occur in those poems, of uncertain origin and uncertain date, but unquestionably of great antiquity, which are called the poems of Orpheus, or rather

Herodot. l. 2. c. 53.

[7] See every sacrifice in the Iliad and Odyssee; particularly the minute detail of Nestor's sacrifice at Pylus. Odyss. b. 3. v. 404—463.

the

the Orphic poems[8]; and they are found scattered among the writings of the philosophers and historians. All the Greek philsophers were aware of the recent origin of that religion which in their time was popular. Plato, among his doubts about the antient state of things, declares an opinion that, in the early ages, the sun, moon, stars, and earth, had been the only objects of religious worship in Greece, as they were, still in his time, he adds, in most of the barbarous nations. In another part of his works we find recorded a different tradition of a very remarkable tenor. 'ONE GOD,' he says it was reported, 'once 'governed the universe: but a great and extraordinary change taking 'place in the nature of men and things, infinitely for the worse (for 'originally there was perfect virtue and perfect happiness upon earth) 'the command then devolved upon Jupiter, with many inferior deities, 'to preside over different departments, under him.' Here, in the same tradition, we find the original unity of the Deity asserted, and an account attempted of the beginning of polytheism. Plato declares no opinion of his own upon it. Everything however remaining from him upon religion, and, I think it may be added, upon morality, involves the supposition of unity in the Deity; tho, warned apparently by the fate of his master Socrates, he shows himself extremely cautious of directly contradicting any contrary belief.

Plat. Cratyl. p. 397. t. 1.

Plat. Polit. p. 269. t. 2.

But the notion of a great and deplorable change in human nature and in the state of all things on earth, thus shortly mentioned by Plato, remains transmitted more at large by a much older author, sketching the history of mankind from its origin: 'The first race of 'men,' according to Hesiod, 'lived like gods, in perfect happiness; 'exempt from labor, from old age, and from all evil. The earth 'spontaneously supplied them with fruits in the greatest abundance[9]. 'Dying at length without pain, they became happy and beneficent 'spirits, appointed by the divine wisdom to the royal function of 'superintending the future race of men, watching their good and evil 'ways.' This, which he calls the golden age, or golden race, plainly

Hesiod. Op. & Di. l. 1. v. 109.

[8] Particularly in the Hymn to Jupiter, quoted by Aristotle in the seventh chapter of his Treatise on the World:

Ζεὺς πρώτος γένετο, Ζεὺς ὕςατος, κ. τ. ε.

[9] Plato says the first men σαρκῶν ἀπείχοντο, ὡς οὐχ ὅσιον ὂν ἐσθίειν, οὐδὲ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν Βωμὺς αἵματι μιαίνειν. De Leg. l. 6. vid. & Dicæarch. ap. Porphyr.

forein

forein to all Grecian history, bears an analogy to the scripture account of the terrestrial paradise, and the state of man before the fall, which is rendered still more striking by the remarkable consonance of his silver age to the scripture account of the antediluvian world after the fall. 'The second race of men,' he proceeds, 'were like those of the 'golden age, neither in nature nor in moral character. They scarcely 'reached manhood in a hundred years; yet not thus less subject to 'pain and folly, they died early. They were unceasing in violence 'and injustice toward one another, nor would they duly reverence the 'immortal gods. Jupiter therefore hid this race in his anger, because 'they honored not the blessed gods of heaven.' In speaking of the third race of men, which he calls the brazen race, the poet at length comes home to his own country, describing nearly that state of things which Plutarch has more particularly described in his life of Theseus.

Ch. 1. s. 3. of this Hist.

Aristotle, who lived in less apprehension of the intolerant tyranny of the Athenian democracy, declares his opinion upon the unity of the Deity and the origin of Polytheism, more explicitly than his master Plato, and in a manner that does honor to his strong understanding. 'It is a tradition,' he says, 'received from of old among all men, that 'GOD is the creator and preserver of all things; and that nothing in 'nature is sufficient to its own existence, without his superintending 'protection. Hence some of the antients have held that all things are 'full of gods; obvious to sight, to hearing, and to all the senses; an 'opinion consonant enough to the power, but not to the nature of the 'deity.——GOD, being ONE, has thus received many names, according 'to the variety of effects of which he is the cause.'

Aristot. de Mundo, c. 6. c. 7.

Such were the traditions of poets, and the opinions of philosophers. There remains yet for notice a testimony, not less remarkable or less important perhaps than any of these, which has been preserved inadvertently by a historian who did not intend us this, tho we owe to him much valuable information. Herodotus, after giving an account of the origin of the names of the principal Grecian divinities, proceeds to tell us, that, being at Dodona, he was there assured (apparently by the priests of the farfamed temple of Jupiter) that, antiently, the Pelasgian ancestors of the Grecian people sacrificed and prayed to gods

gods to whom they gave no name or distinguishing appellation[10]; 'for,' he adds, 'they have never heard of any; but they called them 'gods as the disposers and rulers of all things[11].' It is hence evident, that the Pelasgians can have acknowleged but one god; for, where many gods are believed, distinguishing appellations will and must be given; but the unity of the deïty precludes the necessity of names.

That purer religion, then, according to this unsuspicious testimony of Herodotus, was brought into Greece by its first inhabitants. It was occasionally nourished, and received accessions, not probably advantageous to its purity, from Thrace; but the absurdities of Grecian polytheism, as we are abundantly assured, were derived principally from Egypt[12]. The colonists who passed from that polished country to savage Greece, would of course communicate their religious tenets[13]. The rude natives, according to all traditions, listened greedily to instruction on a subject in which they felt themselves deeply interested; and thought it an important improvement to be able to name many gods, whose stories were related to them, instead of sacrificing to one only, without a name, of whose will they were wholly uninformed, and of whose nature they had no satisfactory conception. Nor is the transition violent, for ignorant people, from a vague idea of one omnipresent deïty, to the belief of a separate divine essence in different places, and in every different thing. On the contrary, the popular superstitions of almost all nations show it congenial to the human mind; which wants exercise of its powers to inable it to exalt thought to the conception of one Almighty and boundless Being. Polytheism, therefore, once disseminated, the lively imagination of the Greeks would not be confined within the limits of Egyptian instruction. Their country, with fewer objects of wonder, abounded

[10] — ἐπωνυμίην οὐδ' ὄνομα. Herod. l. 2. c. 52.

[11] Herodotus appears to have supposed the Greek name for God to have been derived from a Greek verb signifying to place or dispose: other Grecian authors have imagined other etymologies for it; but it seems rather probable that it had a more antient origin than any derivation within the Greek language.

[12] See Warburton's Divine Legation, Shuckford's Connexion of Sacred and Profane History, Bryant's Analysis of Antient Mythology, and Pownall on the Study of Antiquities, with the numerous authorities by them quoted.

[13] See on this subject Herodotus, Plato, and Diodorus Siculus.

with

with incentives to fancy, which Egypt wanted. Hence, beside Juno, Vesta, Themis, whom they added to the principal divinities derived from the marshy banks of the Nile, every Grecian mountain acquired its Oreäds, every wood its Dryads, every fountain its Naiad, the sea its Tritons and its Nereïds, and every river its god; the variety of the seasons produced the Hours; and the Muses and the Graces were the genuine offspring of the genius of the people. Thus were divinities so multiplied before Homer's time, that nobody any longer undertook to say how many there were not.

Herodot. l. 2. c. 50.

Hesiod. Op. & Di. l. 1. v. 75.

And now the Grecian gods were changed from the One Almighty parent of good, not less in attributes than in number. Jupiter, the chief of them, was not omnipotent: omnipresence was not among his attributes; nor was he all-seeing; and as perfect goodness was nowhere to be found in Homer's heaven, so there was by no means perfect happiness there. The chief of the gods seems to have been supposed under both the control and the protection of Fate; he is described under apprehension from his inferior deities; he was subject to various weaknesses; liable to be overcome by passion; and the goddess of mischief, Atë, was said to be his eldest daughter. Consistently with such an idea we find the inferior deïties in general more disposed to disturb than assist the government of the chief; who is represented without the least confidence in their wisdom and right intentions, placing his whole dependance on his own strength only. Hence alone also is derived their reverence for him; not that he is wise and good, but that he is strong. Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, speaks of the soverein of the gods, calling him at the same time her father, in the reproachful and debasing terms of 'raging with an evil mind, in perpetual opposition to her inclinations.' The same goddess is represented advising Pandarus to endeavour to bribe Apollo with the promise of a hecatomb, to assist him in assassinating Menelaüs contrary to the faith of a solemn treaty; and even Jupiter himself joins with that goddess and Juno in prompting so foul a murder, which was to involve with it the basest treachery and the most offensive perjury. We cannot but wonder to find the goddess of wisdom and the soverein of the gods thus employed. Yet the belief that villainy, so often seen triumphant,

Iliad. l. 13. v. 1. & seq.

Iliad. l. 15. v. 204. & l. 14. v. 443. et seq.

Il. 19. 91.

Iliad. l. 8. v. 5.

Iliad. l. 8. v. 210.

Iliad. l. 8. v. 361.

Iliad. l. 4. v. 101.

was frequently favored by some superior power, or however that the meer crime against the neighbor seldom or never offended the deity, appears by no means unnatural, and certainly has been extensively held [14]. It is worthy of remark, that a religion which acknowleges only one God has not taught the Turks to reason more justly: 'Whatever the intention may have been,' says the elegant and judicious Busbequius, in the account of his embassy at the Ottoman Court, 'if the event is prosperous, they look upon God as authorizing the 'deed:' in proof of which he relates some remarkable occurrences in Turkish history, and a conversation which he held concerning them with a Turk of rank.

De Legatione Turcica. epist. 4.

Thus imperfect as the chief of the Grecian heaven is represented, still that the Greeks derived their first notion of him from the power of a king of Crete, is an opinion as unauthorized by the oldest poets and historians as it is in itself improbable, not to say impossible. Homer's invocation to the Dodonæan Pelasgian Jupiter suffices indeed alone to refute the idea. But that a king of Crete, like Alexander and the Cæsars in more inlightened ages, may have assumed, or may have been complimented with a title usually appropriated to the deity, is sufficiently likely. Whence indeed the Greek name Zeus (which in the common form of invocation gave the Latin Jupiter) was derived, is an inquiry that cannot end in certainty. Plato says it is a name not easy to be understood; and the fanciful explanation of it which he has undertaken to give, tho adopted by Aristotle, appears, like some other etymologies, utterly unworthy of the great names under whose authority it comes to us. It seems however fully consistent with the analogy of letters, as well as from many circumstances highly probable, that the Greek and Latin names for the deity, as they were variously inflected, Theos, or rather Theo, Deo, Dia, Zeu, Jove, and the Hebrew which we write Jehovah, tho in the oriental orthography it has only four letters, were originally one name [15].

Iliad. l. 16. v. 233.

Plat. Cratyl. p. 369. t. 1. Aristot. de Mund. c. 7.

Ideas

[14] See Odyss. l. 3. v. 273. & l. 16. v. 398. Aristoph. Plut. v. 28—38. Plat. de Rep. l. 2. p. 362. t. 2. & de Leg. l. 10. p. 905. et seq. but particularly Glaucon's long argument in favor of injustice, in the second book of Plato's Republic, which the philosopher with difficulty, and scarcely, refutes.

[15] See Monde Primitif Analysé et Compare, par M. Court de Gebelin, vol. i. p. 166. & Recherches sur les Arts de la Gréce, vol.

Ideas concerning that Fate, which was supposed to decide the lot of gods equally as of men, could not but be very indeterminate. Fate was personified, sometimes as one, sometimes as three sister-beings. The three Furies, or avenging deities, seem to have been sometimes considered as the same with the Fates, sometimes as attending powers. Either or both, for the superstition which occasioned a dread of naming them makes it difficult to distinguish, were often mentioned by the respectful title of the Venerable Goddesses [16]. They seem indeed to have been the only Grecian deities who were supposed incapable of doing wrong. Of evil spirits, in the modern sense of the term, the Greeks appear to have had no idea. But such was the acknowleged imperfection of the Grecian heaven, that Hesiod expressly declares it to have been the office of the Fates and Furies 'to punish the trans-'gressions of MEN and GODS [17].' It seems to have been supposed the principal office of Jupiter to superintend the performance of the decrees of Fate; and for that purpose to keep a watchful eye over the ways of both mortals and immortals. Fate therefore being but a blind power, and Jupiter a very imperfect divinity, we shall the less wonder to find it mentioned by Homer as possible, which yet appears a strange inconsistency, that things contrary to fate may be done, not only by gods but even by men [18].

Il. l. 2. v. 155. & l. 20. v. 30. & 336.

The

vol. i. notes 96, 97, et 118. The Hebrew יהוה is, in a language of such near affinity as the Chaldee, very differently written, being יוי. This, with the preposition ד or ך, expressing the possessive case, prefixed, approaches very nearly to the Greek Δι͡ϊ, and the Latin Dei, Dii, Divi. It is to be observed that the modern Greeks pronounce Δ like the English TH, in THIS, THERE; and Υ, when it follow Α or Ε, as our v consonant. The antient Lacedæmonians, as we learn from the specimens of the Laconic dialect in the Lysistrata of Aristophanes, and in Xenophon's Grecian Annals, pronounced Σ for Θ, and if we might believe the abbé Fourmont's account of inscriptions found in Laconia, inserted in the 15th vol. of the Memoirs of the French Academy of Inscriptions, they wrote so. Concerning the analogy of letters, Sharpe on the Origin of Languages, and Pownall on the Study of Antiquities, may be advantageously consulted by those who have leisure and inclination for such inquiries.

Hel. l. 4. c. 4. s. 10.

[16] Σέμναι θεαὶ, venerandæ deæ.

[17] — ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε παραιβασίας ἐφέπουσαι. Theogon. v. 220.

[18] There is in the Prometheus of Æschylus a very curious passage concerning Necessity, the Fates, and the power of Jupiter, in which the poet remarkably avoids explaining what fate is: Prometheus and the Chorus speak:

Cho. Τίς οὖν ἀνάγκης ἐστὶν οἰακοστρόφος;
Prom. Μοῖραι τρίμορφοι, μνήμονες τ' Ἐρινύες.
Cho. Τούτων ἆρ' ὁ Ζεὺς ἐστιν ἀσθενέστερος;
Prom. Οὐκουν ἄν ἐκφύγοι γε τὴν πεπρωμένην.
Cho.

The scheme of analysing the deity, and establishing a symbol for every attribute, to be a separate object of popular adoration, originating probably with the priestly nobility of Egypt, was certainly well adapted to their purpose of separating and setting themselves far above the other classes. The complicated veil, thus thrown over the original simple doctrine of religion, they reserved to themselves to withdraw, and, except for their own order, it was never moved. But, among the early troubles of Egypt, some expelled nobles, finding settlements for themselves and their followers of the other classes, perhaps first in Asia Minor and Thrace, and afterward, as Danaus and Cecrops, in Greece, to maintain their superiority in the new countries, it became necessary to look for associates, beyond the scanty number of antient Egyptian nobility who had emigrated with them. This seems the most probable origin of the Eleusinian and other mysteries; the initiation in which, as far as the very imperfect lights remaining will inable us to form conjecture, appears to have consisted, for its most important part, in revealing to the initiated the antient simple religion, and especially the unity of the deity.

Idolatry, as far as appears from Homer, was in his time unknown in Greece; and even temples were not common, tho those of Minerva at Athens, Apollo at Delphi, and Neptune at Ægæ, seem to have been of some standing. Sacrifices were performed, as by the Jewish patriarchs, on altars raised in open air: and prayers were addressed, tho to many, yet to deities beyond the search of human eyes. We find Nestor

Iliad. l. 2. v. 549. & l. 9. v. 404. & Odyss. l. 8. v. 79.

Iliad. l. 13. v. 21.

Cho. Τί γαρ πέπρωται Ζηνὶ πλὴν ἀεὶ κρατεῖν;
Prom. Τοῦτ' οὐκ ἂν οὖν πύθοιο, μηδὲ λιπάρει.

Prometh. Vinct. p. 34. ed. H. Steph.

Herodotus relates a response of the Delphian oracle, declaring the subjection of the gods to the power of fate: Τὴν πεπρωμένην μοίραν ἀδύνατά ἐστι ἀποφυγέειν καὶ Θεῷ. l. 1. c. 91. This is the more remarkable for being given as an apology for the oracle, whenever it had the misfortune to make a mistake or tell a falsehood. The god of science being thus fallible, we shall not wonder if the wisdom of the goddess of art was also imperfect. Notwithstanding the veneration of the Athenians for the tutelary deity of their state, Æschylus, in his tragedy named from the Furies, has not scrupled to make Minerva, while she respects those horrible goddesses as her superiors in age, acknowlege that they were also very much her superiors in wisdom:

Ὀργὰς ξυνοίσω σοι· γεραιτέρα γὰρ εἶ·
Κἀιτοι γε μὴν κἀρτ' ἐμοῦ σοφωτέρα.

Æschyl. Eumenid. p. 302. ed. H. Steph.

Farther, however, than to illustrate and justify Homer, the tenets of the age of Æschylus and Herodotus will rather be for future consideration.

Odyss. l. 3. v. 5. & 406. sacrificing to Neptune on the sea-shore[19]; to Minerva before the portico of his palace; and the terms in which Homer mentions the fanes of Apollo at Delphi and Minerva at Athens, mark them to have been roofless. A temple of Cybele, without a roof, remained, to the time of l. 8. c. 44. p. 691. Pausanias, in Arcadia, near the source of the Alpheius. The antient Egyptian temples, made known from late observation, we find had spaces inclosed with columns, without roof, and the form of the first Grecian temples did not probably originate in Greece, but were imported from Egypt or Syria. Our venerable antiquity of Stonehenge appears to have been a temple of the rudest workmanship indeed, but of the same kind; and the sort of resemblance which the pillars found in the distant iland of Tinian, in the Pacific Ocean, bear both to Stonehenge, and to the columns of the oldest Grecian temples, a kind of midway form, between the extreme rudeness of the former and the finished elegance of the latter, may deserve observation[20].

Nor is there found in Homer any mention of hero-worship, or divine honors paid to men deceased, which became afterward so common[21]. Indeed tho invocations were occasionally addressed to numberless divinities,

[19] Strabo says there was afterward a temple of Neptune at or near the place (1), but Homer mentions nothing of it.

[20] The very remarkable antiquity in Tinian is described, and represented in an ingraving, in Anson's Voyage; and I have in my possession a drawing of it made on the spot by the purser of the Glocester, whose crew was, on the destruction of that ship, taken aboard the Centurion. The purser, whose name was Melichamp, had some skill in painting, and his drawing of the columns in Tinian, and the view in Anson's voyage, being taken from different points, and with different accompaniments, vouch each for the truth of the other.

This manner of temple it seems is yet preserved in the interior of Africa. 'The 'Bushreens' (Mahometan negroes between the Senegal and the Gambia) 'have for 'their missura' (thus the writer has proposed to mark their pronuntiation of the Arabic word which we call mosk) 'a square 'piece of ground levelled and surrounded 'with trunks of trees. Mosks of this kind 'are very common, but having neither walls 'nor roof, are fit only for fine weather.' Park's Travels in Africa, p. 252. ed 4to. 1799.

[21] The terms Ἡμίθεος and Θεῖον γένος, used by Hesiod (2), seem but titles of compliment to his heroes, analogous to Διΐος, so common with Homer, or the phrase, That the people revered their leaders as gods. All perhaps may show a tendency to a worship not in their time practised, and might even help to lead to it; as might also more particularly Hesiod's doctrine, whencesoever derived, of the charge committed to the exalted spirits of the men of the golden age over the future race of mankind (3).

(1) Strab. l. 8. p. 344. (2) Op. & Di. l. 1. v. 158, 159. (3) Op. & Di, l. 1. v. 120.

yet

yet the great objects of worship and sacrifice seem to have been only Jupiter, Neptune, Apollo, and Minerva; all, together with Fate itself, as Aristotle positively assures us, originally but different names for the ONE GOD, considered with respect to different powers, functions, or attributes; as the divine wisdom, the god of light and life, the creator and ruler of all things[22]. Grecian religion, therefore, being raised without system on a foundation of mistake, incongruities were natural to it.

The sum of the duty of men to the gods consisted, according to Homer, in sacrifice only. That due honor was paid him by offerings on his altars, is the reason given by Jupiter for his affection for the Trojans, and particularly for Hector. Songs to the gods, we are told, were also grateful to them; ablution was often a necessary ceremony before sacrifice or libation; but without sacrifice nothing was effectual. Sacrifices, promised or performed, are alone urged in prayer to promote the granting of the petition, and the omission of sacrifices due was supposed surely to excite divine resentment. Here and there only, as stars glittering for a moment through small bright openings in a stormy sky, we find some spark of morality connected with Homer's religion. Minerva recommends Ulysses to the favor of the gods for being a good and just king; and those who give unjust judgements are threatened with divine vengeance. Perjury, however, as the crime most particularly affronting to themselves, was what they were supposed most particularly disposed to revenge[23]. 'Jupiter,' we are told, 'will not 'favor the false;' and in another place, 'The blessed gods love not 'evil deeds; but they honor justice, and the righteous works of men;' after which follows a remarkable passage: 'Even when the hardened 'and unrighteous invade the lands of others, tho Jupiter grant them 'the spoil, and, loading their ships, they arrive every one at his home,

Iliad. l. 4. v. 49. & l. 24. v. 70.
Iliad. l. 1. v. 474.
Iliad, l. 6. v. 267. l. 9. v. 529. & al.
Iliad. l. 4. v. 473. & al.
Iliad. l. 5. v. 178.
Odyss. l. 5. v. 7.
Iliad. l. 16. v. 386.
Iliad. l. 4. v. 235.
Odyss. l. 14. v. 38.

[22] Εἰς δὲ ὢν, πολυώνυμος ἐςι, κ. τ. ε. Aristot. de Mundo. c. 7. or, according to Æschylus (1),

Πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφὴ μία.

Mr. Bryant, in his Analysis of Antient Mythology, has collected testimony to the point from various heathen authors.

[23] Ὅρκον δ' ὃς δὴ πλεῖστον ἐπιχθονίους ἀνθρώπους
Πημαίνει, ὅτε κέν τις ἑκὼν ἐπιόρκον ὀμόσσῃ.
Hesiod. Theogon. v. 231.

(1) Prometh. v. 208.

'still

'still the strong fear of vengeance dwells on their minds[24].' The whole of this speech in the Odysee forms a striking picture of that anxious uncertainty concerning the ways of God, his favor to men, and their duty to him, which considerate but uninformed persons could scarcely be without. Hesiod, who had evidently communicated much less extensively among mankind than Homer, takes upon him with honest zeal to denounce more particularly the vengeance of the deity against those who wrong their neighbors. He threatens even whole states with famine and pestilence, the destruction of their armies, the wreck of their fleets, and all sorts of misfortunes for the unpunished injustice of individuals. At the same time he indiscreetly promises peace and plenty, and all temporal rewards from the favor of the gods to the upright: concluding, however, with some remarks not less worthy the philosopher than the poet, which are the foundation of that beautiful and well-known allegory the Choice of Hercules, and which have been variously repeated in all the languages of Europe[25].

Hesiod. Op. & Di. l. 1. v. 211—290.

Among the Greeks afterward, of the most polished ages, the belief was evidently popular, that their early forefathers, on momentous occasions, made human sacrifices; and yet neither Homer nor Hesiod warrant it. But the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, unnoticed by those poets of remotest antiquity, is mentioned by the next known, tho with wide interval, after them, Pindar and Æschylus. After these again, the philosophic Euripides, the friend of Socrates, took a story of the

Ch. 1. s. 4. of this Hist.

Pind. Pyth. 2. Æschyl. Agamem. p. 220. ed. H. Steph.

[24] In translating quotations from Greek authors, I prefer the risk of some uncouthness of phrase to those wide deviations from the original expression for which French criticism allows large indulgence. Even poetry I have always endeavored to render, as nearly as possible, word for word. Our language is certainly more favorable for this purpose than the French. But Pope's translation, itself an admirable poem, will seldom answer the end of those who desire to know with any precision what Homer has said.

[25] The deficiency of Homer's religious and moral system remained to a late age in Greece. A very remarkable passage in the second book of Plato's republic (p. 364. t. 2.) shows how little in his time a virtuous and blameless life was supposed a recommendation to divine favor, and how much more importance was attributed to sacrifice and the observation of ceremonies. In a still much later age Lucian found the discordance of Grecian religion with all morality, a very just subject for satire, and he has ridiculed it with as much reason as wit: Ἐγὼ γάρ, ἄχρι μὲν ἐν παισὶν ἦν, ἀκούων Ὁμήρου καὶ Ησιόδου πολέμους καὶ ϛάσεις διηγουμένων, κ. τ. ε. Necyomant. See also Plutarch's life of Pericles, toward the end.

sacrifice

sacrifice of a daughter of Erechtheus king of Athens for the subject of a tragedy, which we find an eminent orator of the next age, the age of Plato, Aristotle and Demosthenes, recommending to the admiration of the Athenian people. Nor was this work, of which but a small fragment has been preserved, the only one in which that poet showed his favor to the kind of subject, and his opinion of its popularity; for in his tragedy of Hecuba, which fortunately remains to us, the lovely Polyxena, daughter of the unfortunate queen, is devoted to sacrifice. How the notion should have arisen, and gained popular credit between the ages of Homer and Pindar, seems difficult to conjecture, and the more so as the human sacrifices, celebrated by the most eminent poets, are attributed to the times of which Homer treated, or times even before them.

Lycurg. con. Leocrat. p. 203. t. 4. Or. Gr. Reiske.

The different functions of the gods, and the different and often opposite parts which they were supposed to take in human affairs, were a plentiful source of superstitious rites, as well as of advantages to those who, in consequence either of office or their own pretensions, were supposed to have more immediate communication with any deity. 'Tell me which of the immortals hinders me!' the anxious question of Menelaüs to the daughter of Proteus, must have occurred often as a most perplexing doubt in disappointment and calamity. Without information which of the gods was adverse, the expence of propitiatory hecatombs was vain; for the number of Grecian divinities was, in Homer's time, far beyond the bounds of calculation, as we may learn from the address of Ulysses to the unknown deity of a river; and when afterward the number of worshipped gods was prodigiously increased, those unnamed and unknown were not the less innumerable.

Odyss. l. 4. v. 380.

Odyss. l. 5. v. 445.

The opinion was general that the gods often visited the earth, sometimes in visible shape, and that they interfered in human concerns upon all occasions. Numberless passages in various authors prove that this belief continued long popular. Throughout Homer's poems the splendid actions of men always, and sometimes those of little consequence, are attributed to the immediate influence of some deity. Thus Ulysses says, not 'If I shall overcome the proud suitors,' but 'If God, 'through me, shall overcome the proud suitors.' These opinions could not

Odyss. l. 3. v. 420. & l. 17. v. 484. Odyss. l. 7. v. 201. & mult. al. loc. Iliad. & Odyss. Iliad. l. 23. v. 863. & 872. Odyss. l. 19. v. 488.

not but have powerful effects. They were sometimes an incentive to bravery, sometimes an excuse for cowardice: often they decided the fate of a battle. In the sixth book of the Iliad the Trojans are described yielding before the Greeks; but, incouraged by Hector, they stand and renew the ingagement. This turn, the cause of which was not immediately apparent, excited in the Greeks a sudden fancy that some divinity was descended from heaven to assist their enemies, who in consequence recovered the advantage. We might suppose, from the liveliness of the poet's description, that he had been eyewitness to some such circumstance.

Iliad. l. 6. v. 108.

It is so easy, in times of general ignorance, for men of some cunning to find means of cheating the more thoughtless into an extravagant opinion of their abilities, and mankind is, through the uncertain foresight of reason, so interested in future events, that no country has been without its soothsayers. Those fixed oracles, afterward so important in Grecian politics, had apparently not, so early as the Trojan war, any very extensive celebrity. The prophetical groves of the Pelasgian Jupiter at Dodona were indeed not without fame; but they were too inconveniently situated, beyond vast ridges of mountains, in a remote corner of the country, for the Greeks in general to have means of consulting them. Delphi, mentioned both in the Iliad and Odyssee by the name of Pytho, a name which continued long to be applied to the temple and sacred precinct, must also have had reputation for its prophetical powers, which alone apparently could procure it those riches for which it was already remarkable; and indeed Agamemnon is said to have consulted it before he undertook the expedition against Troy. But it was less usual, at great trouble and expence, to consult a distant oracle, while the belief was yet popular that individuals were everywhere to be found so inspired by the deity as to have the power of foretelling events, without depending upon any particular temple or sacred place as a peculiar residence of the god. Views of interest, as we learn from Homer, often induced men of abilities and experience really superior, to pretend to such divine intercourse. Calchas, the great seer of the Grecian army before Troy, who is said to have known things past, present, and future, was also the chief pilot of the fleet; and the poet attributes

Odyss. l. 14. v. 327. & l. 19. v. 296. Iliad. l. 9. v. 404. Odyss. l. 8. v. 79. Xen. Apol. Socr. s. 12. Strab. l. 9. p. 417. & 420. Odyss. l. 8. v. 75.

Iliad. l. 1. v. 71.

attributes his knowledge, even as a pilot, not to his experience, but to the immediate inspiration of Apollo. Augury, or the pretended science of divination by observation of various circumstances of nature, highly respected in the most polished ages of Greece, was already in some repute. It appears however doubtful in what estimation Homer himself held it. He makes Hector, the most pious and the most amiable of his heroes, speak of it with contempt[26]: yet in the end he makes the same Hector acknowlege the superior wisdom of Polydamas, who confided in augury. Iliad. l. 22. v. 99.

The human soul was generally believed immortal; but it is a gloomy, discontented, nugatory immortality that Homer assigns even to his greatest characters[27]. The Celtic bards and Teutonic scalds far otherwise inspired contempt of danger and ambition to die in battle. The difference had been observed in Lucan's time, and forcibly struck the lively imagination of that poet[28]. Yet the drunken paradise of the Scandinavian Odin, the Woden of our Anglo-saxon ancestors, often mistakenly considered as originating in a grossness of manners and ideas peculiar to the Teutonic hords, was really a notion, as we learn from Plato, of the highest antiquity among the Greeks. If it was known to Homer, his taste indeed rejected it, but his judgement was unable to clear away the various other absur-

[26] Where he utters that noble sentiment of patriotic heroïsm:
Εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος, ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.—Iliad. l. 12. v. 243.

[27] Hence those lines in Virgil's invocation to Augustus:
—— Nam te nec sperent Tartara regem,
Nec tibi regnandi veniat tam dira cupido:
Quamvis Elysios miretur Græcia campos,
Nec repetita sequi curet Proserpina matrum.—Georg. 1. 39.

[28] Et vos barbaricos ritus moremque sinistrum
Sacrorum, Druidæ, positis repetistis ab armis.
Solis nosse deos & cœli numina vobis,
Aut solis nescire datum. Nemora alta remotis
Incolitis lucis. Vobis auctoribus umbræ
Non tacitas Erebi sedes, Ditisque profundi
Pallida regna petunt: reget idem spiritus artus
Orbe alio: longæ (canitis si cognita) vitæ
Mors media est. Certe populos quos despicit Arctos
Felices errore suo, quos ille, timorum
Maximus, haud urget leti metus! Inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces
Mortis, & ignavum redituræ parcere vitæ.—Lucan. Pharsal. l. 1.

dities of popular belief, or to put forward any rational system. Some idea of reward and punishment in a future life prevailed in his age; but it was impossible that it should be regulated by any just criterion of moral good and evil, where morality had so little connection with religion, and where every vice found favor with the gods. As Hesiod's morality is more pure, so his notions of a future state are less melancholy than those of Homer.

SECTION II.

Of the Government and Jurisprudence of the early Greeks.

IN painting the religion, government, manners, arts, and knowlege of the age of Agamemnon, Homer seems to give precisely those of his own time. He nowhere marks any difference, and there appears no good reason for supposing that any considerable difference was known to him, if indeed any existed. As a poet, he magnifies the strength of men of old; but without at all attributing, like many modern writers, the decay of strength to any change of manners; and we find explained by Hesiod, what in Homer is only implied, that, as the heroes of his poems were mostly sons or grandsons of gods or goddesses, it was consonant to the nature of things that they should be indowed with very superior abilities to the men of his own days, who were some generations farther removed from such lofty origin[29].

As late then as Homer's own time, the Greeks had not arrogated to themselves any superiority of national character above the people of the surrounding countries; and in fact they seem not yet to have excelled their neighbors in any circumstance of science, art, or civilization. The term Barbarian was not yet in use: they had not a name even for themselves collectively; and they scarcely seem to have considered themselves as unitedly forming a distinct nation; a

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 3.

[29] Αὗται θεητοῖσι παρ' ἄνδρασιν ἐυπηθεῖσαι
Ἀθάναται γείναντο Διΐ ἐπιείκελα τέκνα.
Hes. Theogon. v. 1019.

And to the same purpose a quotation in the third book of Plato's Republic (1)
Οὕπω σφιν ἐξέπηλον ἀΐμα δαιμόνων.

(1) Vol. 2. p. 291.

Peloponnesian

Peloponnesian esteeming a Thessalian, as such, little more his fellow-countryman than a native of Phenicia or Egypt. The connection between the inhabitants of the several states, which appears alone to have had any great weight, was consanguinity. For this the Greeks retained long such a regard as greatly to influence their politics. It was indeed natural, that, while the tenure of cities and countries was so very precarious, the opinion of being descended from the same common ancestors should bind men more strongly together than the meer circumstance of possessing territories bounded by the same mountains or the same seas. There was hardly a leader in the Trojan war, who was not connected by blood with many others. This would not a little facilitate the forming of so extensive a league; and the league itself might contribute to strengthen the connection. But any tradition, however uncertain, or after whatsoever interval revived, of derivation from the same forefathers, had, to a late period, remarkable influence among the Grecian people.

Yet we find in Homer no trace of the divisions of the Greek nation into Ionian, Æolian, and Dorian, which became afterward of so great consideration. The whole country was under the dominion of those kindred chieftains; every town of any consequence having its own prince; and the subjects were a mixed people, strangers being everywhere admitted to municipal rights with little reserve. But the antient Grecian princes were not absolute, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus remarks, like the Asiatic monarchs; their power was limited by laws and established customs. This observation, supported by the higher authority of Thucydides [30], is not only confirmed, but explained in some detail, by the still superior testimony of Homer. The poet himself appears a warm friend to monarchal rule, and takes every opportunity zealously to inculcate loyalty. It is a common expression with him, that 'the people revered their leaders as gods;' and he attributes to kings a degree of divine right to respect and authority: 'The honor of the king,' says Ulysses in the Iliad, 'is from Jupiter, 'and the allwise Jupiter loves him;' and again, 'The government of 'many is bad: let there be one chief, one king.' It is however

Dionys. Hal. Antiq. Rom. l. 5.

Iliad. l. 2. v. 197.

[30] Ἦσαν ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γέρασι πατρικαὶ βασιλεῖαι. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 13.

sufficiently evident that the poet means here to speak of executive government only: 'Let there be one chief, one king,' he says, but he adds, 'to whom Jupiter hath intrusted the scepter and the laws, 'THAT BY THEM HE MAY GOVERN.' Accordingly, in every Grecian government which he has occasion to inlarge upon, he plainly discovers to us strong principles of republican rule. Not only the council of principal men, but the assembly of the people also is familiar to him. The name AGORA, signifying a place of meeting, and the verb formed from it, to express haranguing in assemblies of the people, were already in common use; and to be a good public speaker was esteemed among the highest qualifications a man could possess. In the government of Phæacia, as described in the Odyssee, the mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, is not less clearly marked than in the British constitution. One chief, twelve peers (all honored like the chief with that title which we translate King) and the assembly of the people, shared the supreme authority [31]. The universal and undoubted prerogatives of kings were religious supremacy, and military command. They exercised also judicial power [32]. But in all civil concerns their authority appears very limited. Everything indeed that remains concerning government, in the oldest Grecian poets and historians, tends to demonstrate that the general spirit of it among the early Greeks was nearly the same as among our Teutonic ancestors. The ordinary business of the community was directed by the chiefs. Concerning extraordinary matters, and more essential interests, the multitude

Iliad. l. 2. v. 204.

Odyss. l. 7. v. 186. & l. 8. v. 387.

Odyss. l. 2. v. 26. & l. 24. v. 419.

Iliad. l. 9. v. 441. & 443. &

Odyss. l. 8. v. 170.

Odyss. l. 8. v. 385.

Tacit. de Mor. Germ. c. 11.

[31] Κέκλυτε Φαιήκων ἡγήτορες ἠδὲ μέδοντες.

Δώδεκα γὰρ κατὰ δῆμον ἀριπρεπέες βασιλῆες
Ἀρχοὶ κραίνουσι, τρισκαιδέκατος δ' ἐγὼ αὐτός.
Odyss. l. 8. v. 387.

This phrase would seem to describe an oligarchal or aristocratical rather than a monarchal government, but that the superior authority of the monarch is marked in other passages. The titles both βασιλεὺς and ἄναξ were antiently given to any powerful men without accurate distinction. The former became afterward strictly appropriated as our title King now is, but the latter continued long to be more loosely applied; as may be seen in the Œdipus Tyrannus of Sophocles, v. 85, 312, 643, & 930. Isocrates uses βασιλεὺς as exactly synonymous with king, and ἄναξ as exactly synonymous with prince, calling the king's sons ἀνακτες, and his daughters ἀνάσσαι. Evag. encom. p. 318. t. 2. ed. Auger.

[32] Κύριοι δέ ἦσαν (οἱ βασιλεῖς) τῆς τε κατὰ πόλεμον ἡγεμονίας, καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν, ὅσαι μὴ ἱερατικαὶ, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τὰς δίκας ἔκρινον. Aristot. Polit. l. 3. c. 14. See also Thucydides, b. 50. c. 13.

claimed a right to be consulted, and it was commonly found expedient to consult them.

Thus much we learn with certainty of the principles of government in Homer's age: and we are not less informed that the application of them was very generally irregular and inefficacious. The whole tenor of the Odyssee shows on how weak a foundation all political institutions rested. It appears to have been universally understood that monarchies were in some degree hereditary; and the right of primogeniture was strongly favored by popular opinion. Yet Homer, advocate as he is for monarchy, seems plainly to admit a right in the people to interfere and direct the succession. Telemachus was to succeed unquestionably to his father's estate; but the succession to the throne was legally open to competition: there was always room for the pretensions of the worthiest; which was but another name for the most powerful. It has been said to have been Homer's intention, after having, in the Iliad, set bodily abilities in the most brilliant light, to show, in the Odyssee, the preëminence of mental powers. Yet such was the state of things in his age that, to give mental powers any efficacy, he has been obliged to add a high degree, indeed a general superiority, of bodily strength and bodily accomplishments. Hence even the most renowned princes were reduced, in the decrepitude of years, to resign the powers of royalty, and esteem themselves fortunate if they could retain the honors. The government of the ilands over which Laërtes, and after him his son Ulysses, reigned, was, if we may judge from Homer, at least as well regulated as any of Greece; and those princes are represented equally beloved and respected by the people. Yet in the absence of the son, in the vigor of manhood, the venerable character of the father was utterly unable to preserve its due authority. 'Tell 'me,' says the shade of Achilles to Ulysses in the Elysian fields, 'do 'the Myrmidons yet honor the illustrious Peleus? Or is he set at 'nought since age hath infeebled his limbs; and I no longer his 'assistant exist under the light of the sun, such as in the fields of 'Troy I dealt death to the bravest while I fought for the Greeks? If 'such I could return but for a moment to my father's house, those 'should

Odyss. l. 1. v. 386. & 401.

See particularly Odyss. l. 8. v. 158—234.

Odyss. l. 11. v. 493.

'should dread my strength and my invincible arm, who violate his 'rights, or obtrude upon his honors.'

It appears, nevertheless, that government and the administration of justice had acquired considerable strength and steddiness, through Peloponnesus at least, since the age of Hercules and Theseus. The political state of that country, in the times which Homer describes, very much resembled that of the kingdoms of western Europe in the feudal ages. The chiefs, whom we call kings, were as the barons who exercised royal rights within their own territories; all acknowleging the head of the Pelopid family as lord paramount. As the kings of Argos were able men, the consequence of this subordination, however, checked for a time by the usurpation of Ægistheus, could not but be favorable to the administration of justice and the well-being of the Peloponnesian people.

We find in Homer no mention of a republic, nor is there reported by any other author any tradition that, so early as his age, a government existed in Greece, in which a single person did not preside with the title of king, and with the prerogatives already mentioned as inherent in royalty. Yet, within no long period after him, monarchal rule was almost universally abolished, even the title of King nearly lost, and the term Tyrant substituted for it. This would appear a change not easy to account for, had not Homer himself shown that strong tinge of republican principles in the constitution of the little states of Greece, even while princes of acknowleged right were at the head of them. There is in the Odyssee a pointed expression to this purpose, which may deserve notice: Ulysses, addressing himself as a suppliant to the queen of a strange country, on the coast of which he had saved himself from shipwreck, says, 'May the gods 'grant you and your guests to live happily; and may you all transmit 'to your children your possessions in your houses, and whatsoever 'HONORS THE PEOPLE HATH GIVEN YOU[33].'

While laws were yet unwritten they could be but few and simple; and judicial proceedings, founded upon them, little directed by any

[33] ——— Τέρας δ' ἔτι Δῆμος ἔδωκεν. Odyss. l. 7. v. 150.

just

just or settled principles for the investigation of right and wrong. 'The people were assembled in the market-place, when a dispute arose 'between two men concerning the payment of a fine for manslaughter[34]. 'One of them, addressing the bystanders, asserted that he had paid 'the whole; the other insisted that he had received nothing: both 'were earnest to bring the dispute to a judicial determination. The 'people grew noisy in favor some of the one, some of the other: but 'the heralds interfering inforced silence; and the elders approaching, 'with scepters of heralds in their hands, seated themselves on the 'polished marble benches in the sacred circle. Before them the 'litigants, earnestly stepping forward, pleaded by turns; while two 'talents of gold lay in the midst, to be awarded to him who should 'support his cause by the fairest arguments and the clearest testi-'mony[35].' Such is Homer's account of a court of justice, and a lawsuit. The defendant first endeavored to ingage in his favor the people assembled occasionally about their ordinary business. The plausibility of his story, and probably some personal interest besides, for the amount of the fine proves the litigants to have been men of some consequence, procured him immediately a party; but not such

Il. l. 18. v. 497—508.

[34] Ἀνδρὸς ἀποφθιμένου, which might be either manslaughter, or the very different crime, tho similar act, of murder: for Grecian law was yet little nice in distinctions.

[35] In revising this translation, some years after it was first made, I found I had unawares differed from the scholiast and from all the most received versions. But I learnt from Pope's note upon the passage, that the common interpretation, which he has followed, is not undisputed; and his reason given for preferring it I scarcely comprehend. A public reward proposed either for the cunningest pleader, or the cunningest judge, on the decision of every cause, seems nearly an equal absurdity; nor does it appear to me that, consistently with common sense, the two talents of gold can be considered otherwise than as the amount of the fine itself, the very object in litigation. The words of the original perfectly bear that interpretation. My version of the preceding line,

Τοῖσιν ἔπειτ' ἤϊσσον, ἀμοιβηδὶς δ' ἐδίκαζον,

I submit with more doubt to the learned in the language. The spirit of the passage makes me wish that it could be supported, tho I cannot undertake myself intirely to defend it.

Pope, in his translation of this passage, and it is but common justice to Homer to mention it, has taken a very unwarrantable liberty; describing the judges in terms of ridicule, when the original authorizes no idea but of dignity. If Pope's passion for satire had not been irresistible, the respect due to his patron lord Harcourt, whom it appears he consulted upon the passage, should have guarded him against joking so much out of season.

as to prevent his opponent also from finding strong support. The voices of the people, therefore, not being likely to determine the business, it was agreed to refer it to the council of elders, who assembled instantly, and decided summarily. It is observable that in this business no mention is made of a king; and again in another passage of Homer, where the vengeance of Jupiter is denounced against those who give unjust judgements, it is not the tribunal of kings that is spoken of, but the assembly of the people[36].

What remains from Hesiod concerning the administration of justice, also merits notice. A lawsuit with his brother, in consequence of which he remained deprived of part of his patrimony, has given occasion to much of his poem intitled Of Works and Days. The word which we translate King, is there only found in the plural, and appears never intended to signify a monarch, but only magistrates or nobles, such as the twelve of Phæacia, or the elders bearing scepters of heralds in the sacred circle. Against those powerful men, whatever they were, who under that title, in his country of Bœotia, held the administration of justice, the poet inveys severely: his epithet for them, which he frequently repeats, is 'bribe-devouring kings.' In his Theogony we find a more pleasing picture: 'The chief of the Muses,' he there says, 'attends upon Kings. That King whom the Muses honor, and on 'whose birth they have looked propitious, on his tongue they pour 'sweet dew. From his mouth words flow persuasive. All the people 'look up to him while, pointing out the law, he decides in righteous 'judgement. Firm in his eloquence, with deep penetration, he quickly 'determines even a violent controversy. For this is the office of 'wisdom in kings; to repress outrage and injustice; administering 'equal right to all in the general assembly, and easily appeasing 'irritated minds with soothing words. When such a king walks 'through the city, eminent among the assembled people, he is courted 'as a god, with affectionate reverence. Such is the sacred gift of the 'Muses to men: for poets and musicians are from Apollo and the 'muses; but kings are from Jupiter himself.' It is remarkable that no legal power is here ascribed to the people; and yet, but for the

Hesiod. Op. & Di. l. 1. v. 37. & seq. & 236. & seq. Hesiod. Theogon. v. 96.

[36] Ἄνδρες ἐν ἀγορῇ. Iliad. l. 16. v. 386, 387.

mention

mention of the title of king, we might imagine the description to be of a demagogue in some of the subsequent democracies. The whole passage forms a striking picture of those middle times, between the barbarism when Orpheus governed brutes by song, or Amphion built city-walls with his lyre, and the meridian glory of eloquence and philosophy, which ought to have produced a political quiet, unfortunately never found in Greece.

SECTION III.

Science, Arts, and Commerce among the early Greeks. Letters: Language: Poetry: Music. Husbandry: Traffic. Masonry. Manufactures: Commerce. Art of War. Navigation. Astronomy. Physic.

WE have already observed, as a remarkable circumstance in Grecian history, that its oldest traditionary memorials relate, not to war and conquest, generally the only materials of the annals of barbarous ages, but to the invention or introduction of institutions the most indispensable to political society, and of arts even the most necessary to human life. In no country whose history begins at a later period, do we find the faintest tradition, even a fable, concerning the first institution of marriage: in Greece it was attributed to Cecrops. In Greece tradition mentions the original production of the olive, the first culture of the vine, and even the first sowing of corn. The first use of mills for grinding corn is also recorded. The knowlege of the cultivation and use of the olive, of the preparation of a lasting food from milk by converting it into cheese, and of the domestication of bees for their honey and wax, was said to have been brought from the banks of the river Triton in Africa by Aristæus: and so important was the information to the wild tribes of hunters who first occupied Greece, that Aristæus had the fame of being the son of Apollo, the god of science; the herdmen and rustic nymphs, among whom he had been educated, were raised in idea to beings above human condition, and he was

Justin. l. 2. c. 6. Plat. de Leg. l. 6. p. 782. Pausan. l. 3. c. 20.

Diod. Sic. l. 4. c. 83. Pindar. Pyth. 9.

Æschyl. Eumen.

reported to be himself immortal. The goddess of art, Minerva, according to the oldest Athenian author from whom anything remains to us, tho reputed the peculiar patroness of Athens, was born in the same part of Africa whence Aristæus came. Music, poetry, several musical instruments, many sorts of versification, have moreover their inventors named in Grecian tradition. Not to expatiate in the wide field thus opened for inquiry and remark, one inference it may not be alien from the office of history to suggest. Opinions heretofore held by learned men concerning the age of the world, chiefly derived from the Hebrew Scriptures, have lately been treated by some fashionable writers with a degree of ridicule. Whether anything in those Scriptures can authorize any calculation of the years which have passed since the matter which composes our globe has taken nearly its present form, appears at least dubious [37]. But if, neglecting the arrogant and exploded absurdity of Egyptian vanity, we form a judgement from the modest and undesigning traditions of early Greece, from the tenor of the oldest poets, from the researches of Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, Strabo, even Diodorus Siculus, and in general of the most inquisitive and judicious Grecian prose-writers concerning the early state of nations, all concur, and the latest and best accounts even of Chinese litterature go with them [38], strongly to indicate that the centuries since the Flood, or since mankind has existed in its present state, are not likely to have been many more than Sir Isaac Newton has supposed; and all remarkably accord with the Hebrew authors.

We might however perhaps judge with more rational confidence on this subject, if we knew more of the beginning of that art to which we are indebted for all our acquaintance with antiquity. But the investigation of the origin of LETTERS was in vain attempted by the most learned among the antients, who possessed means not remaining to us. Yet the pursuit has been revived, and anxiously urged among the moderns; two of whom, in our own country, men of singular learning,

[37] See Pownall's Treatise on the Study of Antiquities.

[38] See Gibbon's History of the Roman Empire, c. 26. with the notes 22, 23, 24, 25, and the authorities there quoted.

unable by the most extensive and exact researches to ascertain either how or where alphabetical writing was invented, have yet deserved highly of the litterary world by showing how and where it might have been invented. For, the art itself being so simple and familiar, yet the means of discovering it so extremely difficult to imagine, while its utility is so beyond all estimation, some learned men, at a loss to conceive its invention by human powers, have supposed it an immediate communication from the deity. But since bishop Warburton and the lord of session Monboddo have shown the possibility, and even probability, that we owe alphabetical writing to the genius of Egypt, governor Pownall has gone farther, and seems to have shown, in some degree, the process of the invention from Egyptian monuments yet remaining. Even to this apparent proof, however, a very strong objection occurs: the learned among the Egyptians themselves knew nothing of that gradual rise of the art which it has been endeavored to investigate among the scanty relics of their antient monuments. They attributed the intire invention to one person, whose name has been variously written Thoth, Thyoth, Theuth, Athothes, Taautus, and who passed with them for a god[39]. On the contrary, among the Assyrians, who, with many other arts, possessed that of alphabetical writing at a period far beyond connected history, no tradition appears to have remained, by whom it was invented or whence it came: and it is a remarkable circumstance, tho to found on it any positive inference, it must be confessed, were hazardous, that, while many, both Greek and Roman writers, ascribe the invention to the Syrians or Phenicians, the earliest occasion upon which history or tradition mentions the USE of Letters, was the Delivery of the Decalogue to the people of Israel.

Divine Legation. Origin of Language. Essay on the Study of Antiquities.

Shuckford's Connection of Sacred and Prophane History.

Tho therefore doubt yet hangs about the origin of this inestimable art, and some may still be inclined to suppose with Diodorus or with Pliny that letters were of Asiatic birth, while others believe with Plato that they were invented in Egypt, yet from that very remote age in which they are known to have been used for the purpose of recording

Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 7. c. 56.

[39] Through some analogy, familiar, it should seem, to the Greeks and Romans, tho not now very apparent, the Egyptian god Thoth was often called by the former Hermes, by the latter Mercurius.

Plat. Philebus, p. 19. t. 2. & Phædrus. p. 274. t. 3. ed. Serr.

the divine law, we can trace their history, or, at least, the history of their progress westward, with some certainty. Indeed every known alphabet bears strong marks of derivation from one common source, whence Egypt, Syria, and Assyria had all profited before its advantages were known to the rest of the world[40]. According to the report most generally received among the Greeks, letters were first introduced into their country by a colony of orientals, who founded Thebes in Bœotia; and the very near resemblance of the first Greek alphabet to the Phenician, indeed sufficiently testifies whence it came[41]. The name of Cadmus, by which the leader of the colony became known to posterity, signified, it has been observed, in the Phenician language, an eastern man: and, till the overwhelming irruption of Bœotians from Thessaly, about sixty years (according to Thucydides) after the Trojan war, the country was called Cadmeïs, and the people Cadmeians[42].

Sharpe on the Origin of Languages.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 12.

But

[40] Astle, in his treatise on the Origin and Progress of Writing, mentions that alphabets have been discovered among the eastern nations which cannot have been derived from that ONE, which, he yet allows, 'has 'given origin to the far greater part of those 'now used in different parts of the globe '(1).' The reasons however which he states for the opinion seem not conclusive.

Since the first publication of the foregoing note I have had the satisfaction to observe that Gibbon's very extensive inquiries have led him to a similar conclusion. Rom. Hist. c. 24. And he adds (c. 42. note 36) 'I have long harboured a suspicion that all the Scythian, and some, perhaps much of the Indian science, was derived from the Greeks of Bactriana.'

[41] Concors pene omnium scriptorum opinio est Græcas a Phœnicibus literas esse mutuatas, & ante Cadmi ætatem nullas apud Græcos extitisse literas.—Ære perennius documentum superest vel ex nominibus literarum, quæ in utraque lingua, Phœnicia videlicet & Græca, eadem prorsus sunt. Montfaucon Paleograph. Græc. l. 2. c. 1.

[42] Καδμεῖοι is the common name for the inhabitants of Bœotia with Homer and Hesiod (2), as well as with Æschylus, Euripides, and Sophocles. But this name seems not to have been confined to those orientals who settled in that province. Herodotus (3) speaks of Cadmeians who expelled the Dorians from Histiæotis in Thessaly. History is not without other examples of national names arising in the same manner; among which that of the Normans is remarkable, and in every point analogous to that of the Cadmeians: losing, in their settlement in France, both the name and the language of their original country, their new name of Normans was an appellation descriptive of the relative situation of their old country to their new, in words of the lost language. Homer has used the Cadmeian name in two places with a different termination, Καδμείωναι (4); and it

(1) Orig. & Prog. of Writing, c. 4. p. 48, 49, &c. c. 5. p. 64.
(2) Iliad. l. 4. v. 388 & 391. & Odyss. l. 11. v. 275. Scut. Herc. v. 13. (3) Herod. l. 1. c. 56.
(4) Iliad. l. 4. v. 385. & l. 23. v. 680.

has

But we find strong reason to suppose that, in the early ages, the difference of language over Asia, Africa, and Europe, as far as their inhabitants of those ages are known to us, was but a difference of dialect; and that the people of Greece, Phenicia, and Egypt, mutually understood each other[43]. Nor does any circumstance in the history of the Grecian people appear more difficult to account for, even in conjecture, than the superiority of form and polish which their speech acquired, in an age beyond tradition, and in circumstances apparently most unfavorable. For it was amid continual migrations, expulsions, mixtures of various hords, and revolutions of every kind, the most unquestionable circumstances of early Grecian history, that was formed that language, so simple in its analogy, of such complex art in its composition and inflexion, of such clearness, force, and elegance in its contexture, and of such singular sweetness, variety, harmony, and majesty, in its sound. Already in the time of Homer and Hesiod, who lived long before writing was common, we find it in full possession of these perfections; and we learn on no less authority than that of Plato,

has been observed that, thus written, it bears a very near resemblance to the name of a people of Canaan mentioned in the book of Joshua to have been expelled by the Israelites. Upon a meer resemblance of the orthography of names, however, little or nothing can be founded. Similar changes of termination are common with Homer for the purposes of variety and meter only.

[43] For the affinity of the early languages of Asia, Africa, and Europe, Sharpe on the Origin of Languages, Monboddo on the Origin of Language, and Pownall on the Study of Antiquities may be refered to; and the opinion receives no small confirmation from one of the most observant and intelligent of modern Travellers, Voyage en Egypte & en Syrie par M. C. F. Volney, ch. 6. p. 77. t. 1. ed. 1787. The Greek and Latin languages are of acknowleged oriental origin. The Teutonic dialects, notwithstanding their coarseness, have a manifest affinity with the Greek and Latin. The Celtic dialects have, in many characteristical circumstances, a close analogy to the Hebrew and its allied oriental tongues (1). In the Welsh the deficiency of a present tense to the verbs, the having often the third person singular of the past tense for the root, and the use of affixed pronouns and particles, are remarkable. Its particular resemblance to the Arabic in its innumerable forms for plurals of nouns is also remarkable. Whence arose the strong characteristical differences which distinguish the Greek and Latin from their parent languages of the east; and how, among the western nations, the Celtic, the most westerly, held the oriental character, while the Persian, eastward among the Orientals, acquired a middle character between the more westerly Asiatic and the Greek, are problems which excite curiosity, but which scarcely the learning and diligence of a Gebelin will ever solve.

(1) See major (now general) Vallancy's Essay on the Antiquity of the Irish Language, and his Grammar of the Iberno-Celtic.

that

Plat. de Leg. l. 8. p. 829. t. 2.

that still in his time the diction of Thamyras and Orpheus, supposed to have lived long before Homer, was singularly pleasing.

The history of Grecian LETTERS lies more open to investigation. Manners and customs have remained in the East remarkably unvaried through all ages; and language has been, in the same countries, proportionally permanent. The Syriac and Arabic, to this day, bear a close affinity to the Hebrew, even of the Pentateuch. Through the Arabic, therefore, the Syriac, Samaritan, Chaldee, and Hebrew, we have means of tracing one language almost to the beginning of things. In all these dialects we find that orthography has always been very imperfect. It has been much contested whether the antient orientals used any characters to express vowels [44]. It is certain that the modern Arabs, with twenty-eight letters in their alphabet, acknowlege none for vowels; and the Persians, with a very different language, adopting the Arabic alphabet, have added some consonants wanting for their pronuntiation, and only consonants. It should seem, from these circumstances, that oriental pronuntiation and oriental orthography have been settled by organs and perceptions not very elegant and discerning. Consonants indeed have been distinguished with some accuracy each by its proper letter: for consonant sounds are mostly so separated by their nature, and so incapable of being blended, that the dullest ear easily discriminates them. But it is not so with the liquid sound of vowels. Inaccurate organs of pronuntiation will confound, and inaccurate organs of hearing will mistake, especially in hasty utterance, those which, deliberately spoken by a good voice, appear, to a discerning ear, strongly distinguished. The orientals, therefore, in committing

[44] Masclef's account of the Hebrew alphabet I prefer to any that I have seen. That author seems to have been well acquainted with the general character of eastern pronuntiation, and with the analogy between pronuntiation and orthography in the eastern languages. Dr. Gregory Sharpe, who has followed, with a view to improve upon him, evidently knowing little of any language but his own, except through books, yet bold enough magisterially to contradict those who had means which he could not have, has labored to form a system upon the very mistaken supposition that elementary sounds are, in the pronuntiation of all people, the same. For supplying the deficient vowels, Sharpe's proposal is preferable to Masclef's, because more simple; the quality which alone can make the merit of either, as both are equally unfounded on any authority. For authority for the Arabic alphabet I follow Richardson's Grammar.

language

language to writing, expressed vowels in those syllables only where the vowel-sound, whether through length or accent, was more particularly marked by the voice; leaving it in others to be supplied by the reader's knowlege of the word. Thus in all the eastern dialects, antient and modern, we find numberless words, and some of many syllables, without a single vowel written. It seems, however, to be admitted that three of the Arabic letters were originally vowels[45]; and there remains, apparently, ample proof that at least the three corresponding Hebrew letters were also vowels[46]. But neither in the Arabic nor Persian (which would appear to us more extraordinary if the same abuse was not familiar, tho somewhat less gross and less frequent, in our own language) is the letter written a guide to be relied upon for the vowel to be pronounced. Hence it seems to have been that, in all the oriental languages, those letters have ceased to support their reputation of vowels; and hence the comparatively modern resource of points, which, without removing the vowel-letters from their orthographical station, intirely supersede them in the office of directing the voice[47].

I have

[45] Among many proofs that some of the Arabic letters were originally true vowels, the older Persic writings in the Arabic character, appear strong; for in them, we are told, every syllable had its vowel (1). The pronuntiation of the Persic is more delicate, and its form more perfect than those of the western Asiatic tongues, and in both it approaches nearer to the Greek.

[46] Quas veteres Hebræi Matres Lectionis vocârunt (2). If any letter of the Hebrew alphabet was a vowel, א would be such; and we have the express testimony of Josephus to three more: יהוה. Ταῦτα δέ ἐστι φωνήεντα τέσσαρα (3). The Arabic letters also, Alif, Waw, Ya, corresponding to the Hebrew which we call Alef, Vau or Waw, Jod, the Matres Lectionis, if they are not vowels, are nothing; for it is comparatively seldom that Waw and Ya are sounded like our v and j consonants. Beside these, the letters Ain and He, corresponding to the Hebrew letters of the same names, are, one always, the other sometimes, vowels. But these five vowel-letters are very irregularly applied to the expression of vowel-sounds; or, to speak familiarly to English ears, words in the Arabic continually, and in the Persian often, are not to be pronounced as they are spelt, but in a manner widely different. Moreover, tho there are five letters in the Arabic alphabet really vowels, yet only three vowel-sounds can be discriminated by them; for the letters Ain and He seem to have no vowel-powers that are not also possessed by other letters.

[47] It seems to be now decided, among the learned, that the vowel-points of the Arabs and Persians were unknown till after the age of Mahomet, and that the Hebrew points

(1) See Richardson's Dissertation on Eastern Languages, p. 236. of 2d edit.

(2) Mascl. Gram. Heb. c. 1. Numb. 2. (3) De. Bell. Jud. l. 6. c. 15

were

I have been induced to enter the more minutely, I fear tediously for some readers, into this detail, because we seem hence to acquire considerable light on some circumstances, otherwise unaccountable, in so curious and interesting a part of the history of mankind as the history of Grecian litterature. The lowest date assigned to the arrival of Cadmus in Greece is one thousand and forty-five years before Christ. Homer florished not less than two hundred years after him. It has been doubted whether Homer could write or read; and the arguments adduced for the negative, in Mr. Wood's Essay on the Original Genius of Homer, seem scarcely controvertible. The earliest Grecian prose-writers known to the antients themselves, were Pherecydes of Syrus, and Cadmus of Miletus; mentioned by Pliny to have lived during the reign of Cyrus king of Persia, and at least two hundred and fifty years after Homer. No Grecian state had its laws put in writing till about the same period, when Draco was archon at Athens, and Zaleucus lawgiver of the Epizephyrian Locrians[48]. The earliest Grecian prose-

Newton's Chronology, p. 13.

Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 5. c. 29. & l. 7. c. 56. Joseph. cont. Apion. l. 1. c. 2. Strab. l. 6. p. 259.

were imitated from them. The idea of using points to represent vowels appears to have been suggested by the Greek marks of accent. For when the Greek, through the Macedonian conquests, and still more through the Roman, became a universal language, marks, invented and first used in the Alexandrine school, came into general use to direct all nations to the proper accentuation. In our own language, and in the Italian and Spanish, the useful practice has been followed, and indeed is now deemed indispensable, in grammars and dictionaries. But when the Arabic, by the conquests of the Califs, became scarcely less extended than the Greek had been; and its men of learning, in the leisure of peace, and under the patronage of munificent princes, applied themselves diligently to the study of Grecian litterature, the inconveniencies of their own orthography would, particularly upon comparison, appear glaring. To remedy, therefore, the utter discord between their vowel-letters written, and vowel-sounds pronounced, and to remove the uncertainty of those syllables where custom had established that no vowel should be written, they took the Grecian marks of accent and aspiration, and, with some alterations and additions, applied them to represent the sound of vowels, and to supply other defects of their established orthography. Thus the French use the Greek marks of accent to discriminate the different sounds of the letter *e*, and to point out the omission of an orthographical *s*. Still, however, the new marks for vowels being only three, are very unequal to their purpose; and they have moreover never obtained general use either in Arabic or Persian writing.

[48] If any should be inclined to suppose that what Plato says of the laws of Minos king of Crete (1) being ingraved on brazen tablets, for the use of his itinerant chief justice Talus, was meant to be seriously taken, as reported on historical authority

(1) Plat Minos, p. 320. t. 2.

(of

prose-writers whose works had any considerable reputation with posterity, where Hecatæus of Miletus, and Pherecydes of Athens, who were about half a century later. The interval, therefore, between the first introduction of letters, and any familiar use of them was, by the most moderate computation, between four and five hundred years.

Herod. l. 2. c. 143. l. 5. c. 125. et l. 6. c. 137. Strab. l. 1. p. 18. & al. Dionys. Hal. Ant. Rom. l. 1.

Extraordinary as this very slow progress of so highly useful an art, among so ingenious and so informed a people, may on first view appear, circumstances are known which may amply account for it. The want of convenient and cheap materials for writing might almost alone suffice. The practice of the art was necessarily confined within very narrow limits, while, instead of the pen flowing on that cheap, commodious, and lasting material, paper, the graver was to be employed on plates of brass, or the chissel on blocks of marble. But to this must be added the consideration that the oriental characters, when first introduced into Greece, would not be readily applicable to Grecian speech. The oriental dialects appear always to have had, as they still have, harsh sounds, unutterable by the Greeks[49], and characters to express them, of course useless to the Greeks, while Grecian speech had sounds not to be expressed by any oriental character[50]. The invention,

(of which it does not, however, bear the least appearance) still the testimonies of Josephus and Strabo, so nearly concurring, should be decisive for the rest of Greece.

[49] Quas aures nostræ penitus reformidant, as it is observed by Jerom (1), and Grecian ears were still more fastidious than the Roman. Even Josephus, tho himself a Jew, and zealous for the honor of his nation, confesses that he dared not attempt to express the harshness of Hebrew names in Greek writing.

[50] Analogous circumstances, if we only look to the nations immediately surrounding us, are within our ready observation. We have no characters to express the sounds of the French *J*, or *U*, or final *N*; nor is the pronuntiation of the two latter easily acquired, unless in early years, by either an English or an Italian voice. The Spanish gutturals *G*, *J*, *X*, are equally strange to us. Of the whole utterance of the Dutch and German languages, tho so nearly related to our own, we may say with Jerom, Aures nostræ penitus reformidant. On the other hand, our vowel *I* is peculiar to ourselves; our sound of *CH*, familiar to the Spaniards and Italians, is unutterable to the French; and our two sounds of *TH*, familiar to the Greeks at the farther corner of Europe, who express them by their ϑ and δ, is unknown, and scarcely to be pronounced, by any other European people. If then England was at this day without letters, and an alphabet was acquired from the French, our nearest neighbors, from whom a large proportion of our language has been borrowed, it would not be the business of a

(1) Hieronym. de Locis Hebraicis, voce Ramasses.

invention, therefore, of new letters, or at least the invention of a new application of the old, would be indispensable: works which, if quickly completed, would still be long in gaining the necessary authority of popular use, in a half-polished nation, wanting commodious materials, and divided into independent states unnumbered. Nor do these circumstances rest upon surmize. We have a plain account of them in Herodotus, which bears in itself every appearance of being well-founded; and, assisted by what we know of oriental orthography, and what we learn from antient Greek inscriptions on marbles yet existing, becomes in every part intelligible, and almost circumstantial. The Cadmeians, that author says, at first used Letters exactly after the Phenician manner. But in process of time, their language receiving alterations, they changed also the power of some of their letters. Examples of Cadmeian letters, thus accommodated to Grecian speech, were remaining in the historian's time: who affirms that he saw them on some tripods in the temple of Apollo Ismenius at Thebes, the inscriptions on which he has transmitted to us. In this state letters passed, he continues, to the Ionian Greeks of Attica, and other neighboring provinces. By these some farther alterations were made; but the letters, he says, were still called Phenician. The principal additions, which the melodious sounds and accurate harmony of the Greek language required, were to the vowels. No syllable was suffered to be without its vowel written. Yet all the nice discriminations of vowel-sounds in the voice, even of those essential to the harmony of the language, were not at last expressed by written characters; tho in the end, instead of three discriminating vowel-letters, probably received from the East, the Greeks used seven vowel-letters of different powers, beside many combinations of vowels, called diphthongs; which, whatever composition of sound may be supposed in them, were so far simple sounds that each could contribute to the formation of but a single syllable. From the Greek was derived the Latin orthography, and

Herodot. l. 5. c. 59.

moment to apply that alphabet to our purpose. How should we express our *TH*, our *CH*, our *I*, and *J*, and our diphthong *OU*? While hesitating about these, we should find the French *U* superfluous; we have no such sound in our language; and, puzzled by their nasal utterance of the final *M* and *N*, so strange and so disagreeable to an English ear, we should be at a loss to assign to those characters their proper office.

thence that of all western Europe; among which the English, being the most irregular and imperfect, approaches nearest in character to the oriental [51].

But during the centuries while the Grecian alphabet was thus receiving its form, some very remarkable changes took place also in the method of writing; partly perhaps in consequence of the delay in establishing the alphabet, and itself no doubt a hindrance to the progress of letters among the Grecian people. It seems not questionable that, on the first introduction of letters into Greece, the oriental manner of arranging them obtained, from the right toward the left. Afterward the practice arose of forming the lines alternately from right to left, and from left to right; and then it became customary to begin

Astle on the Origin and Progress of Writing, c. 5.

[51] The vowels of the earliest Greek alphabet have been supposed only four, A, E, I, O, tho Υ is said to be found among the oldest extant inscriptions. The gradual additions have been traced in inscriptions, and their history has been confirmed from passages of Greek and Roman authors (1). The invention or introduction of particular letters by Palamedes, Simonides, and others, to whom it has been attributed, is not ascertained on any authority (2). The vowels of the antient Etruscan alphabet were only four, A, E, I, U (3). But the Greek O, and the Etruscan U, like the Hebrew ו in the time of Jerom, and the Arabic and Persian و at this day, were originally used both for the simple sound of O, and for that which was afterward distinguished by the diphthong ΟΥ; which had probably also a simple sound only, as it has now in the modern Greek, like the French *ou*, the English *oo*, and the Italian *u*. Hence also it appears probable, that the Greek termination ος and the Latin *us* had nearly the same enuntiation; and hence perhaps, rather than from any intended preference of the Latin ablative, the Italians, in dropping the *s*, have been led to substitute *o* for the the Latin *u*. If the orthography of our own language was not almost too irregular for example, we might produce many words in which *o* has the sound of *u*; but it deserves observation, that our usual short sound of *u*, which is peculiar to ourselves, resembles so nearly the Italian short sound of *o*, that the Italians, and also the French, use the letter *o* to express it. The Greek υ we know for certain to have had a very different sound from the Latin *u*, the long sound of which was in Greek represented by the diphthong *ov*, and the short by the vowel *o*. The modern Greeks also represent by their diphthong *ου*, the Italian vowel *u*, and our *oo*. The modern Greek υ, the Italian *u*, the French *u*, and the English *u*, have all different powers. What precisely was the power of the antient Greek υ we cannot certainly know: but strong national partiality only, and determined habit, could lead to the imagination cherished by some French critics, to whom otherwise Grecian litterature has high obligation, that it was a sound so unpleasant, produced by a position of the lips so ungraceful, as the French *u*.

(1) See Shuckford's Connection. b. 4. (2) Montfaucon. Palæograph. Græc. l. 2. c. 1.
(3) Gor. Mus. Etrusc. Prolegom. p. 48. & t. 2. p. 405.

from the left, and return in the second line to the left again. At length, about the time of the Persian invasion, several centuries after Cadmus, this alternate arrangement was finally disused, and the Greeks wrote only from the left toward the right. In this practice they have been followed by all the European nations, while the orientals still hold the original method of arranging their characters from the right toward the left.

After the general excellence of the Greek language, the perfection which its POETRY attained, at an era beyond almost all memorials, except what that poetry itself has preserved, becomes an object of high curiosity. In vain, however, would we inquire for the origin of that verse which, tho means no longer exist for learning to express its proper harmony, still, by a charm almost magical, pleases universally. But it was the ignorance of letters that gave poetry its consequence in the early ages. To assist memory was perhaps the original purpose for which verse was invented: certainly it was among its most important uses. How necessary even such precarious assistance was, and how totally the surer help of letters was wanting, we may judge from the difficulty which Homer ascribes to the exact recital of a catalogue of names. Hence Memory was deified: hence the Muses were called her immediate offspring. For this also, among other causes, poetry has in all countries preceded regular prose composition. Laws were, among the early Greeks, always promulgated in verse, and often publicly sung; a practice which remained, in some places, long after letters were become common[52]: morality was taught, history was delivered in verse: lawgivers, philosophers, historians, all who would apply their experience or their genius to the instruction or amusement of others, were necessarily poets. The character of poet was therefore a character of dignity: an opinion even of sacredness became attached to it: a poetical genius was esteemed an effect of divine inspiration, and a mark of

Iliad. l. 2. v. 484. Hesiod. Theogon. v. 52. & 915.

[52] Περὶν ἐπίστασθαι γράμματα ἦδον τοὺς νόμους, ὅπως μὴ ἐπιλάθωνται· ὥσπερ ἐν Ἀγαθύρσοις ἔτι ἐιώθασι. Aristot. Probl. sect. 19. art. 28. Strabo informs us (1) that even in his time, Νομωδὸς LAWSINGER was the title of a principal magistrate at Mazaca in Cappadocia, where the code of the Sicilian legislator Charondas was the established law.

(1) b. 12. p. 539.

divine

divine favor[53]: and the poet, who moreover carried with him instruction and entertainment no way to be obtained without him, was a privileged person, injoying, by a kind of prescription, the rights of universal hospitality. These circumstances would contribute to improve and to fix the language. But similar circumstances have been common in other nations about the same period of progress in art and science, without producing a language comparable to the Greek[54].

The character of the Language of a people must always considerably influence the character of their MUSIC. Among the Greeks, Music

[53] Αὐτοδίδακτος δ' εἰμὶ· θεὸς δέ μοι ἐν φρεσὶν οἴμας
Παντοίας ἐνέφυσεν·
says the bard Phemius.
Odyss. I. 22. v. 348.

[54] According to all traditions, it was before Homer's time that letters were communicated from Phenicia to Greece; yet, upon the supposition that their use was familiarly known to him, it would be extremely difficult to account for the importance which he attributes to memory, and his total silence about so invaluable an assistant to it. The presumption that Homer wrote, or that his poems were written for him under his direction, is supported meerly by the argument of necessity, the imagined impossibility that works like his could be composed amid the helpless ignorance of a people without letters, or that they could be preserved, even supposing them so composed. Dr. Johnson, whose days were passed in a closet, who knew nothing but by the instrumentality of letters, and could communicate his knowlege only by his pen and ink, had full faith in that impossibility, and soverein contempt for such a people. But Plato, who had been accustomed to constant and extensive communication among men, in an age when letters were well known, but the common use of them still recent, and who had himself learnt the philosophy of Socrates without their assistance, certainly thought very differently on the subject (1); and I am much more disposed, in regard to such a matter, to defer to the authority of Plato than of Dr. Johnson.

With regard to the γράμματα which the poet tells us were sent by Bellerophon, from Corinth into Lycia, supposing Mr. Wood wrong in holding it to have been a picture rather than a letter, and that it was already usual in Homer's age to write on tablets of board covered with wax, which we know was the way in which the Greeks managed epistolary correspondence some centuries after him, it would still remain to be shown how volumes like the Iliad and Odyssee could be preserved in writing. For myself, I will own that I believe Mr. Wood right in his explanation of the γράμματα. It is not a subject on which I would inlarge here, yet I will not quit it without noticing a deficiency in our later dictionaries: the word γράμμα is used for a picture, by Plato (2), and by Theocritus (3), and possibly by other writers, and this sense of the word has been noticed by Scapula, yet has escaped both Schrevelius and Hederic.

(1) See Plato's Phædrus, p. 275. v. 3. (2) De repub. l. 5. p. 472.
(3) Idyll. 15. v. 81.

had

36724

had evidently a readiness and intimacy of connection with verse, which no modern European language knows, and which therefore we now in vain would scrutinize. What indeed the music itself of the antients ever was, we have little means of judging, as none of it has been transmitted intelligible to us; but that the very early Grecian music had extraordinary merit, we have Plato's testimony in very remarkable words [55]; and Aristotle, generally enough disposed to differ from his master, upon this subject coïncides in judgement with him [56].

Il. l. 10. v. 13. l. 18. v. 495. & al.

In Homer's time we find both stringed and wind instruments familiar [57]. Poetry seems to have been always sung, and the accompaniment of an instrument to have been esteemed essential [58]. Farther of the music of Homer's age we can only judge from analogy. Probably it was very inartificial. But it appears a solecism to suppose that those elegant perceptions and nice organs, which gave form to the most harmonious language ever spoken among men, and guided invention to the structure of that verse which, even under the gross disguise of modern pronuntiation, is still universally charming, could have produced or could have tolerated a vicious or inelegant style of music. Extreme simplicity in music is perfectly consistent with elegance, and the most affecting music generally is most simple.

Considering the imperfection of civil government, and the consequent insecurity of property, greater advances had already, in Homer's age, been made in many Arts conducing to convenience and elegance of living, than might have been expected. AGRICULTURE, in various branches, appears to have been carried on with great regularity. It is remarked by Cicero that Hesiod, in his poem on husbandry, makes no mention of manure: but Homer expressly speaks of dunging land, as well as of plowing, sowing, reaping corn, and mowing grass. The

De Senectute. Odyss. l. 17. v. 299.

[55] See note 38. sect. 4. chap. 1. of this History.

[56] Ὀλύμπου μέλη ὁμολογουμένως ποιεῖ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐνθουσιαστικὰς.—Aristot. Polit. l. 4.

[57] The strings were, like those now used, of the guts of sheep twisted, as we are informed by Homer in the Odyssee, l. 21. v. 408.

[58] Thus it seems also to have been with our rude Anglosaxon ancestors; for the great Alfred, as it is remarked by bishop Percy in his Essay on the Minstrels, translates Cantare by the words 'be harpan 'singan,' to sing to the harp; as if there was no singing without an instrument.

culture

culture of the vine also was well understood, and the making of wine carried through the different processes with much attention and knowlege. This is evident from various circumstances mentioned by Homer, and particularly from the age to which wines were kept: Nestor produced some, at a sacrifice, eleven years old. Oil from the olive was in use: but the culture of the tree appears not to have been extensive. In Alcinoüs's garden the vineyard is a principal feature by itself; but the olive is only found in the orchard, with the apple, the pear, the pomgranate, and the fig[59]. Pasturage has generally preceded tillage, and herds and flocks constituted the principal riches of Homer's time. Cattle, in the scarcity, or perhaps non-existence of coin, were the most usual measure of the value of commodities. The golden armour of Glaucus, we are told, was worth a hundred oxen: the brazen armour of Diomed nine: the tripod, the first prize for wrestling at the funeral of Patroclus, was valued at twelve oxen; the female slave, the second prize, at four. When Eumæus, in the Odyssee, would convey an idea of the opulence of Ulysses, he tells neither of the extent of his lands, nor the quantity of his moveables, but of his herds and flocks only. But commerce seems to have been carried on intirely by exchange. In the Iliad we have a description of a supply of wine brought by sea to the Grecian camp, where it is bought by some, says the poet, with brass,

Odyss. l. 2. v. 340. & l. 9. v. 205.

Odyss. l. 3. v. 390.

Odyss. l. 7. v. 112.

Iliad. l. 6. v. 236.

Iliad. l. 23. v. 702.

Odyss. l. 14. v. 100.

Iliad. l. 7. v. 467.

[59] Tho the interpreters of the Greek and Latin languages find in nothing more frequent and more insuperable difficulties than in the names of plants, yet the fruits mentioned by Homer, as the produce of Alcinoüs's garden, seem certainly to have been those which we know by the names of Apple, Pear, Pomgranate, and Fig. Cousin Despréaux, in his History of Greece, has interpreted Μηλέαι to signify Oranges: but the Orange, with many other of the more delicate fruits of Asia, was, evidently enough, unknown, or at least unproduced, in Greece for ages after Homer. The Apple is still common there, and still called Μῆλον; and all the other ordinary fruits preserve their antient names: Σῦκον is still a Fig, Ἐλαία an Olive, Κάστανον a Chesnut; and, with very little alteration of the old words, Ῥόδι and Ροῖδι a Pomgranate, Ἀπίδι a Pear, Σταφύλι a Grape, Ἀμπέλι a Vine, Κεράσι a Cherry, Πεπόνι a Melon; but an Orange is Ναράντζι. When the Orange became known to the antient Greeks and Romans, it was, like the Peach, Apricot, and others, called indeed Μῆλον, Malum, but with a distinguishing epithet derived from the country whence it was imported, Μῆλον Μηδικὸν, or sometimes, from its rich color, Μῆλον χρυσοῦν.

M. Barthelemi (quoting for authority Antiphon as cited by Athenæus, b. 3. c. 7. p. 84.) says that the citron was imported from Persia into Greece a little after the Peloponnesian war. Anacharsis, c. 59.

by

by some with iron, by some with hides, by some with cattle, by some with slaves.

The art of MASONRY appears to have been not mean in Homer's time. The opulent had houses of stone, Homer calls it polished stone, perhaps meaning only squared and well-wrought stone, with numerous and spacious apartments for state as well as for convenience; and it was with no small state that they were waited upon in them by numerous attendants. A late ingenious and learned author has remarked that bathing, always a favorite article of eastern luxury, was in Homer's time carried to a high pitch of convenience, and even of elegance; and that it declined after him, and remained in a ruder state till it was restored, some centuries after, by Hippocrates, for medicinal purposes. It is indeed probable that luxury and arts declined generally after Homer's age, and from more than one cause. For the present, however, it may suffice to observe, that when Greece raised those sumptuous public buildings which, for elegance of taste and excellence of workmanship, the most informed and refined of other nations have ever since studied and never yet equalled, the private dwellings appear to have been scarcely in anything superior to those of Homer's time.

Odyss. l. 10. v. 211.

Sir Ed. Barry on the Wines of the Antients.

Nevertheless Homer, as we have already remarked, claims nothing of that superiority in art or science for his fellowcountrymen which they afterward so justly made their boast. On the contrary, he ascribes to Phenicia preëminence in the arts, and to Egypt in riches and population. Ornamental works in metals, in ivory, in wool, we find were not uncommon in Greece in his time: the art of gilding silver, or perhaps rather of plating silver with gold, was already known; and the same art of dying crimson, which became so highly esteemed in the times of luxury and refinement among both Greeks and Romans, appears to have had its origin before Homer[60]. We have in the Odyssee the following list of presents to a lady: 'A tunic, large, 'beautiful, variegated; twelve golden hooks were on it, nicely fitted 'to well-bent eyes; a golden necklace of elegant workmanship, set 'with amber, and highly splendid; a pair of three-drop earings exqui-'sitely brilliant:' another ornament for the neck is added, for which

Iliad. l. 23. v. 744. l. 9. v. 381.

Iliad. l. 23. v. 159.

Odyss. l. 18. v. 291.

[60] The expression ἁλιπόρφυρα (Odyss. l. 6. v. 53.) seems to warrant this opinion.

we

we want a name. It rather appears, however, that these admired works of art were not the produce of Greece. In another place Homer describes a merchant offering to sale a golden necklace set with amber; but that merchant was a Phenician: a silver bowl is described excelling all that ever were seen; 'for,' adds the poet, 'Sidonian artists made 'it, and Phenicians brought it over the sea;' and when Hecuba was particularly anxious to make an acceptable offering to Minerva, she selected a veil from her store of the works of Sidonian women. It seems indeed to have been a regular part of the Phenician commerce to send toys for ventures to the Grecian ports[61]. Handicraft arts were not yet become trades in Greece; even princes exercising them for themselves. Ulysses, not only in his distress was a skilful boatbuilder, but in the height of opulence made his own bedstead, adorning it with gold, silver, and ivory.

Odyss. l. 15. v. 458.

Iliad. l. 23. v. 744.

Iliad. l. 6. v. 289.

Odyss. l. 23. v. 189. & seq.

COMMERCE, in the Homeric age, appears to have been principally in the hands of the Phenicians. The carrying trade of the Mediterranean was early theirs, and Sidon was the great seat of manufacture. The Greeks were not without traffic carried on by sea among themselves; but the profession of merchant had evidently not in Homer's time that honorable estimation which yet, according to Plutarch, it acquired at an early period in Greece. While it was thought not unbecoming a prince to be a carpenter to supply his own wants or luxuries, to be a merchant for gain was held but as a mean employment: a pirate was a more respected character.

Herodot. l. 1. c. 1.

Plutarch. vit. Solon. init.

Odyss. l. 3. v. 71. & l. 8. v. 161.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 5.

The ART of WAR is among the arts of necessity, which all people, the rudest equally and the most polished, must cultivate, or ruin will follow the neglect. The circumstances of Greece were in some respects peculiarly favorable to the improvement of this art. Divided into little states, the capital of each, with the greater part of the territory, generally within a day's march of several neighboring states, which might be enemies, and seldom were thoroughly to be trusted as friends, while from the establishment of slavery arose everywhere perpetual danger of a domestic foe, it was of peculiar necessity both for every

[61] —— Φοίνικες ναυσίκλυτοι ἦλυθον ἄνδρες.
Τρῶκται, μυρί' ἄγοντες ἀθύρματα νηὶ μελαίνῃ.—Odyss. l. 15. v. 415.

individual to be a soldier, and for the community to pay unremitted attention to military affairs. Accordingly we find that, so early as Homer's time, the Greeks had improved considerably upon that tumultuary warfare alone known to many barbarous nations, who yet have prided themselves in the practice of war for successive centuries. Several terms used by the poet, together with his descriptions of marches, indicate that orders of battle were in his time regularly formed in ranks and files. Steddiness in the soldier, that foundation of all those powers which distinguish an army from a mob, and which to this day forms the highest praise of the best troops, we find in great perfection in the Iliad. 'The Grecian phalanges,' says the poet, 'marched in close order, the leaders directing each his own band. 'The rest were mute: insomuch that you would say in so great a mul- 'titude there was no voice. Such was the silence with which they 'respectfully watched for the word of command from their officers.'

Iliad. l. 4. v. 427.

Considering the deficiency of iron, the Grecian troops appear to have been very well armed, both for offence and defence. Their defensive armor consisted of a helmet, a breastplate, and greaves, all of brass, and a shield, commonly of bull's hide, but often strengthened with brass. The breastplate appears to have met the belt, which was a considerable defence to the belly and groin: and with an appendant skirt guarded also the thighs. All together covered the forepart of the soldier from the throat to the ancle; and the shield was a superadded protection for every part. The bulk of the Grecian troops were infantry thus heavily armed, and formed in close order, many ranks deep. Any body, formed in ranks and files, close and deep, without regard to a specific number of either ranks or files, was generally termed a phalanx[62]. But the Locrians, under Oïlean Ajax, were all light-armed; bows were their principal weapons, and they never ingaged in close fight[63].

[62] Homer applies the term equally to the Trojan as to the Grecian troops. Iliad. l. 4. v. 332. & l. 6. v. 83.

[63] Homer has been evidently far more conversant in military matters than Hesiod. Yet there might be men of Locris to whom the epithet ἀγχέμαχοι, which Hesiod gives to the Locrians of Amphitryon's army (1), would be properly applied.

(1) Scut. Herc. v. 25.

Riding

Riding on horseback was yet little practised, tho it appears to have been not unknown [64]. Some centuries, however, passed before it was generally applied in Greece to military purposes; the mountainous ruggedness of the country preventing any extensive use of cavalry, except among the Thessalians, whose territory was a large plain. But in the Homeric armies no chief was without his chariot, drawn generally by two, sometimes by three horses; and these chariots of war make a principal figure in Homer's battles. Nestor, forming the army for action, composes the first line of chariots only. In the second he places that part of the infantry in which he has least confidence; and then forms a third line, or reserve, of the most approved troops. It seems extraordinary that chariots should have been so extensively used in war as we find they were in the early ages. In the wide plains of Asia indeed we may account for their introduction, as we may give them credit for utility: but how they should become so general among the inhabitants of rocky, mountainous Greece; how the distant Britons should arrive at that surprizing perfection in the use of them, which we find they possessed when the Roman legions first invaded this iland, especially as the same mode of fighting was little, if at all practised among the Gauls and Germans, is less obvious to conjecture [65]. There is however a passage in Herodotus, which furnishes at least some degree of solution for the difficulty. The country north of the Danube, he says, abounded with horses, very small but swift and hardy. Unable to carry men, they were commonly used in chariots, and thus made highly serviceable. In the early ages probably, through deficiency of

Iliad. l. 13. v. 722.

Herod. l. 5. c. 9.

[64] No person of Agamemnon's time is mentioned by Homer as riding on horseback, except Diomed, when, with Ulysses, he made prize of the horses of Rhesus (1). A similë in the 15th book of the Iliad (2) has been supposed to prove that horsemanship was greatly improved in the poet's age. It should however be observed that, in the former instance, riding is mentioned familiarly, and not at all as a new or extraordinary device; and that, on the contrary, in the latter, an exhibition of skill is spoken of, which attracted the attention and excited the admiration of all the people of a large city.

[65] Arrian (3) says, that the Gauls and Germans did not use chariots in war. Strabo says, that some tribes of the Gauls did use them. But Cæsar's omission of all mention of the practice among those nations is ample proof that, if it obtained at all, it was not extensive.

(1) Iliad. l. 10. v. 513. (2) v. 679. (3) Tact. p. 52. ed. Amstel. & Lipz. 1750.

pasture at some seasons of the year, horses would not generally attain any considerable size in Greece or in Britain; and the Asiatic practice of using chariots in war, if through the Phenician commerce, or any other means, once communicated, might thus readily obtain, even in our distant iland. Cæsar's praise of the British chariot-forces, 'that 'they possessed at the same time the celerity of horse, and the stability of foot,' is no vulgar praise; tho, to us at this day, it is not very clear, from his description, how such a method of fighting should earn it.

De Bello Gall. l. 4. c. 9.

The combat of the chiefs, so repeatedly described by Homer, advancing to ingage singly in front of their line of battle, is apt to strike a modern reader with an appearance of absurdity perhaps much beyond the reality. Before the use of fire-arms that practice was not uncommon when the art of war was at its greatest perfection. Cæsar himself gives, with evident satisfaction, a very particular account of a remarkable advanced combat in which, not generals indeed, but two centurions of his army ingaged. The Grecian chiefs of the heroïc age, like the knights of the times of chivalry, had armor probably very superior to that of the common soldiers; and this, with the additional advantage of superior skill, acquired by assiduous practice amid unbounded leisure, would make this skirmishing much less dangerous than on first consideration it may appear. The effects also to be expected from it were not unimportant: for it was very possible for a few men of superior strength, activity, and skill, superior also by the excellence of their defensive armor, to create disorder in the close array of the enemy's phalanx. They threw their weighty javelins from a distance, while none dared advance to meet them but chiefs equally well armed with themselves; and from the soldiers in the ranks they had little to fear, because, in that close order, the dart could not be thrown with any advantage[66]. Occasionally indeed we find some person of inferior name advancing to throw his javelin at a chief

De Bello Gall. l. 5. c. 43.

[66] The vast force with which the heroes of old are reported to have thrown their javelins has been, I know with some, almost an incredibility; but those who have seen the Armenian Philippo throw a stick (the man who communicated to the Society for Incouragement of Arts the method of preparing Turkey leather) will know that Homer's descriptions require little if any allowance for poetical exaggeration. Philippo had been a horse-soldier in the Persian service.

occupied against some other, but retreating again immediately into the ranks: a resource not disdained by the greatest heroes when danger pressed. Hector himself having thrown his javelin ineffectually at Ajax, retires toward his phalanx, but is overtaken by a stone of enormous weight, which brings him to the ground. If from the death or wounds of chiefs, or slaughter in the foremost ranks of soldiers, any confusion arose in the phalanx, the shock of the enemy's phalanx, advancing in perfect order, must be irresistible [67]. Iliad. l. 14.

Another practice common in Homer's time is by no means equally defensible, but on the contrary marks great barbarism; that of stopping in the heat of action to strip the slain. Often this paltry passion for possessing the spoil of the enemy superseded all other, even the most important and most deeply interesting objects of battle. The poet himself was not unaware of the danger and inconveniency of the practice, and seems even to have aimed at a reformation of it. We find indeed, in Homer's warfare, a remarkable mixture of barbarism with regularity. Tho the art of forming an army in phalanx was known and commonly practised, yet the business of a general, in directing its operations, was lost in the passion, or we may call it fashion, of the great men to signalize themselves by acts of personal courage and skill in arms. Achilles and Hector, the first heroes of the Iliad, excel only in the character of fighting soldiers: as generals and directors of the war, they are inferior to many. Indeed while the fate of battles depended so much on the skirmishing of the chiefs, we cannot wonder that the prejudice should obtain which set the able arm, in vulgar estimation, above the able head. But the poet obviously means to expose the absurdity and mischievous consequence of that prejudice, where he makes Hector, in a late repentance, acknowlege Iliad. l. 5. v. 48. & l. 6. v. 67. Iliad. l. 18. v. 106. & 252. Iliad. l. 22. v. 99.

[67] The expressions ἐξάλμενος,—ἐκ δ' ἔθορε προμάχων (1),—ἀψ ἑτάρων εἰς ἔθνος ἐχάζετο (2), applied to the chiefs; and στίχες ἀνδρῶν,—πυργηδὸν ἀρηρότες (3), applied to the phalanx, mark clearly the difference of the two modes of ingagement. The manner of a general ingagement in Homer's time may perhaps best be gathered from the 13th book of the Iliad: that of the close fight of infantry, in particular, from the action under the direction of Ajax, described in the 17th book.

(1) Iliad. l. 15. v. 571. 573. (2) Iliad. l. 13. v. 165. & l. 14. v 408.
(3) Iliad. l. 15. v. 615. & 618.

the

the superior abilities of Polydamas. Yet Homer's own idea of the duties of an officer, tho he certainly possessed very extensive and very accurate knowlege both of the theory and practice of war of his own age, was still very imperfect. Of all the leaders in the Iliad, unless we should except Ulysses and Nestor, Agamemnon is represented as most indowed with the qualifications of a general: and yet, coming forward in the midst of a doubtful battle, when we might expect the able commander to show himself, we find nothing more from him than exhortation to bold exertion. Merion, an officer very high both in rank and estimation, happening to break his spear in action, immediately quits his command to go to his tent and provide himself with another weapon. Nestor giving orders for an approaching battle, calls the infantry 'the 'prop of war;' but his directions are almost confined to the charioteers, and even to them discretionary: and, upon the whole, to show the troops the way, more than to command them, seems to have been the business of the chiefs. Excepting indeed in the single circumstance of forming the army in order of battle, so far from the general, we scarcely ever discover even the officer among Homer's heroes. It is not till most of the principal Grecian leaders are disabled by wounds for the duty of soldiers, that at length they so far take upon themselves that of officers as to endeavor to restore order among their broken phalanges: and even this is not done but at the particular instigation of the god Neptune. The introduction of a deity here may lead to suppose that the poet himself had ideas of the business of officers superior to the practice of his age. But after only general expressions concerning the attention paid to restore order and give efficacy to the phalanges [68], we find a detail of methods taken to make the most of the particular strength and skill of the ablest individuals, as if that were a matter of greater importance.

Iliad. l. 5. v. 528. Vid. & l. 14. v. 128.

Iliad. l. 13. v. 246.

Iliad. l. 4. v. 293.

We might, however, yet more wonder at another deficiency in Homer's art of war, were it not still universal throughout those rich and populous countries where mankind was first civilized. Even

[68] Τοὺς δ' αὖτοὶ βασιλῆες ἐκόσμεον, ὀυτάμενοί περ.—Iliad. l. 14. v. 379.
At the same time,
Τρῶας δ' αὖθ' ἑτέρωθεν ἐκόσμεε φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ.—v. 388.

among

among the Turks, who, far as they have spred over the finest part of Europe, retain pertinaciously every defect of their antient Asiatic customs, the easy and apparently obvious precaution of posting and relieving sentries, so essential to the safety of armies, has never obtained. When, in the ill turn of the Grecian affairs, constant readiness for defence became more especially necessary, it is mentioned as an instance of soldiership in the active Diomed, that he slept on his arms without his tent: but no kind of watch was kept: all his men were at the same time asleep around him: and the other leaders were yet less prepared against surprize. A guard, indeed, selected from the army, was set, in the manner of a modern grand-guard or out-post: but, tho commanded by two officers high both in rank and reputation, yet the commander in chief expresses his fear that, overcome with fatigue, the whole might fall asleep and totally forget their duty [69]. The Trojans, who at the same time, after their success, slept on the field of battle, had no guard appointed by authority, but depended wholly upon the interest which every one had in preventing a surprize: 'They 'exhorted one another to be watchful,' says the poet. But the allies all slept; and he subjoins the reason, 'For they had no children or 'wives at hand.' However, tho Homer does not expressly blame the defect, or propose a remedy, yet he gives, in the surprize of Rhesus, an instance of the disasters to which armies are exposed by intermission of watching, that might admonish his fellowcountrymen to improve their practice. Iliad. l. 10. v. 422.

The Greeks, and equally the Trojans and their allies, incamped with great regularity, and fortified, if in danger of an attack from a superior enemy. Indeed Homer ascribes no superiority in the art of war, or even in personal courage, to his fellowcountrymen. Even those inland Asiatics, afterward so unwarlike [70], are put by him upon a level with the bravest people. He gives the Mysians the character of persevering bravery [71]; and the Lycians are included with the Trojans and Dardanians under a very honorable epithet, which bespeaks them approved good soldiers in close fight [72]. The tumultuous noise in the Trojan v. 471.

[69] —Φυλακῆς ἐπιπάγχυ λάθωνται.—Iliad. l. 10. v. 99.

[70] Ἀβροδιαίτων Λυδῶν

Ὄχλος as Æschylus contemptuously calls them. Pers. p. 127. ed. H. Steph.

[71] Καρτερόθυμοι. Iliad. l. 14. v. 512. [72] Ἀγχιμαχηταί. Iliad. l. 15. v. 425, & al.

army,

Iliad. l. 4. v. 437. army, mentioned in the same passage of the Iliad where the praise of steddy silence is given to the Greeks, the poet himself expressly accounts for; ascribing it, not to any inferiority in discipline, but to the variety of languages spoken among the Trojan allies, which made the delivery of orders, and acting in concert, works of difficulty. Tents, like those now in use, seem to have been a late invention. The antients, on desultory expeditions, and in marching through a country, slept with no shelter but their cloaks, as our light troops often carry none but a blanket. When they remained long on a spot they hutted. Achilles's tent or hut was built of fir, and thatched with reeds: and it seems to have had several apartments.

Iliad. l. 24. v. 488. Iliad. l. 9. v. 659.

NAVIGATION had been much practised, long before Homer, in small open vessels, nearly such as are still common in the Mediterranean; and the poet gives no hint of any late advancement of the art. The seas, indeed, which nearly surround Greece, are singularly adverse to improvements upon that vast scale which oceans require, and which modern times have produced. Broken by innumerable headlands and ilands, with coasts mostly mountainous, and in some parts of extraordinary height, the Grecian seas are beyond others subject to sudden and violent storms. These united circumstances, which have made the Greeks of all ages excellent boatmen, have contributed much to prevent them from becoming seamen. The skill and experience of the pilot, in the modern sense of the term, are constantly wanted: the science of the navigator is of little avail: even the compass is comparatively useless in the Ægean. The Mediterranean vessels now, not excepting the French, which are mostly navigated by Mediterranean sailors, never keep the sea there but with a fair wind. The English alone, accustomed in all their surrounding waters to a bolder navigation, commonly venture in the Archipelago to work to windward[73]. Sails were used in fair winds in Homer's time; but the art of

[73] Mr. Wood, in his Essay on Homer, has remarked an analogous circumstance in the navigation of the Adriatic. I remember to have heard an English captain of a Turkey ship, a man of knowlege and character, say, that he did not scruple, in tolerable weather, to work to windward within the Arches (as our seamen call the Archipelago, which is itself a corruption of the modern Greek Aigiopelago) but he made it a rule never to take off his clothes, and, without leaving orders to be called in the instant of any threatening

of sailing was extremely imperfect. The mariner's dependence was on his oars, which no vessel was without. For in seas so landlocked, yet so tempestuous, the greatest danger was to the stoutest ship. Light vessels, which with their oars could creep along the coast, watch the weather, make way in calms, and, on any threatening appearance, find shelter in shoal water or upon an open beach, were what Grecian navigation peculiarly required. The Phenicians, for their commerce, used deeper ships, accommodated to their more open seas and longer voyages. But with such weapons only as the antients knew, and in seas where calms as well as storms were frequent, vessels of the galley kind, which, by their oars, could attack, or oppose attacks, on all sides, in all winds, or without wind, were alone fit for naval action. Without artillery indeed, ships like the modern could scarcely at all ingage. The term long ships, both with Greeks and Romans, commonly distinguished their ships of war from vessels of burden, which were called round ships. Mr. Wood has supposed that naval actions were unknown in Homer's time: but this appears unlikely, and some terms used by the poet seem to prove the contrary[74]. The Grecian vessels were yet without decks: anchors also were unknown; nor does there seem any foundation for a common notion, that large stones were used as anchors. It was usual to moor vessels to large stones found or placed on the shore[75]: but when any stay was made at a port, the vessel itself was drawn out of the water upon the beach. For, the manner of antient navigation requiring that the construction of the vessel should be adapted to rowing more than sailing, the depth of the vessel must be small, and the hands to work it many. Accommodations were therefore unavoidably scanty; and health as well as convenience would require

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 10.

threatening appearance in the sky, or any dubious sight of land, never to quit his deck.

Since the first publication of this note, I have observed that Mr. Gibbon derives Archipelago from Ἅγιον πέλαγος, Holy sea, so called, he says, from the Ἅγιον ὄρος, Monte santo, Holy mountain, formerly Athos. All the modern people of the south of Europe have indeed been fond of sainting everything. Thus the Sabine mountain, so well known from Horace by its antient name *Soracte*, is become with the modern Italians *Sant 'Oreste*, and thus possibly some of the modern Greeks may have converted Ἁγιεινὸν πέλαγος into Ἅγιον πέλαγος.

[74] Particularly νάυμαχα. Iliad. l. 15. v. 389. & 677.

[75] —Πεῖσμα δ' ἔλυσαν ἀπὸ τρητοῖο λίθοιο. Odyss. l. 13. v. 77.

that the crew should live ashore when not wanted aboard. We may compute the size of the largest vessels used in Homer's age, from the greatest number of men mentioned to have been carried by any one vessel of Agamemnon's fleet, which was one hundred and twenty; or perhaps still better from the crew of the Phæacian vessel appointed to carry Ulysses to Ithaca; they were fifty-two, all rowers. This vessel had a moveable mast, mentioned in the singular number, and sails in the plural. Hempen cordage seems to have been unknown: its purposes were supplied by leathern thongs. The principal constellations of our hemisphere, and the apparent courses of the sun and stars had been observed; with the help of which the Greeks were able to navigate as far as Cyprus, Phenicia and Egypt[76], tho their commerce yet seldom led them beyond the Ægean. The seas westward of Greece were less practised. Sicily remained a subject for fable, as the habitation of giants and monsters. The dangers of the Adriatic shores to coasting navigators kept them unexplored: and Strabo, deducing his proof from Homer, says that the Euxine was thought another ocean, and little more known than the Atlantic.

Odyss. l. 8. v. 34—54.

Wood on Homer. Strab. l. 1., p. 21.

Of the sciences, ASTRONOMY would naturally be among the first to engage the attention of men. Its objects can neither escape notice, nor fail of exciting wonder; and its utility would quickly become obvious. The means of computing times and seasons, to know when new fruits and fresh harvests might be expected, were among first necessities. The sun, by its apparent daily revolution, gave a division of time perfectly obvious and highly useful; but not affording easy means for proceeding to the computation of seasons. It would soon be observed, even in low latitudes, that the seasons followed the sun's apparent annual revolution; but to calculate that revolution, with any approach to accuracy, was a business not soon to be accomplished. The moon therefore, by the striking and rapid changes in its appearance, was, among the celestial luminaries, the readiest instrument for calculation of time beyond a small number of days; and has accordingly been the

[76] See the account of Ulysses' voyage from the iland of Calypso (1). With a fair wind all the way, he was seventeen days out of sight of land.

(1) Odyss. l. 5. v. 270.

first

first used among all uncultivated people. Hence, and not from any predilection for darkness and gloomy ideas, to which it has been absurdly enough attributed, arose that practice of our Teutonic ancestors, which we still in part retain, of reckoning time by nights rather than by days. It became then the business, through the obvious changes of the moon, to ascertain the less discernible but far more important changes of the sun, which govern the seasons. Twelve revolutions of the inferior were found nearly equal to one of the greater luminary; and three hundred and fifty-four days, or twelve months of twenty-nine and thirty days alternately, were assigned for the term of a year. This method of computing time seems to have passed from the East into Greece; where it became so established for the purpose of ascertaining the return of days for civil business and religious ceremonies, that, notwithstanding its extreme inconveniencies, the more accurate subsequent calculations of the year could never intirely supersede its use. But a year thus deficient by near eleven days and a half of the real period of the earth's revolution round the sun, presently led to so erroneous a computation of seasons, that the husbandman particularly would find it utterly unfit for his purpose. In climates, therefore, where the sky was seldom long obscured by vapors, the stars were soon found far more accurate directors than the moon; while their changes were far more readily distinguished than those of the sun. Accordingly Hesiod, in his Treatise on Husbandry, marks the seasons for various works by the rising and setting of the stars; and we learn from his poems, and from Homer, that, in their early age, the more remarkable stars of our hemisphere were already classed in constellations, nearly in the same manner and by the same names as at this day. Ignorance of astronomy we find mentioned by Æschylus, speaking, in the person of Prometheus, of the state of mankind in the first ages, as a mark of the deepest barbarism; and observation of the stars as the first thing necessary to civilized life[77]. In our northern climate, the shortness of the summer-nights and the coldness of the winter,

Iliad. l. 18. v. 486. et l. 22. v. 29. Odyss. l. 5. v. 272.

[77] Ἦν δ' ἐνδέν αὐτοῖς οὔτε χείματος τέκμαρ,
οὔτ' ἀνθεμώδους ἦρος, οὔτε καρπίμου·
θέρους βέβαιον· ἀλλ' ἄτερ γνώμης τὸ πᾶν
ἔπρασσον, ἔστε δή σφιν ἀντολὰς ἐγὼ
ἄστρων ἔδειξα, καὶ δυσκρίτους δύσεις.
Prometh. Vinct. p. 31. ed. H. Steph.

together with the greater frequency of obscuring vapors, make the stars less objects for the husbandman; while the greater variety in the apparent course of the sun, if the exactness with which the year is now divided by more artificial helps did not render it needless, would in a great degree answer the same purpose; and accordingly we still often find among our husbandmen surprizing accuracy in observing the sun. But the people of lower climates, deprived of the pleasant moderation of our summer-days, live, in the hot season, almost only in the night, and thus become astronomers naturally and almost necessarily [78].

The knowlege of the cure of internal diseases made, it should seem, in Homer's age, no part of the science of PHYSIC. It is remarkable that the poet nowhere speaks in plain terms of sickness. Diseases indeed, and mortal ones, are mentioned, but as the effect always of the immediate stroke of the Deity, and not of anything in the common course of nature. They seem thus to have been esteemed utterly beyond the reach of human skill to relieve. The epidemical sickness of the army before Troy was occasioned by the darts of Apollo, and could be removed only by the prayers of Chrysis. That scanty knowlege of nature to which the age had arrived, was applied only to relieve the effects of external violence upon the human frame. Skill in surgery was in the highest esteem [79]; tho it seems to have gone no farther than to the extraction of the instrument of a wound, and the application of a few simples for stopping hæmorrhages, and assuaging inflammations. Charms and incantations, therefore, were sometimes called to its assistance, or even to supply its place. Ulysses, when very young, being wounded by a wild boar, the hæmorrhage was stopped by incantation [80].

[78] Præterea tam sunt Arcturi sidera nobis
Hœdorumque dies servandi, et lucidus anguis
Quam quibus, &c.—Virg. Georg. i. 207.
The learned jesuit Ruæus, the Delphin annotator on Virgil, seems to have been too much of a Parisian to enter into his author's ideas generally in the didactic parts of the Georgics, and he has not known what to make of the reference to the stars as the husbandman's almanac.

[79] Ἰητρὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἄλλων.
Iliad. l. 11. v. 514.

[80] Ἐπαοιδῇ. Odyss. l. 19. v. 457.

SECTION IV

Of the Manners of the early Greeks.

THE MANNERS of a people receive their tone from a great variety of circumstances; climate; soil; extent of territory; population; religion; government, monarchal or republican, vigorous and permanent, or weak and changeable; system of jurisprudence; administration of justice, ready and certain, or feeble and irregular; science; arts; commerce; communication with strangers. We find accordingly the manners of the Homeric age distinguished from those of following times in Greece, by many characteristical lines; and we may observe throughout a strong oriental tinge, which afterward very much faded away. Migrations from the East into Greece had ceased before Homer: but the eastern merchants still ingrossed the little commerce of the Grecian towns. Afterward, whether from a republican jealousy of foreiners; whether from a republican industry with increased population; whether from a republican frugality, with the naturally attending disposition to decry forein luxuries; or whether the propensity to piracy among the Greeks, with increased naval strength, deterred commerce, the intercourse between the two countries lessened. The distinguishing features in the Homeric manners are that licentiousness, and that hospitality, together with the union, at first view so strange to us, of the highest dignities with the meanest employments, which have prevailed in the East so remarkably through all ages. These are, however, not the peculiar growth of any soil and climate. The two first are the seldom failing produce of defective government; and the other will everywhere be found in an unimproved state of society. The resemblance borne, till within this century, by the manners of the Highland Scots to those of the Orientals, in these particulars, is striking. But in Greece, tho the ties of blood had such weight with the people among themselves, yet we find nothing of clanship, nothing of that devoted attachment of vassals to the family of a chief, which

distinguished

distinguished many of the Orientals, as well as our northern highlanders. While the claims of hereditary royalty were established in general opinion, some respect would adhere to the known posterity of a popular leader; but superior personal qualities were always necessary to maintain even the possession of rank and wealth.

There is a passage in the Odyssee which illustrates remarkably at the same time the government, the morality, and the religion of the age. It was proposed among the suitors of Penelopē to kill her son Telemachus, and divide his property. One only of them hesitated. 'To kill a person of royal race,' he says, 'is no light matter. Let 'us therefore consult the gods. If the laws of the great Jupiter 'approve, myself will be among the first both to persuade and to 'strike the stroke: but, if the gods forbid, I advise to forbear.' The person thus represented seriously expressing doubt whether the foulest murder might not be committed with approbation of the deity, is described of high birth, respectable character, and superior understanding. But murders were so common that, without peculiar circumstances of enormity, they scarcely left a stain upon the character of the perpetrator. Some of the favorite personages of the Iliad and Odyssee, as the author of the Essay on the Original Genius of Homer has observed, had been guilty of this crime, and had fled their country in consequence: not, however, to escape public justice; but to avoid revenge from the relations of the deceased. Private revenge we know was formerly almost the only restraint upon the most atrocious crimes against individuals in our own country, and still more in the rest of western Europe; insomuch that, in the weakness of public justice, private revenge even received the sanction, and was put under the guidance of the law. Hence it was that among the early Greeks, as in general through the East, a numerous progeny was so particularly esteemed a great blessing to parents. A numerous family was always a powerful family: it could do justice to itself; and, if unanimously so inclined, injure others with impunity. But 'cruelty, violence and 'oppression,' says the writer just mentioned, who had studied oriental manners from the life, 'are so evidently the result of defective govern-'ment, that it is unnecessary to look for any other general cause of

Odyss. l. 16. v. 398.

Robertson's Charles V.

'the scenes of this sort with which Homer abounds, in common with 'other antient writers, and agreeably to the present manners of the 'East. For when every man is in great measure judge in his own 'cause, vices of this class are not only more frequent, but less criminal 'than in a civilized state; where the individual transfers his resent-'ments to the community, and private injury expects redress from 'public justice. Where the legislature does not ingage for our personal 'security, we have a right to use such means as are in our power to 'destroy the aggressor who would destroy us. In such cases bodily 'strength and courage must decide most contests; while, on the other 'hand, craft, cunning, and surprize are the legitimate weapons of the 'weak against the strong. We accordingly find, that both the antient 'and the modern history of the East is a continued scene of bloodshed 'and treachery.' These very just reflections may teach us to exercise our pity and spare our censure on human nature in such unfortunate circumstances.

'Hospitality,' says the same writer, who had enjoyed such peculiar means of information on the subject, 'prevails in most countries, and 'in the different provinces of each country, very much in proportion 'to the idleness, poverty, and insecurity which attend a defective 'police. It is some consolation, in so wretched a state of society, that 'this virtue should be most cultivated where it is most wanted. In 'Arabia the rights of hospitality, so properly called the Point of Honor 'of the East, are the happy substitute of positive law; which in some 'degree supplies the place of justice; connecting, by a voluntary 'intercourse of good offices, those vagabond tribes, who despise legis-'lation, deny the perfect rights of mankind, and set the civil magistrate 'at defiance. A strong instance of that sympathizing principle in the 'social constitution of our own nature, which the wisest government 'will incourage, and which the most depraved cannot suppress.' In confirmation of these judicious remarks, we find it established as a principle in Homer, that 'to those not totally void of the feelings of 'humanity, the guest and the suppliant should be as a near relation:' and he gives them a divine right to kind treatment, 'the stranger,' he

Odyss. l. 8. v. 547.

Odyss. l. 6. v. 208. & l. 14. v. 58. Vid. & l. 8. v. 592. & l. 15. v. 280. Odyss. l. 7.

he says, 'and the poor are from Jove.' The liberties taken by suppliant strangers, and the confidence reposed in them, were consonant to these principles. Ulysses, saved alone from shipwreck on an unknown coast, goes without introduction to the palace of the king of the country, which is represented as singularly rich and splendid, enters the apartments, and finding the king and queen at supper with the principal nobles, abruptly addresses his supplication to the queen. Not only kindness but honor is immediately shown to him; he is lodged in the palace; and next day the king, recommending him to favor in an assembly of the people, declares at the same time that he knows not who he is. It seems, indeed, to have been a general point of civility not hastily to ask any stranger who he was. Telemachus and Mentor, landing in the port of Pylus, find the venerable Nestor, prince of the country, with the assembled Pylian people, on the shore, in the midst of the ceremony of a magnificent public sacrifice. The strangers are no sooner perceived approaching, than the Pylians crowd to meet them, salute in terms of friendship, and invite them to partake of the feast which always followed a sacrifice, and which indeed seems to have been an essential part of the ceremony. They were, however, not left to the civility of the multitude: Peisistratus, son of Nestor, advancing before the rest, took them by the hand, and placed them at table by his royal father and his elder brother. When the meal was over, Nestor spoke in these remarkable terms: 'Now the strangers have eaten to their 'satisfaction, it will be proper to ask them who they are, and whence 'they come. Strangers, who are you, and whence come you, navi-'gating the watery ways? Is it for any business, or do you roam at 'large, as pirates over the sea; those who wander, risking their own 'lives, and bringing evil upon others?' Thucydides, than whom none could be better qualified to judge, believed this to be a faithful picture of the manners of his ancestors; and he observes upon it, that Nestor's question was in the common way of inquiry, and not at all implying doubt whether the strangers were worthy of his hospitality, or fit company for his table, tho they might be pirates. Telemachus and Peisistratus afterward, going as hereditary guests, but not personally known,

Odyss. l. 3. v. 4.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 5.

Odyss. l. 4. v. 1.

known, to Menelaüs king of Sparta, neither announce themselves, nor does any one inquire who they are. The king, only informed by one of his household that unknown strangers, just arrived in a chariot, are waiting without, expresses displeasure at the mention of a doubt whether they were to be treated in the palace, or provided elsewhere; orders that they should be immediately introduced into the hall, where he was sitting at a public supper with his court, places them by himself at table, and then tells them that, after they have supped, he will ask them who they are, and whence they came. In the same manner, in a former part of the poem, Telemachus himself is represented expressing indignation at the least delay of civility to a stranger whom he observes at the gate of his father's palace: goes out himself to receive him, and tells him that he shall first sup, and then declare his errand[81]. From these offices of hospitality, once performed, new and still more sacred rights arose, which did not expire with the persons who gave origin to them, but descended to all the posterity of either party. A man was peculiarly bound to show kindness to a hereditary guest; to one who had entertained any of his ancestors, or who had been entertained by them.

Odyss. l. 1. v. 119.

Iliad. l. 6. v. 215. & al.

How necessary this generous point of honor was, to alleviate the miseries to which mankind, in that unsettled state of law and government, were liable, we may gather from many lively and affecting pictures scattered through Homer's poems[82]. Beside the general incompetency of governments to secure internal order, the best regulated were in perpetual danger of ruin from forein enemies; and this ruin was cruel, was complete. 'These are the evils,' we are told in the

[81] The manners of chivalry had many things congenial with those of heroic times. Shakespear is scarcely copying Homer when he makes Belarius thus address Imogen, wandering in the disguise of a boy:

> ——————— Fair youth, come in:
> Discourse is heavy, fasting: when we've supped,
> We'll mannerly demand thee of thy story.—Cymbeline, act. 3.

[82] There is a remarkable one, evidently taken from the poet's own age, in a simile in the 18th book of the Iliad, v. 207. See also Andromache's speech, Iliad. b. 22. v. 487. and Nestor's account of his marauding expedition into Eleia, Il. b. 11. v. 670.

Iliad. l. 9. v. 590. Iliad, 'that follow the capture of a town: the men are killed; the city 'is burned to the ground; the women and children of all ranks are

Iliad. l. 22. v. 60. 'carried off for slaves.' 'Wretch that I am,' says the venerable Priam, 'what evil does the great Jupiter bring on me in my old age! My 'sons slain, my daughters dragged into slavery; violence pervading 'even the chambers of my palace; and the very infants dashed against 'the ground in horrid sport of war. I myself, slain in the vain office 'of defence, shall be the prey of my own dogs, perhaps in my very 'palace-gates!'

Where such was war, the manners of warriors, even of the noblest characters, could not be without stains of barbarism and illiberality. We find, in the Iliad, men of highest rank, meeting in battle, address each other in language the most grossly insulting: they threaten, they revile, and sometimes jest in a very unseemly manner on the misfortunes of their adversaries. 'You whom the Greeks so honor above

Iliad. l. 8. v. 161. 'others,' says Hector to Diomed, 'are no better than a woman. Go, 'wretch!' 'Then follows the reason of this personal anger: 'You think 'to storm our city, and carry off our women in your ships.' After this the added threat will not appear unreasonable. 'My arm,' continues Hector, 'shall first send you to the infernal deities.' With minds thus heated, and manners thus roughened, it is no wonder if we find chiefs of the same nation and army use great illiberality of language

Iliad. l. 12. v. 247. Iliad. l. 23. v. 473. one to another. Of this, not to mention a dispute so extreme as that between Agamemnon and Achilles, Hector in a speech to Polydamas, and Oïlean Ajax to Idomeneus, afford remarkable examples.

Iliad. l. 6. v. 55. It was little usual to give quarter. 'Why so tender-hearted?' says Agamemnon to Menelaüs, seeing him hesitate while a Trojan of high rank, who had the misfortune to be disabled by being thrown from his chariot, was begging for life? 'Are you and your house so beholden 'to the Trojans? Let not one of them escape destruction from our 'hands; no, not the child within his mother's womb. Let all perish 'unmourned; let not a vestige of them be seen remaining.' The poet gives the sanction of his own approbation to this inhumanity, in a prince by no means generally characterized inhuman: 'It was justly 'spoken,' says Homer; 'and he turned his brother's mind.' Menelaüs, accordingly,

accordingly, pushed away the noble suppliant, and the king of men himself was the executioner who put the unresisting wretch to death. Hector, in whom we find so many amiable qualities, was not less infected with this barbarous spirit of his age. When he had killed Patroclus, and stripped him on the spot of his rich armour, he postponed the most pressing and most important concerns, equally his own and his country's, to the gratification of weak revenge; losing sight of all the greater objects of battle, while he struggled for the naked corse, with intention to complete its contumely by giving it to be devoured by Trojan dogs; and to make his vengeance lasting by depriving it of those funeral rites which, in the opinion of the times, were necessary to the repose of souls after death. We must not therefore wonder that the common Greeks should delight in wounding the dead body of Hector himself, when he was soon after slain; nor ought we to attribute peculiar ferocity to the character of Achilles for the indignities with which he treated it; since both the morality and the religion of his age, far from condemning such conduct, evidently taught him to consider it as directed, not indeed by humanity, but by social affection, and inforced by that piety, such as it was, which the gods of his country required. When the unfortunate monarch of Troy came afterward, in person, to beg the body of his heroïc son, we find the conduct of Achilles marked by a superior spirit of generous humanity. Yet in the very act of granting the pious request, he doubts if he is quite excusable to the soul of his departed friend, for remitting the extremity of vengeance which he had meditated, and restoring the corse to receive the rites of burial. Agreeably to this cruel spirit of warfare, the token of victory was the head of the principal person of the vanquished slain, fixed on a post. The milder temper of a more civilized age abolished this custom, and it became usual for the conqueror to suspend only a suit of armour on a post; which, thus adorned, was termed a Trophy. Perhaps fire-arms have contributed to humanize war. The most cruel strokes to individuals are now generally in a great measure the result of chance; for it seldom can be ascertained from what hand precisely they come, and revenge thus wants its object. Other favorable circumstances it is

Iliad. l. 17. v. 125.

Iliad. l. 22. v. 375.

Iliad. l. 24. v. 592.

Iliad. l. 18. v. 176.

true have assisted; but this, it may fairly be presumed, has had its share in making revenge alien to modern warfare.

While such were the horrors of war, continually threatening, not frontier provinces of extensive realms, but every man's door, we may wonder at any progress that civility and the arts of peace had made among mankind; that wealth, grandeur, elegance, or almost anything beyond meer necessaries of life, were thought worth any pains to acquire. But, amid the alarms of violence and oppression, the spirit of hospitality, so generally diffused, often alleviated misfortune; and, even in the crash of nations, many individuals, if they could save only their lives from the general ruin, were at no loss for resources. This extensive communication of the rights of hospitality was of powerful effect to humanize a savage people, to excite a relish for elegance in style of living, and to make the more refined joys of society more eagerly sought, as well as more easily obtained. There was in Homer's time great difference in the possessions of individuals; some had large tracts of land with numerous herds and flocks; others had none. This state of things is generally favorable to the arts; a few, who have a superabundance of wealth, being better able, and generally more willing to incourage them than numbers who have only a competency. The communication of the rights of hospitality would also assist toward the preservation of property to those families which had once acquired it. A sort of association was thus formed, which in some degree supplied the want of a regular administration of law. Without some security thus derived we scarcely should have found distinction of rank so strongly marked as it is in Homer. A man of rank, it appears, might be known by his gait and manners, under every disguise of a mean habit and mean employment. This could never be without a wide distinction existing through successive generations. A youth is described, elegant in his dress, and delicate in his person; 'such,' says the poet, 'as the sons of princes usually are.' It is remarkable that the youth, thus described, was in the employment of a shepherd. Strength, however, and activity always go to the description of Homer's men of rank: but luxury, such as it was in those days, never

Odyss. l. 13. v. 223.

is

is mentioned as unbecoming a hero; tho it was more particularly the privilege of the aged[83]. The wealthy, as we have already observed, had houses of freestone, spacious, and with many apartments on different floors; and we find all the offices to be expected in a great family performed with much regularity[84]. The directions which Penelopë's housekeeper gives to the menial servants, for the business of the day, might still serve in the East without variation: 'Go 'quickly,' she said, 'some of you sweep the house, and sprinkle it; 'and let the crimson carpets be spread upon the seats; let all the tables 'be well rubbed with spunges, and wash carefully the bowls and the 'cups. Some of you go immediately to the fountain for water.' No less than twenty went on this errand. The whole number of maid-servants were fifty; not, however, all employed in household business; for we find fifty also forming the establishment of Alcinoüs; of whom, 'some,' says the poet, 'ground at the mill,' (an employment of great labor, while handmills alone were in use) 'and some turned the spindle, 'or threw the shuttle.' Men-servants waited at meals; and those of Ulysses's household are described as comely youths, handsomely clothed, and always neat in their appearance. Servants of both sexes seem to have been all slaves.

Odyss. l. 20. v. 149.

Odyss. l. 22. v. 421.

[83] The speech of Ulysses, himself in disguise, to his father Laertes, digging in his garden, is remarkable:

Οὐδέ τί τοι δούλειον ἐπιπρέπει εἰσοράασθαι.
Εἶδός καὶ μέγεθος· βασιλῆι γὰρ ἀνδρὶ ἔοικας.
Τοιοῦτω δὲ ἔοικας, ἐπεὶ λούσαιτο φάγοι τε,
Ἐνδύμεναι μαλακῶς· ἢ γὰρ δίκη ἐστὶ γερόντων.
Odyss. l. 24. v. 254.

The commentators have observed a difficulty in this passage; but it is only a grammatical difficulty; the sense seems sufficiently obvious, yet the passage is scarcely to be translated with more exactness than we find in Pope's version, in which however the characteristical word μέγεθος, remains unnoticed; and the term monarch is used for βασιλεὺς, which is not intended here for so strict a sense, being put as a general term for a nobleman, or man of high rank:——

Nor speaks thy form a mean or servile mind.
I read a monarch in that princely air;
The same thy aspect, if the same thy care.
Soft sleep, fair garments, and the joys of wine,
These are the rights of age, and should be thine.
Pope's Odyss. b. 24. v. 301.

[84] See the reception of Telemachus at Pylus and at Sparta in the 3d and 4th books of the Odyssee, as well as the conduct of Ulysses's household in various parts of the poem.

It

It appears, indeed, as we have already remarked, that since the age of Hercules and Theseus, considerable progress had been made in establishing the powers of government over Peloponnesus at least, and giving security to the country. No apprehension of such dangers as Theseus found in the way from Trœzen to Athens is mentioned in the account of Telemachus's journey from Pylus to Sparta. Without attendants, Telemachus and Peisistratus set out in a chariot drawn by two horses. They carry with them provisions for the day. In the evening they arrive at Pheræ, where they are entertained by Diocles, a chief of the country. The next evening they arrive at Sparta; and their return affords no more variety of story.

Odyss. l. 15. v. 332.

Homer has left us many pictures of his heroes in their hours of relaxation, with the goblet circulating. It has indeed been very antiently observed, that he shows himself strongly disposed to social and convivial injoyment. Horace has aggravated the remark into a reproach[85]. Yet, allowing for the peculiarities of the manners of the heroïc ages, most of which are still found in the East, there is great elegance in Homer's convivial meetings. Once he makes express mention of drunkenness: but the anecdote forms a strong lesson to deter from that vice; showing, by a terrible example, that persons of highest rank and most respectable character, if they yield to intemperance, reduce themselves for the time to a level with the lowest and most profligate, and are liable to every indignity. But, at the feasts of the great, the song of the bard seldom failed to make a principal part of the entertainment. The bard indeed seems to have been a person of importance in the household establishment of every wealthy chief. His knowlege and memory, in the deficiency of books, were to supply the place of a library: his skill in music and poetry was to convey instruction in the most agreeable manner, and inform even when pleasure was the only apparent object. In one instance Homer attributes extraordinary authority to the bard. Ægistheus could not accomplish his purpose of possessing himself of the person of Clytemnestra and the principal sway in the Argian government, till he had

Odyss. l. 21. v. 295. See note [20], p. 30, of this volume.

Odyss. l. 8. v. 62. Vid. et Odyss. l. 1. v. 153. l. 4. v. 17. l. 22. v. 330. & l. 23. v. 133.

Strab. l. 1. p. 15, 16. Odyss. l. 3. v. 263.

[85] Laudibus arguitur vini vinosus Homerus. Horat. v. 6. Epist. 19. l. 1.

removed

removed the bard, whom Agamemnon had appointed to be chief counsellor to the queen in his absence.

Women, in the Homeric age, injoyed more freedom, and communicated more in business and amusement among men, than in after ages has been usual in those eastern countries; far more than at Athens in the florishing times of the commonwealth. In the Iliad we find Helen and Andromachë frequently appearing in company with the Trojan chiefs, and entering freely into the conversation. Attended only by one or two maid-servants, they walk through the streets of Troy as business or fancy lead them. Penelopë, persecuted as she is by her suitors, does not scruple occasionally to show herself among them; and scarcely more reserve seems to have been imposed on virgins than on married women. Equally indeed Homer's elegant eulogies and Hesiod's severe sarcasm prove women to have been in their days important members of society. The character of Penelopë, in the Odyssey, is the completest panegyric on the sex that ever was composed; and no language can give a more elegant or a more highly-colored picture of conjugal affection than is displayed in the conversation between Hector and Andromachë in the sixth book of the Iliad. Even Helen, in spite of her failings, and independently of her beauty, steals upon our hearts, in Homer's description, by the modesty of her deportment and the elegance of her manners. On all occasions, indeed, Homer shows a disposition to favor the sex: civility and attention to them he attributes most particularly to his greatest characters, to Achilles, and still more remarkably to Hector. The infinite variety of his subjects, and the historical nature of his poems, led him necessarily to speak of bad women: but even when the black deed of Clytemnestra calls for his severest reprobation, still his delicacy toward the sex leads him to mention it in a manner that might tend to guard against that reproach, which would be liable to involve all for the wickedness of one[86].

Odyss. l. 8. v. 457. Hesiod. Op. & Di. l. 1. v. 373. & Theog. v. 570.

Iliad. l. 9. v. 340. & l. 24. v. 762.

With

[86] Pope, who was as little disposed to favor the sex as he was formed to be favored by them, has remarkably extended and aggravated his author's invective in translating the speech of the injured Agamemnon to Ulysses in the Elysian Fields:

——————— Ἡ δ' ἔξοχα λύγρ' ἰδυῖα
Ἥτε κατ' ἀῖσχος ἔχευε, καὶ ἐσσομένοισιν ὀπίσσω
Θηλυτέροισι γυναιξί, καὶ ἥ κ' ἐυεργὸς ἔησιν.—Odyss. l. 11. v. 433.

The

With some things of course widely differing from what prevails in distant climates and distant ages, we yet find in general the most perfect decency, and even elegance, of manners in Homer's descriptions of the intercourse of men and women. Helen's conversations, on the walls of Troy in the Iliad, and in her court at Sparta in the Odyssey, afford remarkable examples. One office of civility, indeed, which we find usually performed by women in the heroïc age, may excite our wonder: the business of attending men in bathing seems to have been peculiar to women; and, in compliment to men of rank, was performed by virgins of the highest rank. When Telemachus visited Nestor at Pylus, the office of washing and clothing him was assigned to the beautiful Polycastë, the virgin daughter of the venerable monarch. When Ulysses appeared as an unknown stranger in his own palace, the queen Penelopë, uninformed who or what he was, merely in pursuance of the common ceremonies of hospitality, directed her young maids to attend him to the bath. Ulysses refused the honor, and desired an old woman; but the poet seems to have thought it necessary

Odyss. l. 19. v. 317.

The meaning is simply this: 'Clytemnestra's 'wickedness has been so extreme, that it 'will communicate infamy to womankind 'through all futurity: even the good will 'not escape reproach for it.' But in the translation which Pope either made or adopted, Agamemnon pronounces the whole sex perjured, and doubts if a single virtuous woman will ever be found:

——— 'Thy deeds,' he says, 'disgrace
The perjured sex, and blacken all the race;
And should posterity one virtuous find,
Name Clytemnestra, they will curse the kind.'—Pope's Odyss. b. 11. v. 540.

Another strong instance of this turn in Pope, and where he has gone more out of his way to show it, occurs in his note to the 450th verse of his translation of the ninth book of the Iliad. A strong instance of the contrary disposition in Homer, with proof that it remained to him in blindness, and probably in old age, appears in a beautiful and affecting address to the virgins who attended the festival at Delos, for which the Hymn to Apollo has been composed; and the passage is authenticated by Thucydides:

Χαίρετε δ' ὑμεῖς πᾶσαι· ἐμεῖο δὲ καὶ μετόπισθε
Μνήσασθ', ὁππότε κέν τις ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων
Ἐνθάδ' ἀνείρηται, ξείνος ταλαπείριος ἐλθών,
Ὦ κοῦραι, τίς δ' ὔμμιν ἀνὴρ ἥδιστος ἀοιδῶν
Ἐνθάδε πωλεῖται, καὶ τέῳ τέρπεσθε μάλιστα;
Ὑμεῖς δ' εὖ μάλα πᾶσαι ὑποκρίνασθε ἀφήμως,
Τυφλὸς ἀνήρ, οἰκεῖ δὲ Χίῳ ἐνὶ παιπαλοέσσῃ.
Thucyd. l. 3. c. 104.

'Virgins, joy attend you all! Remember 'me hereafter: and when any stranger from 'afar coming here shall ask, O Virgins, who 'is the sweetest poet that attends your fes- 'tival, and with whom are you most de- 'lighted? do you all kindly answer, with 'one applauding voice, Our favorite is the 'blind man, who lives in rocky Chios.'

that he should apologize very particularly for such a singularity. Repugnant as these circumstances appear to common notions of eastern jealousy, yet customs not absolutely dissimilar are still found among the Arabs. Indeed the general sentiments of the Turks toward the female sex are a strange compound of the grossest sensuality with the most scrupulous decency. For the credit of Homer, and of his age, it should be observed that, among all his variety of pictures of human passion, not a hint occurs of that unnatural sensuality which afterward so disgraced Grecian manners.

Ives's Journey across the Desert. Sir James Porter's. Observations on the Religion, Laws, &c. of the Turks.

It was customary in the heroïc age, as indeed at all times in Greece, for ladies of highest rank to employ themselves in spinning and needlework, and in at least directing the business of the loom; which was carried on, as till lately in the highlands of Scotland, for every family within itself. It was praise equally for a slave and a princess to be skilful in works of this kind. In Homer's time washing also was employment for ladies. The princess Nausicaa, the young and beautiful daughter of the opulent king of Phæacia, a country famed more for luxury than industry, went with her maids, in a carriage drawn by mules, to a fountain in a sequestered spot at some distance from the city, to wash the clothes of the family.

It is matter of no small curiosity to compare the manners and principles of the heroïc age of Greece with those of our Teutonic ancestors. There are strong lines of resemblance, and there are strong characteristical touches by which they stand distinguished. Greece was a country holding out to its possessors every delight of which humanity is capable; but where, through the inefficiency of law, the instability of governments, and the character of the times, happiness was extremely precarious, and the change frequent from the height of bliss to the depth of misery. Hence, rather than from his natural temper, Homer seems to have derived a melancholy tinge widely diffused over his poems[86]. He frequently adverts, in general reflections, to the miseries of mankind. That earth nourishes no animal more miserable than man, is a remark which he puts into the mouth of Jupiter himself. Iliad. l. 17. v. 447.

[86] See particularly in the Odyssey, b. 4. v. 93. b. 8. v. 523. b. 11. v. 620. b. 18. v. 129.

His common epithet for war and battle is 'tearful[87].' With the northern bards, on the contrary, war and battle were subjects of highest joy and merriment: and this idea was supported in fact, we are well assured, to a most extraordinary degree. Yet there was more generosity and less cruelty in the Gothic spirit of war than in the Grecian. Whence this arose; what circumstances gave the weaker sex so much more consequence among the Teutonic nations than among the Greeks; how the spirit of gallantry, so little known to this elegant and polished people, should arise and gain such universal influence among the fierce unlettered savages of the North; that gallantry which, with many fantastical and some mischievous effects, has produced many highly salutary and honorable to mankind, will probably ever remain equally a mystery in the history of man, as why perfection in the sciences and every elegant art should be confined to the little territory of Greece, and to those nations which have derived it thence.

Mallet's Northern Antiquities. Robertson's Charles V.

[87] Πόλεμος δακρυόεις, Iliad. l. 8. v. 388. Μάχη δακρυόεσσα, Iliad. l. 13. v. 765.

CHAPTER III.

History of GREECE from the TROJAN WAR to the Return of the HERACLEIDS; and of the GRECIAN ORACLES, the Council of AMPHICTYONS, and the OLYMPIAN GAMES.

SECTION I.

Restoration of Orestes to the Throne of Argos. Conquest of Peloponnesus by the Dorians under the Heracleids, commonly called the Return of the Heracleids. Distinction of the Greek Nation into Ionic, Æolic, Attic, Doric.

TAKING Homer as our faithful guide for the history of this early age, we may conclude that no great revolution, nothing of any extensive consequence, happened in Greece, after the troubles insuing from the Trojan war had subsided, to the time when he composed his poems. The most important events which he has recorded, posterior to the return of the Greeks from Troy, relate to the kingdom of Argos. Orestes, son of Agamemnon, after living seven years in exile at Athens, in the eighth found means to revenge his father's death and recover his inheritance. He killed the usurper Ægistheus; and his guilty mother Clytemnestra perished in the tumult. Mounting then the throne of Argos, he became a very powerful prince, and reigned with great reputation. Here the history of Homer ends; and the manner in which these events are mentioned by him appears strongly to indicate that the period of his life would not admit of his tracing history much farther[1].

Odyss. l. 1. v. 29. & 298. l. 3. v. 196. & 303. & l. 24. v. 33.

It was, according to Thucydides, (whose simple affirmation carries

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 12.

[1] His residence after he was become blind, as he says himself in those lines of the Hymn to Apollo which have the testimony of Thucydides to their authenticity, was in the iland of Chios. Thucyd. l. 3. c. 104.

more authority than that of any other writer, and upon this occasion has been universally followed) about eighty years after the destruction of Troy that a great revolution happened, which changed the population of a large part of Greece, and in its consequences, that of a long extent of the western coast of Asia Minor. The children and partizans of the great Hercules had been invited from Athens, their first place of refuge from the persecution of Eurystheus king of Argos, to settle in Doris.

Strab. l. 9. p. 427.

Æpalius, chief of that province, in gratitude for important favors received from Hercules, is said to have adopted Hyllus, eldest son of that hero, by Deïaneira, daughter of Œneus king of Ætolia, and to have bequeathed his principality to him. Thus fortunately raised from the condition of suppliant exiles to that of soverein princes, the posterity of Hercules were however not to be satisfied with a scanty command over herdmen among the wilds of Œta and Parnassus. Esteeming themselves direct heirs of the family of Perseus, they never ceased to claim the dominion of Peloponnesus, and particularly of Argos, of which the superior policy and fortune of the family of Pelops had deprived them. Twice penetrating through the isthmus, they were compelled to retreat with loss. But at length Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus, said to be great-grandsons of Hyllus, associating Oxylus, an Ætolian chieftain their kinsman, crossed the Corinthian gulph from Naupactus, at the head of an army, with which, excepting the mountainous province of Arcadia, they overran the whole peninsula. Tisamenus, son of Orestes, forced from Argolis and Laconia, made however a stand in Ægialeia; and maintaining himself there, the country acquired from his followers the name of Achaia. Of the rest the Heracleids became complete masters. Temenus took possession of Argos, Cresphontes of Messenia, and, Aristodemus dying, his twin-sons Eurysthenes and Procles were made joint kings of Lacedæmon: Corinth was given to Aletes, also a descendant of Hercules, and Eleia was allotted to Oxylus. Sicyon and Phlius were afterward added to the Argian dominion; the former by Phalces, son of Temenus; the other by Rhegnidas, son of Phalces.

B. C. 824. N. 1104. B.

Herodot. l. 9. c. 26. Plat. de Leg. l. 3. p. 683. t. 2. Pausan. l. 2. c. 18. Herodot. l. 6. c. 52. Polyb. l. 2. p. 178. Strab. l. 8. p. 383. Pausan. l. 5. c. 1.

Pausan. l. 2. c. 6. & 13.

Of the particulars of this important revolution, the struggles likely to be maintained by princes so established in their possessions as the

Pelopids, and so connected by various ties of consanguinity and political interest, or the causes why little struggle was made, scarcely any information remains to us. It appears, indeed, that the Heracleid chiefs had interest within the peninsula: for, as we are informed by Strabo, Laconia was betrayed to them. They seem also, in their outset, to have judiciously disclaimed all hostile intention against the people of Peloponnesus, professing that their aim was only to recover their rights from princes who had usurped them. Farther than this even Pausanias was unable to gather. Nor are we more informed of the time employed in the conquest. But that the conquest was in the end complete, and that an intire revolution took place, not only in the government, but in the population also of the whole peninsula, except Arcadia, are facts amply authenticated. As soon as the division of the conquered country was agreed upon, the Heracleid princes, binding themselves by solemn oaths mutually to support one another in their respective allotments, exacted ingagements upon oath to the same purpose from all their subjects. But their Dorian and Ætolian followers had not conquered rich and extensive provinces for others, to return themselves to their pristine poverty upon their native mountains. It was, perhaps, a necessary policy to reward them with establishments in the newly acquired territories. A general oppression of the old inhabitants followed: great numbers emigrated: the rest were mostly reduced to slavery; and in the end the Heracleids, and their immediate partizans, remained sole lords of the soil throughout Peloponnesus, excepting Arcadia and Achaia.

Strab. l. 8. p. 365.

Pausan. l. 2. c. 13.

Plat. de Leg. l. 3. p. 683. t. 2.

Isocrat. Panathem.

This great change in the population of Greece, and the importance which the Dorian name acquired by it, among other consequences, occasioned a new distinction of the Grecian people, and brought forward to public attention some old ones, which in the time of Homer and Hesiod appear to have been little noticed. Concerning the hords who in earliest times occupied Greece under various names, Dryopes, Caucones, Aones, Leleges, Pelasgians, and others, the diligent and judicious Strabo seems to have been unable to discover how far they were different people. They seem all to have spoken one language: for, in the civilized ages, no trace or memory of a dialect not Grecian was

Strab. l. 5. p. 220. l. 7. p. 321, 322. l. 9. p. 401.

was to be found in any, the most mountainous part of the country. They appear also to have been much intermixed; but the Pelasgian name prevailed on the continent, and the Lelegian in the ilands; the former including, at one time, as Herodotus assures us, all people of Grecian race. The Athenians and Arcadians, in whose country, within reach of tradition, there had never been any complete change of population, continued always to refer their origin, in part at least, to the Pelasgians. Revolutions, depriving the other Greeks of means to trace their ancestry so high, gave them at the same time new eras whence to begin their account of themselves, in consequence of which the old fell more readily into oblivion. The Pelasgian name thus grew obsolete at an early period, and the Greek nation became distinguished into two hords, called Ionian and Æolian. Yet neither have we any certain information how this distinction arose; tho tradition mentions Æolus and Dorus, sons of Hellen the son of Deucalion, and Ion and Achæus sons of Xuthus, another son of Hellen, as the patriarchs of the Grecian people, from whom the appellations of their principal divisions were derived. The history of these princes, however, is uncertain in extreme; and tradition of better authority gives reason to suppose that the appellations had another and an earlier origin. Before the return of the Heracleids the Achaian name was common to all the Peloponnesians. The Ionian name had been still more comprehensive; having included the Achaians and the Bœotians, who, together with those to whom it was afterward confined, would make nearly the whole of the Greek nation; and among the Orientals it was always the general name for the Greeks.

Herodot. l. 7. c. 95.

Herodot. l. 1. c. 56. & l. 8. c. 44.

Strab. l. 8. p. 333.

Strab. l. 8. p. 383.

Herodot. l. 1. c. 56. & l. 7. c. 94.

Homer. & Plat. de Leg. l. 3. p. 684. Hesych. ad voc. Ἴωνες & Ἴαονα.

But whatever may have been originally the distinction of the Grecian hords, it became, in the course of ages, more than nominal; since, tho their settlements were intermixed, and their language fundamentally one, each people preserved its peculiar dialect. Attica was considered as the original settlement of the Ionians: its antient inhabitants were usually distinguished by that name; and the country was called Ionia. Colonies migrating thence into Peloponnesus, occupied the province afterward named Achaia, but previously Ægialos and Ægialeia; and the Ionian colonists were called Ægialian Pelasgians. The people of the

Homer. Iliad. l. 2. v. 575.

Herodot. l. 7. c. 94.

the rest of Greece, within and without the isthmus, were esteemed of the Æolian hord: yet, according to Pausanias, the dialect of Argos, before the return of the Heracleids, was the same as the antient Attic. Paus. l. 2. c. 37.

Of the farther division, however, of the Grecian people, which afterward arose, we have from Strabo a clear account. The inhabitants of the mountainous tract about Parnassus, under the name of Dorians, who, according to Herodotus, had migrated thither from Thessaly, were, like the antient Atticans, from the barrenness of their country, and their consequent poverty, little subject to invasion; and thus, while the other Æolians, from their frequent revolutions and intermixture with foreiners, acquired a new dialect, the Dorians alone retained their manners and language unaltered. When under the Heracleids they became masters of Peloponnesus, the former inhabitants were mostly either expelled or reduced to slavery; excepting those who under Tisamenus maintained themselves in Achaia, and the Arcadians, who with their mountains, preserved their freedom. The exiles passed to Asia Minor, and overpowering there the Asiatics, as they had been themselves overpowered by the Dorians, they established colonies all along the western coast of that country. Four distinctions of the Grecian people now arose out of the original two. The Dorian name prevailed in all the establishments of the Heracleids, and was preserved by all the colonies founded by their descendants, in Asia, Italy, Sicily, and wheresoever else. The Athenians also rose to such preëminence above all other people of Ionian race, that their name likewise prevailed over that of their hord; and thus the two original dialects of the Grecian language acquired the new names of Doric and Attic, while the two other principal dialects, which various circumstances had contributed to alter, retained the antient appellations of Æolic and Ionic. But all the Greeks without the isthmus, except the Athenians and Megarians, claimed Æolian origin. The Megarians, tho of Æolian race, yet being a Dorian colony from Peloponnesus, chose to retain the distinction of the Doric name. The Ionian name was rejected in Greece, and retained only by those Ionians who migrated into Asia and the ilands; and to them the dialect called Ionic was peculiar.

Strab. l. 8. p. 383.

Herodot. l. 1. c. 56.

Isocrat. Panathen. Strab. l. 8. p. 364, 365.

Strab. l. 8. p. 333.

Strab. l. 8. p. 392, 393.

Herodot. l. 1. c. 143.

SECTION II.

Origin and Progress of Oracles.

THE history of a people divided, like the Greeks, into many little states, each exercising complete sovereinty within its own territory, cannot be traced in so connected a manner as that of those nations whose parts are united under one system of government. Historians have therefore found it convenient, after giving a summary account of the remoter ages, to select two commonwealths, Athens and Lacedæmon, as main channels in which their narrative should run; contenting themselves with but occasionally relating the more important transactions of the rest. While the same method is followed here, equally from necessity and choice, the business of the historian, it should seem, were very incompletely executed should he omit to investigate, with some accuracy, the circumstances which principally contributed to keep so many independent and eternally warring states, without any express league, and often without any very obvious common interest, still in some measure united, still always to esteem themselves one people, so as to acquire (for they had them not in the early periods of their history) singularly strong lines of distinction from all the rest of mankind.

Tho, among the consequences of the great revolution effected by the Heracleids, a separation in national pride, opposition in national prejudices, and even national antipathies might be liable to arise among the Grecian people, the Dorians yet fortunately brought with them, from their former country, habits, opinions, and attachments, not only tending to correct the mischievous effects of political jealousies among the several independent states which they established in Peloponnesus, but also to preserve and even increase the intercourse, and strengthen the connection with the rest of Greece. The province of Doris was chiefly composed of the northern branches of the lofty ridge of Parnassus, at the southern end of which Delphi was situated. The oracle

of

of that place had been for some time increasing in reputation among the people of the neighboring provinces; and it was not without the incouragement of some responses, which admitted a favorable interpretation, that the Heracleids had ingaged in their enterprize. Their full success therefore could not fail to extend the fame and increase the credit of the oracle. The great bond indeed that first united, and afterward for ages principally held the Greeks together, was their religion; of the early state of which, and some principal circumstances in its rise and progress, from among those which can be sufficiently ascertained for history, it has been already endeavored to give an account. Some inquiry will now be necessary concerning those reputed means of regular communication with the deity, less known in earlier times, but which, in the period to which we are approaching, became political engines of singular force, and had their effect on almost every important occurrence. It were indeed a very vain attempt to pursue, through all its intricacies, the history of institutions founded upon ignorance, and raised by deceit, at an age far beyond the reach of written memorials; and ever afterward, during their existence through many centuries, covered from common observation with the utmost caution of interested ingenuity favored by political power. But as the subject is both curious in itself, and important to the history before us, it shall be endeavored here to reduce under one point of view, what can be collected from antient writers, principally tending to illustrate the early circumstances of oracles.

Plat. de Leg. l. 3. p. 686.

Superstition was formed into a system in Egypt at an age prior to our first accounts of it. Vast temples were built, innumerable ceremonies established; the same body, forming the hereditary priesthood and the nobility of the nation, directed with a high hand the belief and consciences of the people; and prophecy was not only among their pretensions, but perhaps the most indispensable part of their office. We have already had occasion to remark how usual it was with the Phenician traders, then the general carriers of the Mediterranean, to steal women. It happened that the master of a Phenician vessel carried off a woman-attendant of the temple of Jupiter at Thebes on the Nile, and sold her in Thesprotia; a mountainous tract in the north-western

Herodot. l. 2. c. 54.

part of Epirus, bordering on the Illyrian hords. Reduced thus unhappily to slavery among barbarians, the woman however soon became sensible of the superiority which her education in a more civilized country gave her over them; and she conceived hopes of mending her condition, by practising upon their ignorance what she had acquired of those arts which, in able hands, imposed upon a more inlightened people. She gave out that she possessed all the powers of prophecy to which the Egyptian priests pretended; that she could discover present secrets and foretel future events. Her pretensions excited curiosity: she chose her station under the shade of a spreading oak, where, in the name of the god Jupiter, she delivered answers to numbers who came to consult her; and shortly her reputation, as a prophetess, extended as far as the people of the country themselves communicated. These simple circumstances of her story were afterward, according to the genius of those ages, turned into a fable, which was commonly told, in the time of Herodotus, by the Dodonæan priests. A black pigeon, they said, flew from Thebes in Egypt to Dodona, and perching upon an oak, proclaimed with human voice, 'That an oracle of Jupiter 'should be established there[2].' The Dodonæans, concluding that a divinity spoke through the agency of the pigeon, obeyed the mandate, and the oracle was established. The historian accounts for the fiction thus: The woman, on her arrival, speaking in a forein dialect, the Dodonæans said she spoke like a pigeon: but afterward, when she had acquired the Grecian speech and accent, they said the pigeon, who from her darker complexion was called the black pigeon, now spoke with a human voice. The trade of prophecy being both easy and lucrative, the office of the prophetess was readily supplied both with associates and successors. A temple for the deity and habitations for his ministers were built; and thus, according to the evidently honest, and apparently well-founded and judicious account of Hero-

[2] Homer, (Odyss. 14. 328. & 19. 297.) Æschylus, (Prometh. Vinct. v. 827.) Plato (Phædrus, p. 275. t. 3.) and Strabo (l. 5. p. 328) call the prophetic tree Δρῦς. Hesiod (as quoted by the scholiast upon the Trachiniæ of Sophocles, v. 1174.) Herodotus, l. 2. c. 55. & Lucian, (Dial. Micyll. & Gall.) call it Φηγός. I do not suppose any contradiction between them; because I take Δρῦς to have been a generic name, and Φηγὸς a species. See note 8, in the first section of the first chapter of this history.

dotus,

dotus, arose the oracle of Jupiter at Dodona, the very place where tradition, still remaining to the days of that writer, testified that sacrifices had formerly been performed only to the Nameless God.

In consequence probably of the success of Dodona, oracles were, in remote ages, attempted in various places [3]. Olympia, as we learn from Strabo, before the establishment of its games, was famous for the oracle of Olympian Jupiter; which however ceased at an early period. The pretension to the gift of prophecy, as a dispensation of the deïty to certain individuals, being found still lucrative, continued still to be common, but it was often dangerous. For in gratifying one great man, tho but by telling the simple truth, the ill-will of another, or perhaps of the multitude, was excited. Thus Homer represents the seer Calchas, tho a man of high rank, afraid to declare a truth which might offend Agamemnon; and we find in Euripides the reason expressly given for preferring local oracles: 'Men are liable to be 'warped by fear, favor, or pity. Prophecies should be delivered by 'Apollo alone, who respects nobody.' Whenever therefore means occurred for establishing the belief that a deïty favored any particular spot with his peculiar grace and frequent presence, and would deign there to communicate with mortals who knew how duly to invoke him, priests and soothsayers would not neglect the opportunity. The faithful delivery of the divine mandate no longer then depended on the credit

Strab. l. 8. p. 353.

Iliad. l. 1. v. 74.
Eurip. Phœniss. v. 971.

[3] The learned Mr. Hardion, in his first Dissertation on the oracle of Delphi, (Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscrip.) undertakes to prove from Herodotus himself, that Herodotus is wrong in asserting the Dodonæan oracle to have been the oldest in Greece. But the whole of his argument rests on a supposition that the Pelasgians, founders of the Dodonæan oracle, originated from a handful of savages (une poignée d'hommes, ou, pour mieux dire, des brutes) first assembled under Pelasgus on the mountains of Arcadia, long after the establishment of the Delphian oracle. Nothing, however, in antient Grecian tradition appears more certain than that the Pelasgian name and people had a very different origin (1); nothing more uncertain than the time when the Delphian oracle was first established; and scarcely anything more evidently fabulous than those reports of the early consultation of it, on whose authority Mr. Hardion has not scrupled to say, 'il est INCONTESTABLE 'qu'il étoit établi meme avant le déluge de 'Deucalion.' The first account of the consultation of the Delphian oracle to which Strabo seems to have given any credit was that of Homer, who mentions a response to Agamemnon before the Trojan war. See Strabo, b. 9. p. 417.

(1) See chap. 1. sec. 2 & 4 of this Hist.

of a single person, but a college of priests became its warrant; while the supposed sanctity of the place protected all within its precinct, and the number of the associated attendants added to the security of those ingaged in any office of the prophetical function. Through such inducements many oracles were in early times established, which, like Olympia, succeeded for a time, and decayed. But the oracle which held its reputation, and extended it, we may say, over the world, was Delphi. Of this celebrated place so many fables are related, some of them referred to times long before, according to any authentic account, an oracle existed in Greece, that the writer whose subject calls for some elucidation of the matter, finds no small difficulty to determine what not to reject of all that has been said upon it. Indeed on this mythological ground, where even the antiquarian and the professed dissertator should tread with caution, the historian cannot but hesitate at every step. He will certainly not attempt to lead his reader a regular journey through it; but he may point out to him a few spots of the firmer soil, which, without risk of material deception, may inable him to form some general idea of the whole.

Strab. l. 9. p. 418.

On the southern side of mount Parnassus, within the western border of Phocis against Locris, and at no great distance from the seaport towns of Crissa and Cirrha, the mountain-crags form a natural amphitheater, difficult of access; in the midst of which a deep cavern, discharged, from a narrow orifice, a vapor powerfully affecting the brain of those who came within its influence. This, we are told, was first brought to public notice by a goatherd, whose goats, brouzing on the brink, were thrown into singular convulsions; upon which the man going to the spot and endeavoring to look into the chasm, became himself agitated like one frantic. These extraordinary circumstances were communicated through the neighborhood; and the superstitious ignorance of the age immediately attributed them to a deity residing in the place. Frenzy of every kind, among the Greeks, even in more inlightened times, was supposed the effect of divine inspiration, and the incoherent speeches of the frantic were regarded as prophetical[4]. A

Strab. l. 9. p. 419. Diodor. Sic. l. 16. c. 26. Pausan. l. 10. c. 5. Schol. in Plut. Aristoph. v. 9.

[4] Ut alia nos melius multa quam Græci, sic huic præstantissimæ rei divinationi, nomen nostri a divis, Græci, ut Plato, interpretatur (in Phædro) a furore dixerunt. M. T. Cic. de divinatione, l. 1. s. 1.

spot

spot therefore to which herdmen only and their goats had hitherto been accustomed to climb over the rugged sides of the mountain, now became an object of extensive curiosity: it was said to be the oracle of the goddess Earth: the rude inhabitants, from all the neighboring parts, resorted to it for information concerning futurity; to obtain which any one of them inhaled the vapor, and whatever he uttered in the insuing intoxication, passed for prophecy.

But the function of prophet, under these circumstances, was not a little dangerous: for many, through the superinduced giddiness, fell into the cavern and were lost. An assembly of the neighboring inhabitants was therefore convened; in which it was determined that one person, appointed by public authority, should alone be permitted to receive the inspiration and render the responses of the divinity; and that the security of the prophet should be provided for by a frame placed over the chasm, through which the maddening vapor might be inhaled with safety. A virgin was preferred for the sacred office; and a frame was prepared, resting on three feet, whence it had the name of tripod. The place bore the name of Pytho, of uncertain origin, but, attributed in aftertimes to some adventures of the gods there, which gave it a mystical dignity; and thence the title of Pythoness or Pythia became attached to the prophetess. To obtain the inspiration which, it was supposed, not only inabled, but forced her to reveal the will of the divinity, the Pythoness was placed on the tripod. A sacred estimation thus became attached to the form of that machine, insomuch that thence, according to Diodorus, arose the partiality which induced not the Greeks only but the Romans to prefer it for every utensil, whether for sacred or domestic purposes, to which it could be applied.

The importance of the oracle being increased by this interference of public authority, a farther establishment became necessary. A rude temple was built over the cavern, priests were appointed, ceremonies were prescribed, sacrifices were performed. A revenue now was necessary. All therefore who would consult the oracle henceforward, must come with offerings in their hands. The reputation of the place no longer then depended simply on the superstition of the people: the interest of the priests became its guardian. Hence, according to probable

Dissert. sur l'Oracle de Delphes, par M. Hardion.

Pausan. l.10. c. 5.

Æschyl. Eumen. init.

bable conjecture, the change of divinities supposed to preside at Delphi. The profits produced by the prophetical abilities of the goddess Earth beginning to fail, it was asserted that the god Neptune was associated with her in the oracle. After this the goddess Themis was said to have succeeded her mother Earth in the inheritance. Still new incentives to public credulity and curiosity became necessary. If the attempt to sift fact from fable may in any case be indulged to the historian, the hymn to Apollo, transmitted to us as the composition of Homer, seems to offer so probable an account of the next and final change in the property of this celebrated place, that it may be permitted to introduce it here.

Apollo was a deïty of great reputation in the ilands and in Asia Minor, but hitherto of little fame on the continent of Greece, when a vessel from Gnossus in Crete came to the port of Crissa; and the crew landing, proceeded immediately up the neighboring mountain Parnassus to Delphi. Presently a wonderful story was circulated, 'That this 'vessel, being bound to Pylus on the coast of Messenia, had been 'forced by a preternatural power beyond that port; and, while 'the astonished crew were perfectly passive, had been conducted 'with surprizing exactness and expedition to Crissa: that a 'dolphin of uncommon magnitude had accompanied the vessel, appa-'parently with authority, and, on their arrival at Crissa, discovered 'himself to the crew to be the great and beneficent god Apollo; 'ordering them at the same time to follow him to Delphi, where they 'should become his ministers.' The project succeeded beyond expectation. Sacrifices and petitions to Themis and Neptune had plainly for some time been wrong: Apollo was now the presiding power of the place; and under this god, through the skill of his new ministers (for Crete, as we have seen, was earlier civilized, and had probably more intercourse with Egypt than the rest of Greece) the oracle recovered and increased its reputation. Delphi, which had the advantage of being reälly near the center of Greece, was reported to be the center of the world; miracles were invented to prove so important a circumstance, and Navel of the Earth was among the titles which it acquired [5].

[5] Strabo, l. 9. p. 419. Mr. Bryant has accounted for this title ingeniously, and perhaps justly, in his Analysis of Antient Mythology, vol. 1. p. 240.

Perhaps

Perhaps at this time the Pythian games had their origin in the prize offered for a hymn in honor of Apollo, to be performed by the voice accompanied by the cithara. The first victor, Pausanias informs us, was a Cretan. It was not till some ages after that athletic exercises were introduced, in imitation of the Olympian.

Pausan. l. 10. c. 7.

Delphi, however, prospering through its oracle, became early a considerable town. Situate as it was among barren mountain-crags, the rich vale of Crissa was at hand for its supply; the Bœotian plain was not far distant, and the neighborhood of the sea was a great additional convenience. Before Homer's time, if we may credit the hymn to Apollo, the temple of that deity was built of stone, with some magnificence. But the Dorian conquest seems to have been the fortunate circumstance that principally spred its fame and inlarged its influence; which quickly so extended, that nothing of moment within Greece was undertaken by states, or even by private persons who could afford the expence, without first consulting the oracle of Delphi; particularly in circumstances of doubt, anxiety, and distress, Delphi was the refuge. A present upon these occasions was always necessary; and princes and opulent persons endeavored to conciliate the favor of the deity by offerings of great value. Afterward vanity came in aid to superstition in bringing riches to the temple. The names of those who made considerable presents were always registered; and when statues, tripods, or other ornaments of valuable materials or elegant workmanship were given, they were publicly exhibited in honor of the donor.

Wheeler's Journey into Greece, b. 4. p. 316.

But the wealth and growing estimation of Delphi had also another source of which information remains only so far as to assure us of the fact, with far less explanation of circumstances than for its importance might be desired. In the general insecurity of property in the early ages, and especially in Greece, it was highly desirable to convert all that could be spared from immediate use into that which might most easily be removed from approaching danger. By a compact understood among men, with this view, the precious metals appear to have obtained their early estimation. Gold then and silver having acquired their certain value as signs of wealth, a deposit secure against the dangers continually threatening, not individuals only, but every town and state

state in Greece, would be the next object of the wealthy. Such security offered nowhere in equal amount as in those temples which belonged not to any single state, but were respected by the common religion of the nation. The priesthood, not likely to refuse the charge, would have a large interest in acquiring the reputation of fidelity to it. Thus Delphi appears to have become the great bank of Greece, perhaps before Homer, in whose time its riches seem to have been already proverbial. Such then was found the value of this institution, that when the Dorian conquest drove so large a part of the Greek nation into exile, the fugitives, who acquired new settlements in Asia, established there their own national bank, in the manner of that of their former country, recommending it to the protection of the same divinity: the temple of Apollo at Branchidæ became the great depository of the wealth of Ionia.

Herod. l. 5. c. 35.

Of the management of the prophetical business of Delphi some information remains, bearing the appearance of authenticity. The Pythoness was chosen from among mountain-cottagers, the most unacquainted with mankind that could be found. It was always required that she should be a virgin, and originally she was taken very young. The purity of virgin innocence, to which the Greeks always attached an idea of mysterious sanctity, made a girl most fit, in vulgar opinion, to receive the influence of the god; and ignorance, which evinced purity of mind, was at the same time very commodious for the purposes of the priests. Once appointed she was never to quit the temple. But unfortunately it happened that one Pythoness made her escape: her singular beauty inamored a young Thessalian, who succeeded in the hazardous attempt to carry her off. It was afterward decreed that no Pythoness should be appointed under fifty years of age; but that in simplicity she should still be the nearest possible to a child; and that even the dress appropriated to girls should be preserved to her. The office of Pythoness appears not to have been desirable. Either the emanation from the cavern, or some art of the managers, threw her into real convulsions. Priests, intitled prophets, led her to the sacred tripod, force being often necessary for the purpose, and held her on it till her frenzy rose to whatever pitch was in their

Diod. Sic. l. 16. c. 26.

Ibid.

judgement most fit for the occasion. To secure themselves was not difficult; because those noxious vapors, which have been observed in caverns, in various parts of the world, are so much specifically heavier than the wholesome air, that they never rise above a certain height[6]. But Pythonesses are said to have expired almost immediately after quitting the tripod, and even on the tripod. The broken accents, which the wretch uttered in her agony, were collected and arranged by the prophets, and then promulgated, till a late period always in verse, as the answer of the god. There were however a few days only in the year on which the god might be interrogated; and those variable within the power of the priests. Previous sacrifices were moreover necessary, and if the victims were not favorable the Pythoness would in vain solicit inspiration. Thus the priests had it always in their power to deny answers, to delay answers, or to give answers direct, dubious, or unintelligible, as they judged most advantageous for the credit of the oracle. With frequent opportunities therefore of arrogating the merit of true prophecy, the oracle generally avoided the risk of being convicted of false; tho such misfortune happened to many oracles less ably conducted, to the no small advantage of Delphi; which thence acquired the reputation, delivered to us in words not advantageous to the general character of those fixed seats of prophecy, of being the least fallacious of all oracles. But if princes or great men applied in a proper manner for the sanction of the god to any undertaking, they seldom failed to receive it in direct terms, provided the reputation of the oracle for truth was not liable to immediate danger from the event.

Plutarch. de Defect. Orac.
Lucan. Pharsal. l. 5. v. 116.
Strab. l. 9. p. 419.
Strab. l. 9. p. 419.

[6] See Bergman's Physical and Chemical Essays, in Cullen's translation, v. 1. p. 83.

SECTION III.

Of the Origin and Constitution of the Council of Amphictyons.

WHEN the Delphian sanctuary had acquired that extensive importance which resulted from the circumstances just related, and the wealth accumulated there offered so tempting a prey to the unscrupulous among the leaders of the numerous states around, composed intirely of a military people, it was little fit that the charge should be trusted wholly to the Delphian citizens, or even to the united government of the Phocian people. What indeed that government was in early times, we have no information. When it first becomes known to us, the Phocians were divided into no less than two and twenty village states, nearly independent. But among the dark confusion and fanciful falsehood of antient tradition, we have seen large assurance that the people inhabiting to the northward of mount Œta, and along the coast of the Ægean sea eastward as far as the Hellespont, were, in early times, more inlightened than the southern Greeks: who in after-ages acknowleged obligation to instructors from that country, in religion, morality, legislation, and their vehicles music and poetry. We may gather also that the numerous barbarians of the extensive inland country, continually harrassing the more civilized inhabitants of the coast, drove some to seek securer settlements elsewhere; and by preventing the cultivation of the arts of peace, reduced the rest to become barbarians like themselves. Greece possessed advantageous barriers against these evils, in its several ranges of almost impassable mountains, stretching across the country from sea to sea. The southern parts, therefore, with the ilands, afforded refuge for those inhabitants of the northern coast, who had means of transporting themselves, and effects to subsist on; and Thrace thus shared with Egypt and Phenicia in the honor of civilizing Greece. Thessaly, however, bordering on the barbarian hords, and by the fruitfulness of its soil, singularly tempting invasion, was in elder times peculiarly subject to revolutions. Yet, among the

Ch. 1. sec. 4. of this Hist.

uncertain and romantic traditions remaining to us concerning Thessaly also, there appears good foundation for belief that it was, at a very early period, governed by princes more powerful and more informed than their cotemporaries of southern Greece. Among these the name of Deucalion is famous. But whatever truth or whatever error of tradition may have mixed that name with the circumstances of a deluge, and whether the deluge was that which destroyed the whole world, or one which wasted only a part of Greece, there seems no reason to doubt the existence of a king of Thessaly of the name, a principal potentate of his time. The dominions of that prince are said, on his death, to have been divided between his sons; the country northward of the pass of Thermopylæ forming a kingdom under Hellen, and the country southward another, under Amphictyon, who afterward added to it the province of Attica. Both these princes were of great fame, but very uncertain history. From Hellen is said to have originated the name Hellenes, the general denomination by which the Greeks of after-ages designated themselves. To Amphictyon is attributed the institution of the council of Amphictyons, which, defective and obscure as remaining accounts of it are, will demand some attention [7].

Ch. 1. sec. 3. of this Hist.

Ages before letters began to record the transactions of the Greeks, a regular establishment had been made of an assembly of deputies from the provinces northward and southward of mount Œta, to consult on the common interests of their constituents. Their ordinary place of

[7] In Homer's time no common name for all the Greeks had obtained general acceptation. In the want of such we find him evidently at a loss. But in the 37th line of his catalogue, he plainly means to include the whole nation under the two names PANHELLENES and ACHAIOI: the former seemingly intended for the northern Greeks, the latter for the southern. Thus also in the Odyssey he apparently intends the northern division of the country by the name HELLAS, and the southern by the name ARGOS (1), where under the two he means evidently to include the whole of Greece. The appellation DANAOI appears to mark the southern Greeks only, or however chiefly. Strabo tells us (2), that Argos was antiently a name including all Peloponnesus; that the epithet Achaïc, used by Homer, was derived from the Phthiot Achaians, who came into the peninsula with Pelops, and settled in Laconia; and that Danaï was a name which the Peloponnesian Pelasgians received from the Egyptian Danaüs.

(1) Odyss. l. 1. v. 344. l. 4. v. 726. & 816. & l. 15. v. 80. (2) l. 7. p. 365. l. 8. p. 371.

meeting was a temple, dedicated to the goddess Ceres, near the mouth of the river Asopus, at that pass of Thermopylæ afterward so famous. These deputies bore the title of Amphictyons, it is said, from the founder of the institution[8]. Strabo attributes the regulations which became the basis of the constitution of this assembly to Acrisius king of Argos, grandfather of the hero Perseus, rejecting, as of no authority, all accounts of the assembly before the age of that prince. The conjectures of the Grecian chronologers, with which, however, the geographer shows himself everywhere little satisfied, placed Amphictyon a century and a half earlier than Acrisius. Sir Isaac Newton supposed them cotemporary, and about a century older than the Trojan war. If we admit the English philosopher's chronology, the supposition of a league of the most powerful princes of the northern with the most powerful prince of the southern part of Greece, will carry no apparent improbability, nor does it seem easy otherwise to account for the interference of a king of Argos, unmentioned by any tradition as a conqueror, in the regulation of an assembly of states at Thermopylæ[9]. That a connection and a beneficial connection was formed, and that, by some means, the kings of Argos obtained a superiority, is amply indicated by Homer, in the ready acquiescence which he ascribes to all the Grecian chiefs, as far as the utmost bounds of Thessaly, under the authority of Agamemnon, and the acknowlegement of it even by the proud and powerful Achilles. Nevertheless from Homer we have no mention of the Amphictyonic council. Possibly and even probably it may have been the policy of the Pelopid princes to repress its power, which had been favored by the Perseid line, whom they had expelled; and so, in Homer's time, it may have been insig-

Strab. l. 9. p. 420.

Newton's Chron. p. 12 & 14. & 17 & 143.

[8] It appears to have been the most received opinion of the most judicious antiquarians among the antients, that the Amphictyonic council had its name from Amphictyon son of Deucalion, tho the obvious application of the word, with a very small alteration, Ἀμφικτίων, as a description instead of an arbitrary appellation of the persons who composed the assembly, led some to suppose that this was the true name. See Pausan. b. 10. c. 8.

[9] Sir Isaac Newton, as a matter of probability, not resting on positive authority, supposes Amphictyon to have been the founder of the assembly at Thermopylæ, and Acrisius of that at Delphi. But we shall have occasion in the sequel to observe ground for assigning to the Delphic assembly, or more properly the Delphic session of the Amphictyons, a much later origin.

nificant

nificant and obscure. But in consequence of the revolution produced in Peloponnesus by the return of the Heracleids, and the equality asserted by the several princes who obtained settlements there, the power or influence which the Pelopid princes, and especially Agamemnon, had held among the northern provinces, fell immediately; and the principal sway in the assembly, and the principal interest in supporting it, reverted again to Thessaly.

The constitution of this famous assembly, obscure in its origin through extreme antiquity, is not accurately known to us even in those ages from which we might expect accurate information. We find, however, that every state of the Amphictyonic confederacy sent at least one representative, who bore the title of Pylagore [10]. Each member had an equal vote on every occasion in which the authority of the council was exerted; and no Amphictyon derived any legal privilege or authority from the rank or estimation which his constituents held among the Grecian states, but all were properly peers. The meeting was opened with solemn sacrifices to Ceres. Afterward an additional representative was sent by every state, with the different title of Hieromnemon, indicating that his office was more particularly to superintend all concerns of religion. The form of the Amphictyonic oath has been preserved to us; not that of the earliest times, but probably not very different in tenor. It ran thus: 'I swear that I will never subvert any 'Amphictyonic city: I will never stop the courses of their water, 'either in war or peace. If any such outrages be attempted, I will 'oppose them by force of arms, and destroy those cities which are 'guilty of such attempt. If any devastations be committed in the 'territory of the god, if any shall be privy to such offence, or enter-'tain any design against the temple, I will use my hands, my feet, my 'whole force, to bring the offending party to condign punishment.' Æschin. Or. de fal. legat.

[10] What remains from antient authors upon the subject has been largely collected by Dean Prideaux, in his Treatise on the Oxford marbles, and Dr. Leland, in the preliminary Discourse to his History of Philip king of Macedonia, has added what has been imagined by modern writers. In the sequel of this history occasion will occur to notice the connection of the Amphictyonic council with the political interests of the country, as they arise; whence illustration, still imperfect, yet perhaps the best to be obtained, may result.

An

An awful imprecation was subjoined; 'If any shall violate any part of 'this solemn ingagement, whether city, private person, or nation, may 'such violators be obnoxious to the vengeance of Apollo, Diana, 'Latona, and Minerva the Provident. May their land never produce 'its fruits: May their women never bring forth children of the same 'nature with the parents, but offspring unnatural and monstrous: 'May they be forever defeated in war, in judicial controversies, and 'in all civil transactions; and may their families, and their whole race, 'be utterly destroyed: May they never offer an acceptable sacrifice to 'Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Minerva the Provident, but may all their 'sacred rites be forever rejected.' The first part of this oath is pointed to what was really the most important business of the assembly, and which seems to have been with great wisdom and humanity proposed as the principal end of the institution, the establishment and support of a kind of law of nations among the Greeks, that might check the violence of war among themselves, and finally prevent those horrors, that extremity of misery, which the barbarity of elder times usually made the lot of the vanquished. The view of the founders seems evidently to have gone farther; to bring all disputes between Amphictyonic states before this tribunal, and totally to stop war among them, or to punish it as private war and rebellion [11]. To this however, after the return of the Heracleids, amid the jealous claims of every Grecian city to absolute independency, the Amphictyonic council was never equal. Revolutions in early times reduced it to obscurity. Afterward the Delphian oracle, and the Delphian treasure were committed to its superintendency, whence no small additional importance accrued to it. Nevertheless the members seem wisely to have avoided the attempt to exert an authority which they wanted power effectually to support. Contests between states were, however, always esteemed proper objects of its jurisdiction: but the superintendency of the religion of the Greek nation was more particularly its office. Its authority to fine any Amphictyonic state, and, in case of noncompliance with injunctions, even to levy forces, and to make war on the disobedient, were allowed.

[11] Περὶ τῶν κοινῶν βουλευσόμενον——ἀποδεῖξαι τὰς Ἀμφικτυονικὰς δίκας ὅσαι πόλεσι πρὸς πόλεις εἰσίν. Strab. l. 9. p. 420.

Of

Of disputes between private persons it never condescended to take connisance. Its proceedings were generally conducted with prudence and dignity; and its decrees, notwithstanding its deficiency of power, were highly respected.

SECTION IV.

Early Dissentions of the Heracleid Princes. Unsettled State of Peloponnesus. Origin of the Grecian Games. Institution of the Olympian Festival by Iphitus King of Elis.

THE RETURN OF THE HERACLEIDS, as the Dorian conquest is commonly termed by Grecian writers, produced a revolution in Peloponnesus so complete that, except in the rugged province of Arcadia, nothing remained unaltered. The Argian princes of the family of Pelops had acquired such superior power, and a legal preëminence which they claimed, in whatever way acquired, was so generally admitted, that under them one government in some degree pervaded, not the peninsula only, but all Greece: the administration of law gained consistency, civility advanced, and arts began to show themselves. But the Dorian conquest reduced Peloponnesus to that ruder state in which the new lords of the country had lived among their native mountains: arts and civility fled with the old inhabitants to florish in another soil. The first care of the conquering chiefs was to secure their acquisitions against any attempts of the former possessors: their next seems to have been to prevent any one among themselves from acquiring that superiority over the rest, which alone could insure the quiet of all. In the very partition of the country a cause of future discord arose. Aristodemus died: his followers, to whom Laconia was allotted, thought they had an equal claim to the fairer portion of Messenia; a less mountainous and more generally fruitful country, of which they were deprived, as they supposed, only through the inability of their infant sovereins, sons of their deceased leader, to assert their

Pausan. l. 4. c. 3. Herodot. l. 5. c. 52.

their rights. The boundaries also of the several allotments were, in the haste of division, not everywhere accurately ascertained; and early disputes about these led to hostilities. Within the several governments moreover, for many years after so violent a revolution, the unsettled state of things would often call for the strong arm of power to repress outrage and inforce order. Violence would arise sometimes on the part of the princes; and a conquering people, rude, but highspirited, was little disposed to admit patiently any exertion of authority not perfectly warranted by established custom. Thus, in every state, internal dissentions were seldom interrupted but by external war; and any long intermission of this the situation of Arcadia sufficed to prevent: sheltered by their mountains in their property and their freedom, the Arcadians, bordering upon all, were the natural enemies of all. Peloponnesus thus was relapsing into a state of anarchy and barbarism like that in which it had existed before Pelops and Hercules.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 13. Plutarch. Lycurg.

From very early times it had been customary among the Greeks to hold numerous meetings for purposes of festivity and social amusement. A foot-race, a wrestling match, or some other rude trial of bodily strength and activity, formed originally the principal entertainment; so far only perhaps more respectable in its kind than our country wakes, as it had more immediate reference to that almost ceaseless warfare which prevailed in elder Greece. It was probably the connection of these GAMES with the warlike character, that occasioned their introduction at funerals in honor of the dead; a custom which, we learn from Homer, was in his time antient. But all the violence of the early ages was unable to repress that elegance of imagination which seems congenial to Greece. Very antiently a contention for a prize in poetry and music was a favorite entertainment of the Grecian people; and when connected, as it often was, with some ceremony of religion, drew together large assemblies of both sexes [12]. A festival of this kind in the little iland of Delos, at which Homer assisted, brought

Iliad. l. 22. v. 630. Odyss. l. 24. v. 87. Hymn. ad Apoll. apud Thucyd l. 3. c. 104. Xen. mem. Socr. l. 3. c. 3. s. 12.

[12] ——— Ἐλχιχίτωνες Ἰάονες ἠγερέθονται
Αὐτοῖς σὺν παίδεσσι καὶ αἰδοίης ἀλόχοισιν.
Οἱ δέ σε πυγμαχίῃ τε καὶ ὀρχηθμῷ καὶ ἀοιδῇ
Μνησάμενοι, τέρπουσιν ὅταν στήσωνται ἀγῶνα.
Hymn. ad Apoll. ap. Thucyd. l. 3. c. 104.

a numerous

a numerous concourse from different parts by sea; and Hesiod informs us of a splendid meeting for the celebration of various games at Chalcis in Eubœa, where himself obtained the prize for poetry and song. The contest in music and poetry seems early to have been particularly connected with the worship of Apollo. When this was carried from the ilands of the Ægean to Delphi, a prize for poetry was instituted; whence arose the Pythian games. But it appears from Homer that Games, in which athletic exercises and music and dancing were alternately introduced, made a common amusement of the courts of princes; and before his time the manner of conducting them was so far reduced to a system, that public judges of the games are mentioned as a kind of established magistrate. The Games, thus improved, greatly resembled the tilts and tournaments of the ages of chivalry. Men of high rank only presumed to ingage in them; but a large concourse of all orders attended as spectators: and to keep regularity among these was perhaps the most necessary office of the judges. But the most solemn meetings, and which drew together people of distinguished rank and character, often from distant parts, were at the funerals of eminent men. The paramount sovereins of Peloponnesus did not disdain to attend these[13]; which were celebrated with every circumstance of magnificence and splendor that the age could afford. The funeral of Patroclus, described in the Iliad, may be considered as an example of what the poet could imagine in its kind most complete. The games, in which prizes were there contended for, were the chariot-race, the foot-race, boxing, wrestling, throwing the quoit and the javelin, shooting with the bow, and fencing with the spear. And in times when none could be rich or powerful but the strong and active, expert at martial exercises, all those trials of skill appear to have been esteemed equally becoming men of the highest rank; tho it may seem, from the prizes offered and the persons contending at the funeral of Patroclus, the poet himself saw, in the game of the cæstus, some incongruity with exalted characters.

Hesiod. Op. & Di. l. 2. v. 272.

Odyss. l. 8.

Odyss. l. 8. v. 258.

Iliad. l. 23. v. 634. Odyss. l. 8. v. 120 & seq. & 205 & seq.

[13] Agamemnon speaks of having frequently attended such meetings:

Ἤδη μὲν πολέων τάφῳ ἀιδρῶν ἀνίεσθόλησα
Ἡρώων, ὅτε κέν ποτ', ἀποφθιμένου βασιλῆος,
Ζώννυσθαί τε νέοι, καὶ ἐπεντύνοντάς ἄεθλα.—Odyss. l. 24. v. 87.

West on the Olympic Games.

Traditions are preserved of Games celebrated in Eleia, upon several great occasions, in very early times, with more than ordinary pomp, by assemblies of chiefs from different parts of Greece. Homer mentions such at Elis under king Augeas, cotemporary with Hercules, and grandfather of one of the chiefs who commanded the Eleian troops in the Trojan war; and again at Buprasium in Eleia, for the funeral of Amarynceus, while Nestor was yet in the vigor of youth. But it does not at all appear from Homer that in his time, or ever before him, any periodical festival was established like that which afterward became so famous, under the title of the Olympiad or the Olympian Contest, or, as our writers, translating the Latin phrase, have commonly termed it, the Olympian Games. On the contrary, every mention of such games, in his extant works, shows them to have been only occasional solemnities; and Strabo has remarked that they were distinguished by a characteristical difference from the Olympian. In these the honor derived from receiving publicly a crown or chaplet, formed of a branch of oleaster[14], was the only reward of the victor: but in Homer's games the prizes were not meerly honorary, but intrinsically valuable; and the value was often very considerable. After Homer's age, through the long troubles insuing from the Dorian conquest, and the great change made in the population of the country, the customs and institutions of the Peloponnesians were so altered and overthrown, that even memory of the antient games was nearly lost.

Iliad. l. 11. v. 697.
Iliad. l. 2. v. 623.
Iliad. l. 23. v. 629.
Strab. l. 8. p. 355.
Pausan. l. 5. c. 8.

In this season of turbulence and returning barbarism, Iphitus, a descendant, probably grandson of Oxylus (tho so deficient were the means of transmitting information to posterity, that we have no assurance even of his father's name) succeeded to the throne of Elis. This prince was of a genius that might have produced a more brilliant character in a more inlightened age, but which was perhaps more beneficial to mankind in the rough times in which he lived. Active and enterprizing, but not by inclination a warrior, he was anxious to find a remedy for the disorderly situation of his country, and to restore that more improved state of things which, by the accounts of antient people, once had being there, but now was only to be found beyond the

Pausan. l. 5. c. 4.
Newton's Chronol.
Pausan. ibid.

[14] Κοτίνου στέφανον. Aristoph. Plut. v. 586.

bounds

bounds of Peloponnesus. Among all the violences of domestic feuds and forein wars, superstition still maintained its dominion undiminished over the minds of the Peloponnesian Dorians: the oracle of Delphi was held in no less reverence by them than by their forefathers among the woods and crags of Parnassus. To that oracle, therefore, Iphitus looked for support in the project which he meditated. He sent a solemn embassy to Delphi to supplicate information from the deity of the place, 'How the anger of the gods, which threatened total destruction 'to Peloponnesus through endless hostilities among its people, might 'be averted?' He received for answer, what himself, as a judicious critic has observed, had probably suggested, 'That the Olympic fes- 'tival must be restored: for the neglect of that solemnity had brought 'on the Greeks the indignation of the god Jupiter, to whom it was 'dedicated, and of the hero Hercules, by whom it had been instituted: 'and that a cessation of arms must therefore immediately be proclaimed 'for all cities desirous of partaking in it[15].' This response of the god was promulgated throughout Greece; and Iphitus, in obedience to it, caused the armistice to be proclaimed. But the other Peloponnesians, full of respect for the authority of the oracle, yet uneasy at the ascendancy thus assumed by the Eleians, sent a common deputation to Delphi, to inquire concerning the authenticity of the divine mandate reported to them. The Pythoness, however, seldom averse to authorize the schemes of kings and legislators, adhered to her former answer; and commanded the Peloponnesians 'to submit to the directions and 'authority of the Eleians, in ordering and establishing the antient laws 'and customs of their forefathers.'

West on the Olympic Games.

Supported thus by the oracle, and incouraged by the ready submission of all the Peloponnesians to it, Iphitus proceeded to model his institution. Jupiter, the chief of the gods, being now the acknowleged patron of the plan, and the prince himself, under Apollo, the promulgator of his will, it was ordained that a festival should be held at the

[15] Dissertation on the Olympic Games, by Gilbert West, Esq. whose account has been here principally followed. It has been chiefly furnished by a fragment of Phlegon, preserved in the Chronicon of Eusebius, but derives occasional support from Strabo, Pausanias, and other writers.

temple of Jupiter at Olympia, near the town of Pisa in Eleia, open to the whole Greek nation; and that it should be repeated at the termination of every fourth year: that this festival should consist in solemn sacrifices to Jupiter and Hercules, and in games celebrated to their honor: and as wars might often prevent, not only individuals, but whole states, from partaking in the benefits with which the gods would reward those who properly shared in the solemnity, it was ordained, under the same authority, that an armistice should take place throughout Greece for some time before the commencement of the festival, and continue for some time after its conclusion. For his own people, the Eleians, Iphitus procured an advantage never perhaps injoyed, at least in equal extent, by any other people upon earth. A tradition was current that the Heracleids, on appointing Oxylus at the same time to the throne of Elis, and to the guardianship of the temple of Olympian Jupiter, had, under the sanction of an oath, consecrated all Eleia to the god, and denounced the severest curses, not only on any who should invade it, but also on all who should not defend it against invaders. Iphitus procured universal acquiescence to the authority of this tradition; and the deference of the Grecian people toward it, during many ages, is not among the least remarkable circumstances of Grecian history. A reputation of sacredness became attached to the whole Eleian people as the hereditary priesthood of Jupiter, and a pointed difference in character and pursuits arose between them and the other Greeks. Little disposed to ambition, and regardless even of the pleasures of a town-life, their general turn was wholly to rural business and rural amusements. Elsewhere the country was left to hinds and herdmen, who were mostly slaves: men of property, for security, as well as for pursuits of ambition and pleasure, resided in fortified towns. But the towns of Eleia, Elis itself the capital, remained unfortified. In republican governments however civil contention would arise; nor could the progress to a connection of domestic party interests with forein interests be intirely obviated, and so on, sometimes, to forein wars. But to the time of Polybius, who saw the liberty of Greece expire, they maintained still their general character and their antient

Strab. l. 8. p. 357, 358.

Strab. l. 8. p. 358.

Polyb. Hist. l. 4. p. 336, 337.

antient privileges, whence they were then the wealthiest people of Peloponnesus, and yet the richest of them mostly resided upon their estates, and many without ever visiting Elis.

At the Olympian festival, as established by Iphitus, the foot-race, distinguished by the name of Stadion, was the only game exhibited: whether the various other exercises, familiar in Homer's age, had fallen into total oblivion, or the barbarism and poverty, superinduced by the violent and lasting troubles which followed the return of the Heracleids, forbad those of greater splendor. Afterward, as the growing importance of the meeting occasioned inquiry concerning what had been practised of old, or excited invention concerning what might be advantageously added new, the games were multiplied. The Diaulos, a more complicated foot-race, was added at the fourteenth Olympiad; Wrestling and the Pentathlon, or game of five exercises, at the eighteenth; Boxing at the twenty-third: the Chariot-race was not restored till the twenty-fifth; of course not till a hundred years after the institution of the festival: the Pancration and the Horse-race were added in the thirty-third. Originally the sacrifices, processions, and various religious ceremonies must have formed the principal pageantry of the meeting. Afterward, perhaps, the games became the greater inducement to the prodigious resort of company to Olympia; tho the religious ceremonies still continued to increase in magnificence as the festival gained importance. The temple, like that of Delphi, became an advantageous repository for treasure. A mart or fair was a natural consequence of a periodical assembly of multitudes in one place; and whatever required extensive publicity, whatever was important for all the scattered members of the Greek nation to know, would be most readily communicated and most solemnly, by proclamation at the Olympian festival. Hence treaties were often, by mutual agreement, proclaimed at Olympia; and sometimes columns were erected there, at the joint expence of the contracting parties, with the treaties ingraved. Thus the Olympian meeting in some degree supplied the want of a common capital for the Greek nation; and, with a success far beyond what the worthy founder's imagination, urged by his warmest wishes, could reach, contributed to the advancement of arts, particularly of the fine arts, of commerce,

Pausan. l. 5. c. 8.

commerce, of science, of civilized manners, of liberal sentiments, and of friendly communication among all the Grecian people.

The advantages and gratifications in which the whole nation thus became interested, and the particular benefits accruing to the Eleians, excited attempts to establish or improve other similar meetings in different parts of Greece. Three of these, the Delphian, Isthmian and Nemean, tho they never equalled the celebrity and splendor of the Olympian, acquired considerable fame and importance. Each was consecrated to a different deity. In the Delphic, Apollo was honored: the Delphian people administered to him; the Amphictyonic council patronized the institution. Neptune was the deity of the Isthmian festival, which had its name from the Corinthian isthmus, near the middle of which stood a temple of the god, overlooking the scene of the solemnity. The Corinthian people directed. At the Nemean, sacred to Juno, the Argians presided. These meetings were all open, like the Olympian, in war as in peace, to all Grecian people. They were also all held at intervals of four years, each taking its year between the Olympian meetings; so that every summer there was a festival common to the Greek nation, with an armistice inabling all who desired to attend.

APPENDIX TO THE THIRD CHAPTER.

Of the Chronology of Grecian History.

No circumstance of Grecian history has been more labored by learned men, and yet none remains more uncertain and unsatisfactory than its CHRONOLOGY. I would most willingly have avoided all discussion of a subject which has already filled so many volumes, and to only touch upon which must considerably interrupt the tenor of a narration in its nature too much otherwise liable to interruption. The very names indeed of Scaliger, Selden, Lidyat, Marsham, Prideaux, Petavius, Calvisius, Pezron, Usher, Newton, Jackson, and lastly the indefatigable Freret, might more than suffice to deter from the attempt to throw new light on a matter which they have successively handled, and on which they have so little agreed. But as history cannot hold together without some system of chronology, and as the result of my researches will not permit me to accept what has of late most obtained, it appeared an indispensable duty of the office I have undertaken, to risk the declaration of my opinion, not without some explanation of the ground of it. This indeed might have been done, without interruption of the history, by a preliminary dissertation: but to be intelligible I must then have been more prolix, and much repetition would have been unavoidable. The history itself will now assist the illustration I propose of its chronology; in which, however, far from undertaking to make all clear and luminous, my aim will be no more than to assist the reader, whose studies have not been particularly directed this way, amid darkness and difficulty, to avoid gross error, and chuse the best ground to rest upon.

When a nation is first emerging from barbarism, all views are directed to the future: transactions past are of so little consequence, that a point whence accounts of time may originate is not an obvious want,

want, and the deficiency is beyond remedy before it is felt. It was probably not long before Homer that the Greeks began to be attentive to genealogy; for the poet is unable to trace the pedigree of any of his heroes, except the royal family of Troy, beyond the fourth generation upward. Yet the genealogies of eminent men have perhaps been everywhere the first assistants toward ascertaining the dates of past events: feeble at best, and in the early days of Greece the more so through the general ignorance of writing, together with the continual troubles of the country, which made it difficult, by any means, to preserve certain accounts of pedigrees through a number of generations. When arts and learning were first springing in Peloponnesus under the benign influence of a more settled polity, the return of the Heracleids violently stopped their progress, checked and dissipated antient tradition, and through expulsions, migrations, and various political troubles to a great extent and of long continuance, prevented the means of communicating even recent transactions with any exactness to posterity. When again the darkness superinduced by that revolution began to clear, we find hereditary monarchy superseded, in most of the Grecian states, by republican government and annual magistracy. This very much weakened the old means of ascertaining dates; because, among genealogies, none could be so obvious to general knowlege as those of princes. Yet, on the other hand, had the republican forms become at once regular and permanent, new means would have been opened, capable of far greater accuracy: for it might then have been possible to ascertain the year by the name of the magistrates of the time in different principal cities. In the unsettled state of governments, however, and the deficiency of writing, registers of magistracy were little regularly kept: the year was differently divided in the several states of Greece, and inaccurately calculated in all of them; and no era had been established whence to reckon years. Little indeed was chronology likely to acquire consistency, while compositions in prose for public use were unknown. The oldest Grecian prose-writers, known to the antients themselves, were Cadmus of Miletus and Pherecydes of Syrus, mentioned by Pliny to have lived during the reign of Cyrus king of Persia; nearly, therefore, about the time when laws were first

Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 7. c. 56. Joseph. cont. Apion. Strab. l. 6. p. 259.

put in writing among the Greeks, by Draco at Athens, and by Zaleucus for the Epizephyrian Locrians, and not till some centuries after the Heracleid revolution. In the next generation Hecatæus of Miletus composed a historical work in prose, which had some reputation with posterity; and about the same time Pherecydes, an Athenian, wrote of the antiquities and antient genealogies of his own country. The name of Acusilaüs of Argos has been transmitted as an earlier author: but the work of Pherecydes was the first composed in prose, on the continent of Greece, which retained any considerable credit. It was long extant, and was generally esteemed the most valuable upon its subject; yet how little satisfactory it was, whoever has but looked into what remains from Strabo, Plutarch and Pausanias, may judge. Herodotus, who lived about half a century after the Athenian Pherecydes, is the oldest Greek prose author preserved to us. Former histories were but dry registers of facts, like that curious and valuable monument of our own antient history, the Anglosaxon annals. Herodotus first taught to give grace to detail in prose narration; and at once with such success, that he has had, from the ablest writers in the most polished ages, the titles of father and prince of history[16]. But we gain little light from him concerning the chronology of antient times, farther than by some genealogies, and even those not undisputed. The preface of the judicious Thucydides, a few years only later than Herodotus, affords the clearest and most authentic information remaining, for the

Dionys. Hal. Antiq. Rom. l. 1.

Cic. de Leg. l. 1. c. 5. & de Orat. l. 1. c. 36.

[16] Græci ipsi sic initio scriptitarunt ut noster Cato, ut Pictor, ut Piso. Erat enim historia nihil aliud nisi annalium confectio—sine ullis ornamentis monumenta solum temporum, hominum, locorum, gestarumque rerum reliquerunt. Itaque qualis apud Græcos Pherecydes, Hellanicus, Acusilas fuit, aliique permulti, talis noster Cato & Pictor & Piso. M.T. Cic. de Orat. l. 2. c. 12.

In that very valuable collection the Anglosaxon Annals, which, however dry and jejune, is perhaps the fairest monument of early history that any European nation possesses, we find remarkable proof of the difficulty of giving grace to prose in an uncultivated language. The author of the Annals of the years 938 and 942, and also the author of that of the year 975, if he was a different person, has been a man of genius, apparently aware of the dulness of the preceding compilation, and determined to relieve it by a more spirited style of narrative; but, unable to satisfy himself in prose, he has done it in verse; and in verse which, tho, from antiquity of diction or corruption in transcription, obscure in a phrase or two, has nevertheless been deservedly the admiration of all who in any degree understand the language of our Anglosaxon ancestors.

connection of Grecian history from the Homeric age to the times immediately preceding the Persian invasion; and at the same time strongly shows the deficiency of authorities, even for the history itself, and far more for its chronology. Still in Thucydides's time no era had been determined whence to reckon dates: the common method was to compute backward, either from the time present, or from some well-known period not distant, and that often not without great latitude. Thus Herodotus describes the time of events by saying they happened so many hundred years before his time; which scarcely fixes them within half a century. The more exact Thucydides commonly reckons backward from the year in which the Peloponnesian war was concluded. A little after Thucydides, in the time of Socrates, Hippias, an Eleian, published a catalogue of the victors in the Olympian games. This, if we might trust the specification of an Olympiad by its number, as it stands in our copies of Xenophon's Grecian annals, would appear to have been early adopted as a commodious chronological scale[17]. But we are informed by Plutarch, that the catalogue of Hippias had little reputation for accuracy[18]; and we find it still long before the Olympiads came into general use for the purpose of dating. Ephorus, the disciple of Isocrates, in his chronological history of Greece from the return of the Heracleids to the twentieth year of the reign of Philip king of Macedonia, digested his calculation of dates by generations only; and even the famous Arundel marbles, said to have been composed sixty years after the death of Alexander, make no mention of Olympiads, but reckon backward by years from the time present. The first systematic use of the Olympian catalogue, for the purpose of chronology, was by Timæus Siculus, in his general history, published soon after the date of the Arundel marbles. That historian endeavored to correct chronology by comparing the succession of kings and ephors at Sparta, of archons at Athens, and of priestesses of Juno at Argos, with the list of Olympian victors. His work is unfortunately lost.

Xen. Hellen. l. 1. c. 2. s. 1.

[17] There seems too much reason to doubt the authenticity of that specification. See Marsham. Can. sæc. 16. cap. de primo Olymp. p. 504, & Dodwell, Annal. Xenoph. & dissert. oct. de Cyclis Lacon. sect. 19.

[18] Τοὺς μὲν οὖν χρόνους ἐξακριβῶσαι χαλεπόν ἐστι, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ὀλυμπιονίκων ἀναγομένους· ὧν τὴν ἀναγραφὴν οὐκ ἐοικέναι φασὶν Ἱππίαν ἐκδοῦναι Ἠλεῖον, ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ὁρμώμενον ἀναγκαίου πρὸς πίστιν. Plut. vit. Numæ.

About

About forty years later, Eratosthenes, librarian of Alexandria under Ptolemy Soter, digested a chronological system by the Olympiads, so much more complete than any before known, that he has had the reputation of being the father of scientific chronology. But both his work and that of Apollodorus the Athenian, who followed him, are also lost. What therefore were his grounds of calculation for the early ages, and what those canons which Dionysius the Halicarnassian approved, we cannot know. But we know that those canons had not universal approbation. Plutarch speaks of them most disrespectfully even where they relate to times bordering upon certain chronology[19]. Strabo, perhaps the ablest of the antient antiquarians, has followed Homer with evident satisfaction, tracing him, both as geographer and historian, step by step, and verifying his accounts by his own observation and reading; but he hesitates where Homer leaves him, and gives abundant proof that he had no faith in that chronology which undertook to arrange history, either before or after the times of which Homer treats, till the Persian invasion[20]. Pausanias reports contradictions in regard both to the arrangement of times, and the arrangement of pedigrees in antient Grecian history, and freely confesses his inability to reconcile them[21]. But Plutarch's testimony against the chronologer's is most explicit: 'Thousands,' he says, 'continue to this day endeavoring to correct the chronological canons, 'and can yet bring them to no consisteney.' It seems as if doubts had deereased in modern times in proportion, not to the acquisition of

Blair's Preface.

Dionys. Hal. Antiq. Rom.

Plut.v.Solon.

[19] Τὴν δὲ πρὸς Κροῖσον ἔντευξιν αὐτοῦ (τοῦ Σόλωνος) δοκοῦσιν ἔνιοι τοῖς χρόνοις ὡς πεπλασμένην ἐλέγχειν· Ἐγὼ δὲ λόγον ἔνδοξον ὄντω, καὶ τοσούτους μάρτυρας ἔχοντα——ὃν μοι δοκῶ προήσεσθαι χρονικοῖς τισι λεγομένοις κανόσιν, οὓς μυρίοι διορθοῦντες ἄχρι σήμερον, εἰς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ὁμολογούμενον δύνανται καταστῆσαι τὰς ἀντιλογίας. Plutarch. v. Solon.

[20] See particularly his remarks upon the variety of traditions concerning the origin of the Olympian Games. Doubt seems scarcely to have ceased with him concerning the history of that festival itself, even where the regular computation by Olympiads begins: Ἐάσαι γὰρ δεῖ τα παλαιὰ.——τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα πολλαχῶς λέγεται καὶ οὐ πάνυ πιστεύεται.—— Εγγυτέρω δὲ τῆς πίστεως ὅτι μέχρι τῆς ἕκτης καὶ εἰκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἐν ᾗ Κόροιβος ἐνίκα στάδιον Ἠλεῖος, τὴν προσασίαν εἶχον τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος Ἠλεῖοι. Strab. l. 8. p. 355.

[21] Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἑλλήνων λόγοι διάφοροι τα πλέονα, καὶ ουχ ἥκιστα ἐπι τοῖς γένεσιν εἰσί. Pausan. l. 8. c. 53.

means for discovering truth, but to the loss of means for detecting falsehood [22].

The chronology, at present most received, has been formed principally from those famous marbles brought from the Levant for the earl of Arundel, and now in the possession of the university of Oxford, together with some fragments of the chronologers Eratosthenes, Apollodorus, and Thrasyllus, preserved chiefly in the chronicon of Eusebius, and the stromata of Clemens Alexandrinus. Those marbles, whose fame has so much exceeded their worth, have been proved in some instances false; and what can we think of the authority of the chronologers, when such authors as Strabo, Plutarch, and Pausanias, coming after them, never deign even to quote them, but endeavoring to investigate the same subjects, declare that they were unable to satisfy themselves, and report the uncertainties that occurred? The chronology built on such frail foundations is also in itself improbable, and even inconsistent with the most authentic historical accounts. All these considerations together urged the great Newton to attempt the framing of a system of chronology, for the early ages of Greece, from the best historical traditions of political events, compared with the most authentic genealogies; and he endeavored to verify it from accounts of astronomical observations. He never finished this work for publication, or it would probably have come to us less open to objection. Being printed after his death, it had for some time, however, great credit. But of late the favor of learned men, has inclined much to the former system; which, in our own country, doctor Blair,

[22] This appears very remarkably in some observations of the very learned Freret on the Arundel marbles: 'Quand à l'autorité 'que doit avoir la Chronique de Paros, je 'crois qu'elle peut etre assez grande pour 'l'histoire des temps héroïques; cette 'Chronique étant la seule qui nous soit 'restée un peu entiére de toutes celles que 'les anciens avoient publiées.——Mais il 's'en faut beaucoup que la Chronique ait le 'meme degré d'autorité pour l'histoire ge-'nerale & politique de la Gréce.——De 'quelque part que soient venues les méprises 'il est sur qu'il y en a plusieurs dans la 'Chronique de Paros, &c.' Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscrip. t. 26. What is this but saying, 'You may trust the marbles for 'what their author could not know, tho 'they are certainly false in what he might 'easily have learnt, and ought to have re-'ported with accurate fidelity.' One of the instances of mistake, mentioned by Freret, relates to so remarkable an event of so late a date as the battle of Leuctra.

in his Chronological Tables, has implicitly followed; and, in France, the wonderful diligence of the very learned Freret has been employed in the endeavor to prove, that the real chronology of early Greece was still more at variance with all remaining history than even that which Blair has adopted. To explain therefore what I have to urge in apology for my preference of sir Isaac Newton's system, it may be necessary to lay before the reader a synopsis of the more received chronology, which I shall give from Blair's Tables.

The deluge, according to archbishop Usher, whom Blair has followed, was two thousand three hundred and forty-eight years before the Christian era. The kingdom of Sicyon is said to have been founded only two hundred and fifty-nine years later. The list of kings of Sicyon is carried up to that period; but the next historical event in Greece is the founding of Argos by Inachus, two hundred and thirty-three years after the founding of Sicyon by Ægialeus. I shall not inlarge upon the absurdity of the pretence to establish the date of such an insulated fact, and of tracing a succession of kings so far beyond all connected accounts of transactions in the country; because it has been a supposition, not less received, that Phoroneus and Ægialeus, sons of Inachus, founded Argos and Sicyon nearly at the same time. We have indeed Plato's testimony that, earlier than the age of Phoroneus, nothing was known of Greece. After the founding of Argos the Flood of Ogyges is the next event of any importance: it is supposed to have happened sixty years later. Whether any person of the name of Ogyges ever lived in Greece appears, however, very uncertain. The term Ogygian, used in after-ages to express extreme antiquity, time beyond certain knowlege, seems, from the use which Homer makes of it, to have been not originally Grecian, and, if we may trust Æschylus, it was Egyptian[23]. After Ogyges a void follows, which chronology would ascertain to be of just two hundred and eight years. Then Cecrops founded Athens. Dates thus wide of all connection with history are not for the historian to comment upon. With

Plat. Timæus, p. 22. t. 3. ed. Serran.

See ch. 1. sect. 3. of this Hist.

[23] It seems not likely that Homer would have called the distant and fabulous iland of Calypso Ogygia from the name of a Grecian prince. Æschylus calls the capital of Upper Egypt Ogygian Thebes. Æschyl. Pers. v. 39.

Cecrops,

Cecrops, however, we find ourselves approaching to a train of historical events, so far connected that the memory of man might possibly reach from one to the other, and link tradition sufficiently for some conjectural calculation. Deucalion is said to have been cotemporary with Cecrops. Amphictyon, son of Deucalion, is the reputed founder of the council which bore his name. Cadmus was cotemporary with Amphictyon. Danaüs came into Greece only eight years after Cadmus. The connection is then less satisfactorily supported during near a century and half to Acrisius: it holds afterward better, through eighty years, to the Argonautic expedition. And here at length a crowd of remarkable personages and many important events break upon us in probable succession: Pelops, Ægeus, Œneus, Augeas, Neleus, Tyndareus, Eurystheus, Hercules, Jason, Theseus, and that Minos mentioned by Hesiod, Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, and Strabo; for the chronologers have imagined a prior Minos unknown to all those authors. With these personages we have the Argonautic expedition, the wars of Thessaly, the wars of Hercules in Peloponnesus, the Theban war, the war of Minos with Athens, the establishment of the Cretan maritime power with the suppression of piracy, the reformation of the Athenian government, the expulsion of the posterity of Perseus from Peloponnesus, with the full establishment of the power of the family of Pelops, and finally the war of Troy. History regularly connects these events, and the chronology which fixes the Argonautic expedition to the year before Christ twelve hundred sixty-three, places the expedition against Troy less than seventy years later. Chronology then continues to go hand in hand with history as far as the return of the Heracleids: but here many ages of darkness insue. The next events in Peloponnesus of any importance, and which bring forward any considerable characters to the notice of history, are the institution of the Olympian games by Iphitus, and the legislation of Lacedæmon by Lycurgus; and chronologers assert that this interval, in which neither man acquired fame, nor event had any consequence, was of no less than two hundred and twenty years: Freret makes it two hundred eighty-three. Then follows another void of one hundred and eight years to another Iphitus, under whose presidency at the Olympic festival

festival Corœbus was victor, in what ever after bore the title of the first Olympiad. From this era chronology begins again to approach toward a connection with history; but for near two hundred years it remains yet very uncertain. The most important events of the most polished state of Greece, the legislation of Draco, and even the legislation of Solon at Athens, are of uncertain date; tho the former is, on probable ground, placed above a century and half after the first Olympiad. Toward the sixty-fourth Olympiad, above two hundred and fifty years after the victory of Corœbus, books were still so little common, and means of multiplying them so little known, that Hipparchus, to promote the knowlege of letters among the Athenian people, caused moral sentences in verse, ingraved on marble, to be set up in the public ways of Attica, for a kind of public library. Herodotus, the earliest Grecian prose-writer whose works remain to us, florished about seventy years after. The Olympian catalogue was first published by Hippias the Eleian not till toward the hundredth Olympiad. The first history digested by Olympiads, that of Timæus, was above a hundred years later; and Eratosthenes, called the father of antient chronology, did not florish till about the hundred and thirty-third Olympiad.

Plat. Hipparch.

After this synopsis of that chronology which has had countenance from so many respectable names of modern and so few of antient times, it may be advantageous to take a short view of the means remaining, together with the means which the antient authors themselves possessed, as far as we can know them, for tracing events through the early ages of Greece: because, as the authority of the history itself depends upon those means, from them also its chronology will derive its best, and indeed only solid support. The principal works of Hesiod and Homer, two of the oldest, and the most valued among the oldest authors known to the antients, have been fortunately transmitted to us. In what age those authors lived is undecided; but that it was some centuries before prose-compositions for public use were known in Greece was never doubted. In their age accounts of great events were preserved chiefly by memory, assisted with verse. In the uncontested work of Hesiod, his poem intitled Of Works and Days, there remains a summary of things

Chap. 1. sec. 4. of this Hist.

things from the creation to his own time. He begins with what he terms the golden age, which seems a tradition derived from the East concerning the terrestrial paradise, and the state of man before the fall. He proceeds to the silver age, which, on comparing it with the account of Moses, appears not less evidently a relic of tradition concerning the antediluvian world. The brazen age follows, in which he describes precisely that savage state of the western nations of which Plutarch gives an account more in detail in his life of Theseus. In speaking of the succeeding generation, whom he calls the race of heroes, the poet confines his description more pointedly to his own country: he mentions the wars of Thebes and Troy by name. The next race of men to these, he says, was that with which he himself lived, and this he calls the iron race. The golden race, he tells us, were exalted after death to a superior state of being; the silver race were hid in his anger by the immediate hand of the deity; but no such intervention of supernatural power is mentioned in the account of the brazen, the heroic, and the iron race: it is simply said that such races succeeded one another; and the latest historical event noticed is the Trojan war. If any surmize concerning the poet's own age can be fairly founded upon this historical deduction, it must be that he was born in the time of the sons, and lived probably with the grandsons and great-grandsons of those who fought at Troy[24]. Such then is the chronology of Hesiod.

The chronology of Homer does not go so high, but it is continued lower. Homer reckons time upward no farther than he can trace the genealogies of his heroes; which all end in a god, a river, or some unaccountable personage, in the second, third, or at most the fourth generation beyond those of the Trojan war. The royal race of Troy forms the only exception: Jupiter was ancestor in the seventh degree to Hector. Negative proof surely cannot be stronger against that antiquity to which some of the Grecian towns in late ages pretended. Homer's Grecian chronology begins thus scarcely before the age of

[24] This is sir Isaac Newton's supposition, tho he has understood the golden and the silver ages or races to relate particularly to Greece, as well as the brazen, the heroic, and the iron; an opinion which I must confess appears to me wholly unwarranted.

Pelops,

Pelops, a generation or two earlier than the Theban war; and it ends with the restoration of Orestes, great-grandson, or, according to some, great-great-grandson of Pelops [25], to the throne of Argos. Within these limits Grecian history is regular and probable; and chronology, according to every opinion of the learned who have endeavored to illustrate it, sufficiently tallies with the course of events. But this luminous period stands most odly insulated. That it should have been preceded by times without history is not wonderful; but that it should have been followed by so many centuries of utter darkness as chronologers have imagined, appears most unaccountable. It would be of some importance both to the history and to the chronology of early Greece, if it were possible to ascertain the great poet's own age. Tho, therefore, the variety of opinions upon this subject makes any discussion of it hazardous, it yet appears a part of the duty of the office I have undertaken, not to avoid the declaration of my own; and in hope of elucidating, in some degree, and confirming the account which I have ventured to give of that dark period which begins where Homer's history ends, I will here bring under one point of view some circumstances of proof upon which my opinion principally rests.

None of the early Grecian writers have undertaken to fix the era of the Trojan war; but Herodotus affirms that Homer lived four hundred years before his own age [26]. He does not inform us how that period was calculated; but many things remaining from other early authors, and among them the dates reported by Thucydides, tend to make the assertion probable, and it has indeed been generally admitted. For the time then from the Trojan war to the poet's age, there is evidence within his remaining works which seems to mark it strongly. Four passages appear to speak to it in some degree affirmatively: three of them indeed but loosely, and rather by implication than directly; but the fourth in pointed terms. In the Odyssey a conversation is intro- Herodot. l. 2. c. 53.

[25] See note 13, chap. 1. of this History.

[26] In quoting the authority of Herodotus, I refer to that only of his general history. I am not inclined to give any credit to the life of Homer attributed to him. The arguments against its authenticity appear to me much stronger than those in its favor; and not least the internal evidence of the work itself. The first note of Wesseling's edition may deserve the notice of those curious on the subject.

duced concerning subjects for poetry, where it is remarked, that 'those 'subjects are preferred for celebration, in which, through the recency 'of the transactions, the hearers have a nearer interest.' Now this would stand contradicted by the poet's practice, if the events which he celebrates happened, as some have imagined, five, four, three, two, or even one century before the people for whom he composed were born. In the Odyssey again, we find another remarkable passage concerning subjects for poetry: 'The gods wrought the fate of Troy, and 'decreed the destruction of men, that there might be subjects for 'poetry to future generations.' Had the poet lived after the return of the Heracleids, that revolution would have furnished subjects far more nearly interesting to hearers, in any part of either Greece itself, or the Grecian settlements in Asia Minor, than the war of Troy. These two passages, therefore, seem strongly to indicate that he lived not long after the times of which his poems principally treat. The third passage may perhaps prove that he did not live absolutely in those times: speaking in his own person of the Trojan war, he says, 'I have 'these things only by report, and not of my own knowlege;' which, however, would be very superfluous information to his auditors, if he did not live so near those times that, in his old age, it might be doubted if his early youth had not been passed in them. It has been often observed that Homer shows himself, upon all occasions, remarkably disposed to extol the family of Æneas, and singularly careful to avoid what might give them offence; whence it has been inferred that the posterity of that chief existed and were powerful in the poet's age; nor indeed can the circumstance be otherwise accounted for. One passage, however, appears to speak pointedly to the purpose: the god Neptune is introduced declaring prophetically that 'Æneas shall reign 'over the Trojans, and the sons of his sons, and those who shall be 'born after them.' In its most natural interpretation this passage seems to mark precisely the number of generations from Æneas to his descendants cotemporary with the poet; and with any other interpretation the sense is dubious and incomplete, in a manner not usual with Homer.

Odyss. l. 1. v. 251.

Odyss. l. 8. v. 578.

Iliad. l. 2. v. 486.

Iliad. l. 20. v. 308.

These are then, I believe, the only passages, within Homer's extant works, that speak at all affirmatively to the age in which he lived. They are not conclusive, and yet united, they are strong. But the negative evidence, which his works afford in confirmation of them, is such that, but for the respect due to those who have thought differently, and still more perhaps to those who have doubted, I should scarcely hesitate to call the whole together decisive. For had the return of the Heracleids preceded the times in which Homer florished, is it conceivable that, among subjects which so naturally led to the mention of it, he should never once have alluded to so great an event, by which so total a change was made of the principal families, and indeed of the whole population of Peloponnesus, and of all the western coast of Asia Minor with the adjacent ilands? His geography of Peloponnesus is so minute and so exact, that Strabo has chosen to follow him step by step for the purpose of tracing, from remotest antiquity, a complete account of that peninsula. That in so particular a description of the country, before the Dorian conquest, he should have been so correct that no subsequent inquiry could convict him of any error[27], and yet that he should not take the least notice of any of the great changes in the property, the government, and the partition of the country which that revolution produced, if he had lived to see them, is not easily imaginable. How naturally, upon many occasions, would some such pathetic observation have occurred concerning the Pelopid, the Neleid, and other families, as that which in his catalogue in the Iliad he makes upon the catastrophe of the royal family of Ætolia[28]! How naturally too, especially as he mentions the wars of Hercules both in

[27] Τὰ δὲ δὴ κατὰ τὴν Ελλάδα καὶ τοὺς σύνεγγυς τόπους καὶ λίαν περιέργως ἐξενηνοχέναι, πολυτρήρωνα μὲν τὴν Θίσβην λέγοντα, Ἀλίαρτον δὲ ποιήεντα, ἰσχατόωσαν δὲ Ἀνθηδόνα, Λίλαιαν δὲ πηγῆς ἐπὶ Κηφισσοῖο· καὶ συδεμίαν προσθήκην κενῶς ἀπορρίπτειν. Strab. l. 1. p. 16.

Λέγω δὲ ταῦτα συμβάλλων τά τε νῦν καὶ τὰ ὑφ' Ὁμήρου λεγόμενα· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἀνεξετάζεσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐκεῖνος, διὰ τὴν τοῦ ποιητοῦ δόξαν καὶ συνηροφίαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τότε νομίζοντος ἑκάστου κατορθοῦσθαι τὴν παροῦσαν πρόθεσιν, ὅταν ἢ μηδὲν ἀνεπίπλοον τοῖς οὕτω σφόδρα πιστευθεῖσι περὶ τῶν αὐλῶν λόγοις. Δεῖ δὴ τὰ τε ὕλια λέγειν, καὶ τὰ ποιητοῦ, παρατιθέντας ἐφ' ὅσον προσήκει προσκοπεῖν. Strab. l. 7. p. 337.

[28] Οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' Οἰνῆος μεγαλήτορος υἱέες ἦσαν,
Οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἔτ' ἀὐτὸς ἔην· θάνε δὲ ξανθὸς Μελέαγρος.
Τῷ (Θόαντι) δ' ἐπὶ πάντ' ἐτέταλτο ἀνασσέμεν Αἰτωλῆσι.—Iliad. l. 2. v. 643.

Greece and in Asia, would some compliment have fallen to the descendants of that hero, had they been in his time lords of Peloponnesus, instead of exiles on the mountains of Doris; and how almost unavoidable, from an inhabitant of Chios, some notice of the acquisitions of the posterity of Agamemnon and Nestor in Æolis and Ionia, had he lived after the Æolic and Ionic migrations? Such subjects being open to him for compliment to all the princes both of the Pelopid and Heracleid families, would he have neglected all, and paid particular attention only to the extinct family of Æneas, the enemy of his nation? With these strong circumstances many others meet. To complete the evidence which the poet himself furnishes concerning the time in which he lived, we must add his ignorance of idolatry, of hero-worship, of republics, of tyrannies, of a general name for the Greek nation, and of its division into Ionian, Æolian, and Dorian: we must add the form of worship which he describes, without temples as without images: we must add the little fame of oracles, and his silence concerning the council of Amphictyons: we must add his familiar knowlege of Sidon, and his silence concerning Tyre: and lastly we may add the loss of his works in Peloponnesus, whose new inhabitants had comparatively little interest in them, and their preservation among the colonists in Asia, who reckoned his principal heroes among their ancestors. All these circumstances together appear to amount almost to conviction that Homer lived before the return of the Heracleids[29].

All

[29] In a late anonymous publication, intitled Critical Observations on Books antient and modern, in which much learning is displayed, Wood's opinion concerning the age of Homer has been violently controverted, and the author has endeavored to prove that the great poet lived still later than has been generally supposed. I have considered his arguments with attention, but cannot see any force in any of them. He asserts (1) that 'there are such internal 'testimonies in Homer's poems of refine-'ment, as stand in direct contradiction to 'the roughness of his manners, and prove 'that either the one or the other could not 'be the real state of his own times.' But Wood, who had conversed extensively in the East, knew that what thus appear contradictions to a learned Englishman thinking in his closet, are not incompatible there. 'Pope,' the learned critic continues, 'has justly observed that Homer's invoca-'tion Ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἷον ἀκούομεν, οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν '(2) shows that he lived long after the siege 'of Troy.' Thucydides, incomparably a greater authority than Pope, has said nearly

(1) p. 62

(2) Il. ii. v. 487.

the

All together afford also strong proof that the editors of the Rhapsodies found them genuine, and gave them so to the world [10].

After

the same thing: but the question still remains, What is long? Perhaps the οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν might be not unreasonably taken to imply that the poet's birth was so near the time of the Trojan war that, in his old age, if he had not declared the contrary, it might have been imagined that he pretended to know the events he describes from having been a party concerned; for it is little usual to contradict what could not be supposed. The proofs endeavored to be drawn from Paterculus and Aristotle, and from the mention of the Gygæan lake, have not more precision. That from the word βαρβαροφώνων (1), is at variance with what follows about the names Miletus and Mycale (2). The learned critic has very much overhastily quoted Strabo as asserting that 'Miletus was at soonest built by Codrus, 'a hundred years after the taking of Troy '(3).' Strabo indeed says, that Neleus, who according to other authors, was son of Codrus, founded Miletus, Μίλητον ἔκτισε (4): but it appears from two other passages of Strabo himself that an older town of the same name, and on or near the same spot, had its origin from a colony of Cretans under Sarpedon, brother of Minos (5), and Pausanias bears corresponding testimony (6). 'Again,' says the author of the Critical Observations, 'the mention made in the 'Odyssey of various articles of luxury and 'elegance betrays a later age than is usually 'assigned to the poet, and shows that he 'must have lived in more civilized times 'than can be consistent with the rough and 'simple manners which he feigns.' I think not. Arts florished in Egypt and Phenicia before Homer's age; but nothing in his works implies that Greece was in his time considerably advanced either in arts or in civilization beyond the times of his principal heroes. Two circumstances only mark some little advancement; and but little. The trumpet, as appears from a simile, was known to him, tho never mentioned as in use in the times which he describes. From two similes it should seem also that horsemanship was improved. I believe another instance cannot be produced. But the learned critic continues, 'That most cu-'rious machine the formation of the Greek 'tongue in its several tenses, cases, and 'numbers, was all perfect and complete 'when Homer wrote.—It was impossible 'for his language to have arrived at that 'summit of excellence to which little im-'provement or addition was made after-'ward, unless the speakers were also arrived 'near the summit of social life and civil 'government.' The learned critic seems not sufficiently to have adverted to the common and known progress of languages. They are often found most complex in barbarous times, and simplify with the progress of civilization. The Anglosaxon had cases and a dual number, which it lost before the mixture of Norman French had formed our present language; and the Greek dual is scarcely seen but in the older authors. But the general form and character of every language become fixt in barbarous ages, beyond the power of learning to alter. Those of the Greek were indeed wonderfully happy; but had they not been so delivered down from times of darkness, all the philosophy of the brightest ages could not have added a number, a tense, or a case.

[10] It has not been the purpose here to give a dissertation on the age of Homer, in which every objection that ingenious criticism might start should be discussed, but

(1) p. 42. (2) p. 67. (3) p. 67. (4) Strab. l. 14. p. 633.
(5) Strab. l. 14. p. 573 & 634. (6) l. 7. c. 2.

meerly

After Homer is a long interval to our next authorities for Grecian history. Pindar and Æschylus afford assistance; but they lived too late to unite in any great degree the character of historian with that of poet [31]. Following poets are of course still inferior historical authority. Herodotus, therefore, the oldest Grecian prose author whose works remain to us, and who, according to his own probable assertion, as we have already observed, was four hundred years later than the great poet, may be called the next historian. Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, Strabo, Plutarch, and Pausanias, who in different ages investigated the antiquities of their country, all sufficiently inform us what uncertain authorities intervened. Early in this dark period, however, we gain, by a strong concurrence of testimony, one remarkable point, the Olympiad in which Coræbus won in the stadion, whence the Olympiads were reckoned numerically, and which was therefore always called the first Olympiad. But unfortunately we are not with any certainty informed what principal characters were cotemporary, or even nearly cotemporary, with Coræbus. Not only therefore the preceding times, till we meet Homer's chronology, or, which is nearly the same thing, to the return of the Heracleids, remained to be gathered from genealogies, but, for the most part, the subsequent also till near the time of the Persian invasion. In the computation by genealogies, exclusively of its inherent inaccuracy, great difficulties occur. Even the succession of Lacedæmonian kings, which should be

meerly to state the principal grounds of an opinion resulting from more reading and more consideration on the subject than many are willing to bestow. I have understood that a passage in the fifth book of the Iliad has been supposed to make strongly against me. It is there said 'that Diomed took a 'stone which two men, such as mortals now 'are, could not carry.' It appears to me that whatever objection might be drawn from this passage is already answered in the beginning of the second section of the second chapter of this history. If more is wanted, I would beg to refer the reader to Nestor's assertions, in various parts of the Iliad, of the superiority of those who florished in his youth, to Diomed or any others, the cotemporaries of his old age.

[31] Tho not more than three or four publications in Grecian prose, of earlier date than the works of Pindar and Æschylus, acquired any reputation, yet already in their time the Λόγιος, prose-writer, appears to have been familiarly known as a person capable of transmitting facts to posterity, as well as the Ἀοιδός, poet:

——— Ὀπισθόμβροτον ἄυχημα δόξας
Ὅϊον ἀποιχομένων ἀνδρῶν δίαιταν μανύει
Καὶ Λογίοις καὶ Ἀοιδοῖς.
Pindar. Pyth. 1.

our

our best guide, has not been transmitted with certain correctness; and when we recollect the variety of opinions of antient writers, or those reported by Plutarch alone, concerning the age of so very remarkable a personage as the lawgiver Lycurgus, the pretensions of chronologers to assign to each reign its exact number of years appear utterly absurd. The terms attributed to the perpetual archons of Athens are not better founded; and the reasons given by sir Isaac Newton for supposing that the seven decennial archons did not complete seventy years, are cogent. Of the annual archons who followed, accounts are very deficient. Probably at their first establishment written registers were not kept: for, as we are well assured that the laws of Athens were never committed to writing till the archonship of Draco, it is not likely that letters were applied much sooner to public purposes of inferior importance. Letters became common, and chronology acquired accuracy, about the same time, and not long before the Persian invasion.

The first Olympiad, however, that in which Corœbus won, is of universally acknowleged date seven hundred and seventy-six years before the Christian era. In this point sir Isaac Newton and all following chronologers agree[32]. The return of the Heracleids happened eighty years after the Trojan war. This assertion of the inquisitive and judicious Thucydides has also found universal acquiescence. The two great desiderata then of Grecian chronology are to know what principal persons were cotemporary with Corœbus, and to trace the generations from his age upward to the return of the Heracleids. If these could be obtained, we should have a tolerably accurate chronology as far as Homer's genealogies will carry us; and beyond them, however curiosity may be incited, the fruit of inquiry will scarcely pay the labor.

Our principal information concerning the Olympiads is from Pau-

[32] I do not understand the accusation of an ingenious, but vehement opposer of sir Isaac Newton's chronology, that Newton asserts a wilful forgery to have been made in the Olympic catalogue of forty Olympiads which had no real existence (1).. On the contrary, Newton admits all the Olympiads of the catalogue, from Corœbus downward; and before Corœbus, if any Olympiads were celebrated, we are well assured that no catalogue was kept.

(1) Dissertation on the Chronology of the Olympiads, by Dr. S. Musgrave.

sanias;

sanias; who lived late, but was a diligent and a candid antiquarian. He travelled through Greece after the middle of the second century of the Christian era, and it appears that he examined the Olympian register on the spot. He says that the Olympiads might be traced back regularly to that in which Corœbus won in the foot-race; but that even tradition, concerning any regular and periodical celebration of the games, went no farther. It is strongly implied, by his expressions, that the written register of the Olympian victors was not so old as Corœbus, but that the account of the first Olympiads had been kept by memory only [33]. Indeed it appears certain, from all memorials of best authority, that writing was not common in Greece so early. We are not assured that Corœbus was cotemporary with Iphitus, yet it appears probable. On the authority of a passage of Phlegon preserved by Eusebius, but wholly unsupported by older authors, the chronologers confidently state twenty-eight Olympiads between the establishment of the festival by Iphitus, and the victory of Corœbus under another Iphitus. Pausanias evidently had no idea of such an interval. Strabo's account still more remarkably contradicts the supposition. He affirms that the Ætolians, who under Oxylus came into Peloponnesus with the Heracleids, were the inventors of the Olympian games, and celebrated the first Olympiads. After then mentioning traditions concerning the prior establishment of the festival as fabulous and unworthy of credit, he speaks of that as the first Olympiad in which Corœbus won. So far from giving the least countenance to the supposition that two or three centuries intervened between the return of the Heracleids and the victory of Corœbus, it is rather implied, by his expressions in that passage, that Corœbus was cotemporary with Oxylus. This however is not affirmed, and in another place Iphitus is mentioned as founder of the festival; but other authors must be resorted to for authority even for that short interval which Newton has supposed between Oxylus and Corœbus. With Newton, therefore, I have no

Strab. l. 8. p. 354, 355.

[33] Ἐξ οὗ γὰρ τὸ συνεχὶς ταῖς μνήμαις ἐπὶ ταῖς Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἐστί (1), is Pausanias's expression concerning the authority of the first Olympiads of the catalogue, beginning with the victory of Corœbus. With regard to later times, he speaks in plain terms of a written register.

(1) l. 5. c. 8.

scruple

scruple to strike from my chronology that period of above a century which has been imagined between Iphitus and Corœbus. Iphitus, according to Pausanias, was descended from Oxylus, but in what degree that antiquarian could not learn; there were even contradictory testimonies among the antient inscriptions and memorials of the Eleians themselves concerning his father's name. Newton, deducing collateral proof from another passage of Pausanias, supposes him grandson of Oxylus, and places the Olympiad in which Corœbus won under his presidency, only fifty-two years after the return of the Heracleids. Blair places Iphitus two hundred and twenty, and Freret supposes him two hundred and eighty-three years later than that event; and both maintain the farther interval of one hundred and eight years between his institution of the Olympian games and that called the first Olympiad. If we search history to know what occurrences filled this long interval, we find none: nothing in the least to contradict Newton's supposition that only fifty-two years, instead of three hundred and twenty-eight according to Blair, or three hundred and ninety-five according to Freret, passed between the return of the Heracleids and the Olympiad in which Corœbus won, except an account from Pausanias of what was not done. That antiquarian relates that games, after the manner of the Homeric age, were so long neglected, that even memory of them failed; and that they were recovered but by slow degrees after the time of Corœbus. I know nothing else of equal or almost of any authority to direct opinion between sir Isaac Newton's conjecture, and computations so utterly unsupported by history as those adopted by Blair, or made by Freret: computations, as appears to me, virtually contradicted by Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, and Aristotle, and evidently disbelieved by Strabo, Plutarch, and Pausanias. Not only they are utterly irreconcilable to the history, imperfect enough indeed itself, which remains of those times; but, to strain even geneälogy to any kind of accommodation with them, it has been necessary to add a supposition, utterly unsupported by the authors abovementioned, that there were two extraordinary personages kings of Elis of the name of Iphitus, two extraordinary personages of the name of Lycurgus legislators of Sparta, and so of many others

Pausan. l. 5. c. 4.

Pausan. l. 5. c. 8.

who, at the distance of from one to two centuries one from the other, bore the same name, did the same or similar things, and acquired the same reputation.

The inquiry then, such as I have been able to make, on this dark and intricate subject, leads me to the following conclusions. I have not the least difficulty, with Newton, to reject, as fictitious, that personage whom chronologers have inserted in their catalogue of kings of Crete by the name of the first Minos; because his existence not only is unwarranted, but contradicted by what remains from Hesiod, Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, and Strabo, concerning the only Minos whom those authors appear to have known[34]. With scarcely more doubt and upon similar grounds I join in the rejection of Erichthonius, together with the second Cecrops and the second Pandion, from the list of kings of Athens. I cannot, however, hold with the great philosopher that Gelanor king of Argos, and Danaüs the leader of the Egyptian colony, were cotemporary with Eurystheus, king of Mycenæ; because the supposition is not only unsupported, but contradicted by testimony equal to any concerning those times; indeed by the whole tenor of early historical tradition. We come next to the period which Homer has illustrated; and concerning this, considered by itself, the difference among authors has been comparatively none. In proceeding then to the dark ages which follow, I have no doubt in shortening the period from the return of the Heracleids to the institution of the Olympian festival by Iphitus. The number of years that passed can be calculated only upon conjectural grounds; but Newton's conjecture, if not perfectly unexceptionable, appears so far the most probable as it is most consistent with historical tradition, and even with what I hold to be the best chronological authorities, those of Strabo and Pausanias. For the period then of a hundred and eight years, between the institution of the festival by Iphitus and the first Olympiad, or that in which

See note [25]. ch. 1. sec. 3. of this Hist.

Newton's Chronology, p. 137.

[34] Diodorus Siculus, in his fourth book, (c. 62.) mentions two kings of Crete of the name of Minos. But the traditions of the Cretans themselves, reported in his fifth book, (c. 79.) effectually contradict the existence of more than the one celebrated personage of that name, acknowleged by the writers mentioned in the text.

Corœbus won, I look upon it as meerly imaginary; its existence being strongly contradicted by Strabo and Pausanias, and supported by no comparable authority. I am less able to determine my belief concerning the dates of the Messenian wars; nor can I satisfy myself concerning those of Attic or Corinthian history. In the former cases the business was only to detect falsehood; here we have the nicer task to ascertain truth. Upon the whole, however, Newton appears to have strong reason on his side throughout. He seems, indeed, to have allowed too little interval between the legislation of Draco and that of Solon; and perhaps this is not the only instance in which his shortening system has been carried rather to an extreme: but where centuries are in dispute, we must not make difficulties about a few years. It would be of some importance, if it were possible, to determine the age of that remarkable tyrant of Argos, Pheidon, the most powerful Grecian prince of his time, the first who coined silver in Peloponnesus, the first who established a standard for the weights and measures used over the whole peninsula, and who, as head of the Heracleid families, and legal heir of Hercules, claimed, and by the prevalence of his power assumed, the presidency of the Olympian festival. This last circumstance, were the Olympian register perfect, should have put his age beyond question: yet authors who possessed the best means of information are not to be reconciled concerning it. Pausanias says that Pheidon presided in the eighth Olympiad. But, according to Strabo, the Eleians presided without interruption to the twenty-sixth; and, if the copies of Herodotus are faithful, Pheidon must have lived toward the fiftieth Olympiad, where Newton would fix him. But the copies of Herodotus are not without appearance of defect where Pheidon is mentioned. The chronologers have been desirous of imputing error to those of Strabo, which assert that Pheidon was tenth in descent from Temenus: they would have him but tenth from Hercules; and thus they would make Strabo agree with Pausanias and with the marbles. But this does not complete their business; for Strabo will still contradict the presidency of Pheidon in the eighth Olympiad. Moreover that writer, as his copies now stand, is consistent with himself; and, upon Newton's system, consistent with

Herodot. l. 6. c. 127. Strab. l. 8. p. 355.

Pausan. l. 6. c. 22. Strab. l. 8. p. 355. Herodot. l. 6. c. 127.

Herodotus. It can scarcely be said that Pausanias, as his copies stand, is consistent with himself: at least he is very deficient when it was clearly his desire to give full information. I am therefore inclined, with Newton, to suppose an error in the date which stands assigned, as on his authority, for the presidency of Pheidon. But when precisely Pheidon did preside, it should seem even Strabo could not learn to his satisfaction; otherwise he would probably have named the Olympiad, and not have dated meerly by the pedigree. That ready method, used by the Greek chronologers, but greatly improved by the modern, for accommodating chronological difficulties by the supposition of two or more persons of the same name in the same situation, and sometimes of the same character and the same fame, in different ages, has been employed to adjust the age of Pheidon, with the success which cannot fail to attend it; but we find no historical authority for the existence of more than one king of Argos of that name.

Having so far then risked the declaration of my own opinion, I shall not however presume to impose it upon the reader in any instance. I shall continue to insert in the margin Blair's dates together with Newton's, after having thus given the best preparatory assistance in my power to direct the choice between them; sorry that I cannot better satisfy either my readers or myself. Some farther observations will occasionally occur in the sequel.

One circumstance more, however, it may be proper to advert to here. The period of the Grecian festivals being regulated by the revolutions of the moon, the time of those festivals, compared with the solar year, would vary, like the time of Easter and the other moveable feasts of the Christian church. But the Olympian festival ordinarily falling within our month of July, the Olympian year divided our year nearly in the middle. When we come to times of more exact chronology, this will be a circumstance to require attention. For the ages with which we have been hitherto, and shall for some space continue to be ingaged, it is of little importance.

CHAPTER IV.

History of the southern Provinces of GREECE, from the Return of the HERACLEIDS to the Conquest of MESSENIA by the LACEDÆMONIANS.

SECTION I.

Recapitulation of Events in Greece. General Change of Governments from Monarchal to Republican. Different Kinds of Government distinguished by the Greeks.

WE have now taken a view, such as remaining memorials afford means for, of the first population of Greece, and the rise of its principal cities: we have seen one common war prosecuted by a league of the chiefs of the different states, under a prince in whom was acknowleged a legal superiority over all, but without absolute power: we have remarked a great revolution, that changed the inhabitants and the government of the southern part of the country, checked the progress of arts and civilization, established new divisions of the Grecian people, and broke the former connection of the old. We have then traced the growth of three singular institutions, which assisted powerfully to hold still in some union a nation so divided, and prevent a relapse into utter barbarism.

The governments of the little states of Greece, in the first ages, we have observed, tho of no very regular and certain constitution, were all limited monarchies, Homer seems to have known no other: he mentions neither a pure republic, nor the absolute rule of one man. When, therefore, the Heracleids possessed themselves of Peloponnesus, they established everywhere that hereditary limited monarchy, which was the only government assimilated to the ideas and temper of their age. The disposition toward a union of the whole nation into one kingdom,

Plat. de Leg. l. 3. p. 684. & Isocr. Panath. p. 504. t. 2.

kingdom, under the powerful monarchs of Argos, which had appeared before the Trojan war, was checked by the extensive calamities and confusion, which followed that expedition, and still more by the equality established among the Heracleid princes in Peloponnesus; and it was soon after finally dissipated through the opposite bias which the polities of the country universally assumed. Those vigorous principles of democracy, which had always existed in the Grecian governments, began to ferment; and, in the course of a few ages, monarchy was everywhere abolished; the very name of king was very generally proscribed; a commonwealth was thought the only government to which it became men to submit; and the term of Tyrant was introduced to denote those who, in opposition to these new political principles, acquired monarchal sway. We are very deficient of means to trace this remarkable revolution among so many independent little states: yet enough remains whence to gather a general idea of the rise of that political system which obtained in ages better known; and, for the particular history of every commonwealth, it has been transmitted more or less perfect, nearly in proportion to the importance of each among the concerns of the nation.

But to have a just idea of the Grecian governments, especially in the republican ages, it will be necessary to hold in mind two circumstances by which they were widely distinguished in character from the principal states of modern Europe, first, the narrowness of their several territories, and, secondly, the universally established system of slavery, through which the free population was everywhere small, even in proportion to its territory. Already in that age which Homer has described, slaves were common in Greece; but their proportional numbers were afterward very much increased. Among the many and great political evils incident to the allowance of slavery, two are eminent: First, a large, and generally the larger part of the population, is excluded from any interest in the country; and secondly, among the free people, between the rich and the poor there can be little community of interest. The rich, where slaves abound, can dispense with the labor of the poor; and the poor profit in no way from the prosperity of the rich: an interference of interest almost alone leads to any

intercourse between them. The consequences we shall find forming one of the most prominent features of the insuing history.

But the several states of the monarchal age of Greece were not more extensive or powerful than the feudal baronies of modern Europe; and yet when kingly sway was abolished, they were found generally too large for the republican constitution, which succeeded. For, in the narrowness of the territory of every Grecian state, and the want of a controling power over all, while the disposition of the people was restless and warlike, it was generally impossible to cultivate, with reasonable hope of injoyment, any land far from a fortified town: in the poverty of governments, and non-existence of taxes, the owners of the neighboring fields must be the garrison. Nor was it only to defend the narrow territory against hostile neighbors, that it was necessary for every citizen to be a soldier, but still more to hold a sure superiority over the slaves, generally much more numerous than the citizens. For persons thus always uniting the civil and military character, some municipal administration, adapted to both, would be indispensable. The questions then arose, What should be the relation of this government to that of the capital? What should be their common, and what their separate rights? Under monarchal supremacy the adjustment was easier: for, each town preserving its municipal polity, the prince's superintending authority, his military command, his presidency over the religion of the state, and his power in general to direct the executive government, would be as willingly acknowleged by the inferior towns as by the capital. But, after the abolition of monarchy, the people of the capital generally claimed that sovereinty over the people of the inferior towns, which the kings had before held; a sovereinty, in their hands, unavoidably invidious, and likely to be oppressive; because the interests of the parties were, in many points, distinct, in some opposite. The people, therefore, of the inferior towns, having arms in their hands, and walls to protect them, and often means for obtaining allies to assist them, seldom failed to assert independency. In some provinces a federal union was maintained. In two only, Attica, through the constitution of Theseus, and Laconia, through

that

that which we shall find established by Lycurgus, one constitutional supreme authority pervaded the whole as one state.

The division of Greece then into little states unnumbered, the variety of political customs naturally arising among them, even while monarchs presided, the various changes that took place, according to circumstances, upon the abolition of monarchy, the continual struggles, afterward, of discordant interests among the people, and frequent revolutions insuing, gave occasion to various distinctions and definitions of governments, which were afterward, with more or less accuracy, adopted by the Romans, and from them have been received into all the languages of modern Europe. The Greeks distinguished, at least in theory, six simple forms: four legal and admitted; two not of acknowleged legality, but generally supported by violence. The legal were Monarchy, Oligarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy: the illegal, Tyranny, and Assumed or Tyrannical Oligarchy.

Aristot. Polit.

But absolute MONARCHY, as we have already observed, was unknown among the Greeks as a legal constitution. The title of KING therefore implied, with them as with us, not a Right of Absolute Power, but a Legal Superiority of Dignity and Authority in One person above all others of the state, and for their benefit[x]. The peculiar and most indispensable rights of Royalty were Religious Supremacy and Military Command. In the early ages Kings also commonly exercised Judicial Authority. But Legislation seems never to have been regularly within their single prerogative. After the general abolition of Monarchy in Greece, if a Citizen of a Commonwealth through whatsoever means, acquired Monarchal Power, his government was intitled TYRANNY, and himself TYRANT: names which seem not to have been originally terms of reproach; tho such monarchy was generally very deservedly reprobated.

Homer. passim. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 13. Polyb. l. 6. p. 455. Aristot. Polit. l. 3. c. 1. & 14. Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. l. 5. Aristot. Polit. l. 3. c. 14.

Corn. Nep. vit. Miltiad.

A distinction of families into those of Higher and Lower Rank, appears to have obtained very early throughout Greece; and nowhere more than at Athens, where, by the constitution of Theseus, the

[x] Ἐγγενομένου γὰρ, ἀνδρὸς ἑνὸς ἐν τοῖς ἄρχουσι διαφέροντος, Βασιλεία ἂν κληθείη, κ. τ. ε. Plat. de rep. l. 9. p. 576. Accordingly he calls his republic Βασιλευομένη πόλις.

EUPATRIDS,

EUPATRIDS, or NOBLY BORN, like the Patricians of Rome, formed a distinct order of the state, with great privileges [2]. With the downfall of Monarchy, however, Hereditary Nobility seems to have declined everywhere; and, tho Family was always considered, yet Wealth became the principal criterion of Rank. But daily experience, among the Greeks, proving that Military Force may always command Civil Authority, the two were, in all their republics, united in the same persons; every citizen being bound to Military Service. Equally then the necessity of the commonwealth, and the choice of the individual, would decide that the rich should serve on horseback; and thus was created, in the principal republics, a Rank of Citizens determined by their ability to serve in War on Horseback, at their own expence. Such was the origin of KNIGHTHOOD in Rome, and since in the feudal kingdoms of Europe. In many Grecian states, however, the noble, or the rich, or both together, held exclusively the principal authority; and the government was then denominated OLIGARCHY; meaning a government in which the supreme power is vested in a Few. Where the Few, as they became emphatically called, remained contented with the prerogatives of the antient hereditary kings, leaving rights to the people, so established as to secure an impartial administration of equal law, it was deemed a just and Constitutional Oligarchy [3]. But, where contests arising, as often happened, between the FEW and the MANY (which became the distinguishing appellation of the lower people) and the Few obtained the superiority, not without a violent, and perhaps a bloody struggle, they would not always, and sometimes could not safely, be moderate in the exercise of power. Thus arose Tyrannical Oligarchy.

Diodor. Sic. l. 1. c. 28. Plut. vit. Thes.

Herod. l. 8. c. 124. Xen. de Re Eq. c. 2. Aristot. Polit. l. 4. c. 3. Strab. l. 10. p. 481, 482.

ARISTOCRACY, signifying government by the Better people, was a phrase of more dubious import, inasmuch as the question would always remain, Who were the better people? The Few, whether legally, or by violence, or not at all established in power, commonly assumed the title to themselves [4]; and gave that of Aristocracy to any government

[2] Aristotle distinguishes the noble by the title of ἐυγενέστεροι. Polit. l. 4. c. 4.

[3] Ὀλιγαρχία ἰσόνομος. Thucyd. l. 3. c. 62.

[4] Καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ.

in which they, or persons of their sort, held the principal power. Among the moderns, generally the term Aristocracy has been used as equivalent to Constitutional Oligarchy; an application of it apparently first proposed by Aristotle, on account of the discredit which the frequency of a tyrannical assumption of power by the Few, brought upon the name of Oligarchy. But, both before and after that philosopher, the term Aristocracy was more received, among the Greeks, as the proper appellation of those governments in which the supreme authority was committed, by the people themselves, to persons elected for their merit; Oligarchy remaining always the ordinary Grecian term for governments in which the noble or the rich presided, as a separate order of the state.

Aristot. Polit. l. 4. c. 6 & 7.

DEMOCRACY signified Government by the People at large; all the Freemen of the state in assembly forming the Legal Soverein, Absolute, and Uncontrolable. But as Democracy was beyond all other governments subject to irregular, improvident, and tyrannical conduct, where unchecked by some balancing power intrusted to a few, it became distinguished by the opprobrious title of OCHLOCRACY, Mob-rule.

The states of Greece, whose government was in any degree settled, had mostly some mixture of two or more of these forms. A simple monarchy, indeed, would be despotism and tyranny: a simple oligarchy but the tyranny of an association, instead of the tyranny of an individual; and a simple democracy scarcely above anarchy: yet those evils we find frequently existing among the Grecian cities. From the various mixture, however, of these simple forms, decided whether by accidental custom, or by the various prevalence of various interests, arose new distinctions, and sometimes new names. The mixture of oligarchy and democracy, in which the oligarchal power was superior, yet the democratical sufficed to secure freedom and equal right to the people, might, according to Aristotle, be properly distinguished from simple oligarchy by the more honorable title of Aristocracy. That mixture where the democratical power prevailed, yet was in some degree balanced by authority lodged in steddier hands, is distinguished by the same great author by the name of Polity; and, according to

Aristot. Polit. l. 4. c. 6. & seq.

Polybius, a due blending of the three powers, monarchal, aristocratical, and democratical, was necessary to constitute what might properly be termed a Kingdom [5]. Polyb. l. 6. init.

It may here perhaps be a digression neither in itself absolutely improper, nor intirely useless for illustration of the subject before us, to observe that the British Constitution is compounded of All the Legal simple forms acknowleged by the Greeks, Monarchy, Oligarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy. Monarchy with us perfectly accords with the Grecian idea of Kingly government. The Lords form the Oligarchal part of the constitution; and the House of Commons properly the Aristocratical; being composed of persons elected by the People to Legislative Authority for Merit real or supposed. The

[5] It is of importance, in considering antient, or indeed any forein politics, to be careful not to be misled, and in treating of them, not to mislead, by names; and if our language wants words to give the precise meaning of Grecian political terms, it will be no matter of wonder to us, when we consider that the several nations of modern Europe, whose governments have mostly had a common origin, are unable, each in its own language, to express the political terms of its nearest neighbors. Thus the English is without words perfectly synonymous with the French Gentilhomme, Noble, Bourgeois, Roturier; and no forein language can convert with precision our terms Noble, Lord, Commoner, and many others. But in the Greek, beyond most languages, political terms are found of undefined import; because, in the several Grecian republics, often where names were the same, things differed. Thus the term Δῆμος, generally meaning the lower people exclusively of the higher, and commonly not ill translated either by the Latin Plebs, or the English Commonalty, in the democratical state of Athens included all the people, noble as well as plebeian. In the time of Isocrates, the term Ἀριστοκρατία seems hardly to have been appropriated to any form of government. That writer acknowleges only three simple kinds, Oligarchy, Democracy, Monarchy (1); and he applies the term Aristocracy, as a title of compliment to the Democracy of Athens; distinguishing it, as a well-constituted Democracy, from those ill-formed, or unformed governments, which might deserve the name of Ochlocracy. Polybius, as may be seen in the beginning of his sixth book, uses the term Aristocracy nearly in the same manner. The term Μοναρχία, unqualified, appears always to have signified Absolute Monarchy; from which Polybius, conformably to Plato's use of the term, distinguishes limited or balanced Monarchy by the title of Βασιλεία. Plato indeed gives to his republic, in different places, the several titles of Βασιλευομένη πολις, Ἀριστοκρατία, and Πολιτεία. Xenophon, in the beginning of his Agesilaus, enumerates the ordinary forms of government under the titles of Δημοκρατία, Ὀλιγαρχία, Τυραννὶς, Βασιλεία. The Lacedæmonian government, where royal power was so excessively limited, is his example of the Βασιλεία.

(1) Panath. p. 514. ed. Paris. Auger.

Democratical Principle, Equal Law, or, in the Greek term, Isonomy, singularly pervades the whole; the privileges of the peer extending in no degree to his family, and the descendants even of the Blood Royal being PEOPLE, subject to the same laws, the same burdens, and the same judicature with the meanest citizen. Rights of Election, Trial by Jury, and Provincial Offices, together with the Right of Addressing and Petitioning either the executive or any branch of the legislature, form a large Democratical Power, more wisely given, and more wisely bounded, notwithstanding some defects, than in any other government that ever existed[6].

SECTION II.

Summary of the Histories of Crete, Argos, the Calaurean Confederacy, Corinth, Sicyon, Achaia, Eleia, Arcadia.

WE have seen that, in the large and valuable iland of CRETE, a regular free government, under the presidency of an hereditary prince, was established almost before Grecian history can be said to begin. The naval power acquired by Minos decayed after him, and the Argian princes gained the superiority in the Grecian seas, together with the sovereinty of the smaller ilands nearest to the continent of Greece. Yet Idomeneus, grandson of Minos, and commander of the Cretan troops in the Trojan war, was among the most powerful of the Grecian

[6] The Right of EQUAL LAW, the peculiar boast of the English constitution, is derived from the Anglosaxon government. It is declared more than once in the Anglosaxon laws yet extant; but never was more emphatically expressed than in a phrase of the laws of Edgar: Ic pille, says the royal Legislator, speaking with the authority of his Witenayemote, þaꝛ ælc man ꝛẏ Folcꝛuhꝛeꝛ ꝓẏꝛð, ȝe eaꝛme ȝe eaðiȝ. (1) which, notwithstanding the general energy of the English language, can scarcely be rendered in modern terms with equal force. This it was for which our ancestors contended, when, in the reigns of the early Norman princes, they so often and so earnestly demanded the restoration of the Saxon laws: and this it was that gave origin to the JUDICIUM PARIUM AUT LEGEM TERRÆ of Magna Charta, which that famous deed has sanctified as the birthright of every Englishman, the FOLKRIGHT of the land.

(1) L. L. Anglosax. D. Wilkins, p. 77.

chiefs

chiefs of his time. We are assured by Homer that this prince was one of the few who returned safe from that expedition; and no considerable revolution in Crete seems to have been known either to Homer or Hesiod. It must however have been soon after them that monarchy was abolished there. What caused the revolution, or how it was effected, we have no authentic information: but some very important consequences are strongly authenticated. The government established in the room of monarchy could not maintain itself intire; it fell into pieces, the principal towns separating themselves into independent commonwealths. The Cretan power and the Cretan character then sunk together, never to rise again. As a military people indeed, the Cretans always supported a considerable reputation, and their naval skill became proverbial. But their military prowess, except when, in later times, exerted in hired service, was confined to wars among themselves, and their naval exploits are unheard of but in piracy. While their laws, tho greatly altered, held fame for what they had been, their national character for want of probity became infamous; nor ever, after the Trojan war, was Crete of any considerable weight in the scale of Grecian politics[7].

Odyss. l. 3. v. 191.

Strab. l. 10. p. 481.

Of the states on the continent of Greece, ARGOS was among the first to abolish monarchy; or, however, so to reduce its powers that we hardly perceive among historians whether it existed or no. The Argian government is said to have become republican so early as on the death of Ceisus, son of Temenus, founder of the Heracleid dynasty. But neither was Argos fortunate in the change. In its defective history indeed we read of scarcely anything but disorders, and those often of extraordinary violence. In general we learn that

Pausan. l. 2. c. 19.

[7] Κρῆς πρὸς Αἰγινήτην seems to have been an early proverb of nearly the same import as our English Set a thief to catch a thief. Polybius, in the fourth, and still more particularly in the sixth book of his history, speaks strongly to the infamy of the Cretan character, and even denies all merit to the Cretan laws and constitution; which were probably in his time much altered from what, as he says, the ablest of the elder writers, Ephorus, Xenophon, Callisthenes, and Plato, held in high esteem. The change indeed is particularly remarked by Strabo: Περὶ δὲ τῆς Κρήτης ὁμολογεῖται ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς χρόνους ἐτύγχανεν εὐνομουμένη, καὶ ζηλωτὰς ἑαυτῆς τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπέφηνεν.——Ὕστερον δὲ πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον μετέβαλεν ἐπὶ πολύ. Strab. l. 10. p. 477.

the

the higher and lower ranks were continually at variance, but the democratical faction was mostly superior: the priesthood had peculiar authority: sometimes tyrants raised themselves over all, and once the slaves got possession of the city, and filled the magistracies. Originally an ill-constituted government, no legislator of superior wisdom and probity ever acquired the power, no fortunate train of circumstances ever occurred of themselves, to unite liberty and administration upon a firm and even basis. One famous tyrant, Pheidon, lineal successor of the Heracleids, a prince of great abilities but no moderation, raised himself, rather than his country, to a superiority which ceased with him. Under its republican government, impotent abroad as unhappy at home, Argos finally lost that preëminence which under monarchal rule it had obtained among the Grecian states. Far from leading the affairs of Peloponnesus, every little town of Argolis itself resisted the Argian dominion: Mycenæ long asserted independency: Asinæa, and even Nauplia, the immediate seaport of Argos, were preserved only by expulsion of the inhabitants: Hermionë, Trœzen, Epidaurus, Phlius, Sicyon, and the iland of Ægina, members of the Argian state under the Heracleid kings, but early separated after the abolition of hereditary first-magistracy, always maintained themselves as self-governed republics. Cynuria, Thyrea, and Prasiæ were conquered by Lacedæmon.

Herodot. l. 6. c. 83.

Herodot. l. 6. c. 127. Strab. l. 8. p. 358. Pausan. l. 6. c. 22.

Strab. l. 8. p. 373. Pausan. l. 14. c. 24.

It was apparently to resist the measures of the Argian people for inforcing obedience from so many towns, members of the Argolic kingdom, revolting from the republic, that an institution was formed which has escaped the notice of extant historians, but remains recorded by the geographer. In the little iland of Calaurea, at the mouth of the harbor of Trœzen, was held what he calls a sort of Amphictyonic council[8]. Calaurea was sacred to Neptune, whose temple there was among the most venerated and inviolable sanctuaries of Greece; a commodious place of meeting therefore for the councils of the oppressed. The assembly was composed of deputies from the revolted Argian cities, Hermionë, Epidaurus, Ægina, Nauplia, and Prasiæ; but to these we find added Athens and the Minyeian Orchomenus, a title

[8] Ἀμφικτυονία τις. Strab. l. 8. p. 374.

by

by which Orchomenus in Bœotia was distinguished from the town of the same name in Arcadia. Of the purpose of this meeting and of its transactions, farther than a common sacrifice to the God, we have no direct information; but a common sacrifice implied some political connection, a defensive alliance at least, between the cities in whose name and for whose welfare it was offered. It seems indeed not dubious that, tho the ostensible ceremonies of the meeting were principally religious, the ultimate object was political, and that the institution had considerable political importance. It is likely to have contributed much toward establishing the independency of the revolted Argian towns. How Athens became ingaged in this confederacy we are not directly informed; but we find Athens, from very early to very late times, always taking an interest in the troubles of Argos, and generally much connected with a party there. Any ground for the association of the Bœotian Orchomenus is less obvious.

But when the independency of the revolted Argian towns was established, and a connection formed with the powerful state of Athens, and with Orchomenus, perhaps the ally of Athens, the confederacy would in its turn be formidable to Argos; and thus, apparently, it became an object for Argos itself to be a member of that league which had been originally formed for the purpose of resisting its power. The opportunity offered, when Nauplia was taken and its people were expelled by the Argians. Whether the Nauplians were become obnoxious, and the Argians had ingratiated themselves, or whether the fear only of an overbearing power decided the allied cities, the claim of Argos to send representatives for Nauplia to the Calaurean council was allowed, and Argos thus became a member of the confederacy. A similar policy appears to have prompted the Lacedæmonians, who, on reducing Prasiæ under their dominion, or receiving it into their protection, claimed to send representatives for that town, and Lacedæmon accordingly was added to the Calaurean league.

But this accession of the greater Grecian republics, instead of giving permanent splendor and importance to the Calaurean council, seems to have been the immediate cause of its sinking into insignificancy. While the purpose was to maintain a league among the Argolic towns

for

for general defence, the council was equal to its object, and for its object respectable. But when, by the allowed independency of those towns, this object vanished, to regulate the jarring interests of Athens, Argos, and Lacedæmon, which should have succeeded as the business of the meeting, was what those states would scarcely submit to the votes of deputies from the little cities of Epidaurus, Hermionë, Ægina, and Orchomenus. The political business of the assembly therefore ceased, and the importance attached to the religious ceremonies alone seems to have preserved it from utter oblivion. But as, among the circumstances of Grecian history, nothing more marks the general character of the national politics, so nothing will more deserve the consideration of the modern politician, than the various attempts toward federal union among the republics, and the inefficacy of those attempts.

We have already remarked the fortunate situation of CORINTH, by which that city became very early the greatest emporium of Greece. It was fortunate also in its constitution, which it is said to have owed to Pheidon, a prince of uncertain age, but who has been supposed nearly cotemporary with Lycurgus. Monarchy, the balanced monarchy of early times, florished there, without violence or commotion to ingage the notice of history, longer than in any other of the principal Grecian cities, Sicyon alone excepted. At length the Bacchiads (a numerous branch of the royal family, so named from their ancestor Bacchis, fifth monarch in succession from Aletes) put to death Telestes the reigning prince, and assuming the government in association, formed an Oligarchy. But still the laws and the spirit of the old constitution were in large measure preserved. An annual magistrate presided, with the title of Prytanis, but with very limited prerogatives; and tho oligarchies were generally odious, yet Corinth florished under the Bacchiads. Syracuse and Corcyra, Corinthian colonies, appear to have been, under their administration, subject to the mother-country. Afterward they acquired independency: but the early power and wealth of both, and still more the friendly connection of Syracuse with the parent state, remaining through many ages, prove the wisdom with which they were settled. Syracuse requires a history by itself.

Aristot. Polit. l. 2. c. 6.

Pausan. l. 2. c. 4. Olympiad 30. 3rd year; Before Christ 658. *Newton.* Before 1st Ol. 3 years; B. C. 779. *Blair.*

Corcyra

Corcyra founded early its own colonies Epidamnus and Apollonia in Illyria. After the Bacchiads had held the administration of Corinth during some generations, they were expelled by Cypselus; who, according to the Grecian writers, in his own person restored monarchy, or, as it became popular to phrase it, tyranny; tho, as superior wisdom and virtue alone never were supposed to give a claim to the titles of king or tyrant, it scarcely appears by what right Cypselus bore either[9]. He was in truth the head of a party, by the strength and through the favor of which he ruled. Determined to rest his authority, and even his safety, wholly on his good deeds and his power of attaching to himself the affections of men, he constantly refused the invidious, but not unusual, distinction of a guard, to protect his person against those attempts of the defeated faction, which, from the common violence of party in Grecian commonwealths, might be enough to be apprehended. But tho his virtues, and particularly his moderation and clemency, were eminent, he is nevertheless by Grecian writers universally called tyrant of Corinth, and his government tyranny. His son Periander, who succeeded to his power, is not equally famed for the mildness of his administration; but for his abilities, learning, and munificent incouragement of learned men, was ranked among the sages celebrated by the title of the Seven Wise-men of Greece. Periander was also succeeded by his son, whose reign, however, was short. A commonwealth was then established; in which enough was retained of the oligarchy to temper the turbulence and capriciousness of democratical rule: and Corinth, tho not the most renowned, had perhaps the happiest government of Greece. The local circumstances of the city appear indeed to have influenced the disposition of the people; directing it to commerce and arts more than to politics, arms, or science; tho in these also they acquired their share of fame. They, first among the Greeks, built vessels of that improved construction for war (whose form is now not certainly known) which we commonly distinguish by the Latin name Trireme; and the first sea-fight recorded

Ol. 43. 4. B. C. 605. *N.*

Ol. 30. 2. B. C. 659. *B.*

Aristot. Polit. l. 5. c. 12.

Ol. 55. 4. B. C. 557. *N.*

Ol. 48. 4. B. C. 585. *B.*

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 13.

Ol. 30. 4. B. C. 657. *N.*

Ol. 29. 1. B. C. 664. *B.*

[9] Little or nothing seems fairly to be gathered from the loose invective, following a strange romantic story, which Herodotus puts into the mouth of a man pleading with vehemence the cause of a party. Herod. l. 5. c. 92.

in any history was between Corinth and its own colony of Corcyra. The Isthmian games, comparatively a late establishment, tho boasting of great antiquity, were celebrated within the territory and under the direction of the Corinthians, and brought them considerable advantages. Luxury indeed was the unfailing attendant upon wealth: but colonization and commerce no less certainly produced naval power; and Corinth, tho never singly formidable, was always respected among the Grecian states[10].

Of all the cities of Greece, SICYON, reputed the oldest, had the good fortune to remain longest under that mild and steddy government, derived from the heroïc ages, in which hereditary princes presided, and fixed laws or customs, venerated for their antiquity, and loved for their proved utility, restrained the extravagant use equally of power in the chiefs and of liberty in the people. So late as the age of Solon this constitution remained in full vigor, when, under Cleisthenes, a prince of superior merit, Sicyon florished singularly, and even held a leading situation among the Grecian states. It was the misfortune of Sicyon that Cleisthenes had no son. His only daughter carried the moveable wealth of the family to Athens, by marriage with Megacles, head of the illustrious house of the Alcmæonids there. No chief, of dignity above competition, remaining, Sicyon was torn by contending

Aristot. Polit. l. 5. c. 12.

Herod. l. 6. Pausan. l. 2. & l. 10.

[10] Tho Pindar's business was panegyric, yet he would panegyrize upon the best grounds that his subject afforded; and he seems justly to have characterized Corinth in terms of eulogy that would have been but preposterously applied to most of the Grecian cities:

——— Γνώσομαι
Τὰν ὀλβίαν Κόρινθον, Ισθμίου
Πρόθυρον Ποσειδᾶνος, ἀγλαόκουρον.
Ἐν τᾷ γὰρ Εὐνομία ναίει, κασιγ-
νητάι τε Δίκα, πτολίων
Ἀσφαλὲς βάθρον, καὶ ὁμό-
τροπος Εἰράνα, ταμίαι
Ἀνδράσι πλούτου, χρύσεαι
Παῖδες εὐβούλου Θέμιτος. Olymp. 13.

——— Let my lays
The fame of happy Corinth bear afar:
Which as a gate to Neptune's isthmus stands,
Proud of her blooming youth and manly bands.
There Fair Eunomia, with her sister-train,
Blest Peace and Justice, hold their steady reign;
Who wealth and smiling ease on mortals show'r,
From Themis' genial care drawing their natal hour.
Pye's Translation of the Olympic Odes not translated by West.

factions;

factions; and, under republican government, importance abroad, and happiness at home, sunk together.

ACHAIA remained, during some generations, united under monarchs, the posterity of Tisamenus son of Orestes. The tyrannical conduct of Gyges, or Ogygus, the last prince of that race, excited his subjects against him, and the twelve principal towns became so many independent and inconsiderable commonwealths. A federal union was preserved among them, but too imperfect for Achaia to take any important share in the political affairs of Greece. Polyb. l. 2. p. 128. Strab. l. 8. p. 383, 384.

The very singular circumstances of ELEIA, which in a great degree secluded its people from politics and war, have been already mentioned. But it was not possible, by any institutions, to destroy that elasticity given by the Author of nature to the mind of man, which continually excites to action, often palpably against interest, and which was strong in the general temper of the Greeks. Mostly indeed attached to rural business and rural pleasures, the Eleians confined their ambition to the flattering preëminence allowed them in the splendid assembly of principal people from every Grecian state at the Olympian festival, and the perhaps yet more flattering respect in which their sacred character was universally held; which was such that the armies of the most powerful states of Greece, having occasion to cross any part of the Eleian territory, surrendered their arms on entering, in trust to receive them again when they had passed the borders. Yet restless spirits arose, not to be so satisfied. Often the Eleians ingaged as auxiliaries in the wars of other states; generally indeed on pretence of asserting the cause of religion. But in that cause itself they could not agree among themselves. During some generations, while monarchy subsisted in the posterity of Iphitus, Eleia continued united under one government. But at length the spirit of democracy prevailed there as elsewhere in Greece, and with the same effects. Every considerable town claimed independency, or at least equality in confederacy with the rest, while Elis asserted authority over all; and Olympia became, for all, a great object of contention. Situated within the territory of Pisa, on the northern bank of the river Alpheius, which alone separated its precinct from that city, the Pisæans insisted that the right to the guardianship Strab. l. 8. p. 338. Herod. l. 4. c. 148. Strab. l. 8. p. 353.

of the temple and superintendancy of the festival was clearly theirs. The Eleians, on the contrary, claimed it exclusively. Wars arose between the two states: each endeavored to gain allies; and at one time Pheidon, the powerful tyrant of Argos, interfering, assumed to himself, as hereditary representative of Hercules, the guardianship of the temple, and presidency of the festival. At other times the Pisæans prevailed, and they presided at some Olympiads: but at length, tho at what time we are not certainly informed, the Eleians destroyed Pisa, so that scarcely a ruin remained; and thenceforward, excepting in the hundred and fourth Olympiad, when the Arcadians violently interfered, they held the presidency undisturbed while the festival existed [11]. The other towns of Eleia then mostly fell under their dominion.

Herod. l. 6. c. 127. Strab. l. 8. p. 358.

Strab. l. 8. p. 355. Diod. Sic. l. 15. c. 78. Pausan. l. 5. c. 10. & l. 6. c. 22.

ARCADIA was early divided into many small states, of which some retained long the regal form of government; or, to use modern terms

[11] We have no connected history of these events from any one antient author, and the scraps of information remaining from writers of best authority are not easily reconcilable. Pausanias affirms that the Eleians ingaged Pheidon, tyrant of Argos, to protect them against the Pisæans in the celebration of the eighth Olympiad (1). According to that report, to which Strabo gave most credit, where it appears he esteemed none certain, the Eleians held the presidency of the festival till the twenty-sixth Olympiad (2). He does not say how or by whom they were then deprived of it; but in a prior passage he relates that Pheidon, king of Argos, tenth in descent from Temenus the Heracleid, and the most powerful Grecian prince of his age, assumed to himself the presidency of the Olympic festival (3). A similar account is given by Herodotus (4). Strabo adds, that the Eleians, utterly dissatisfied, did not register that Olympiad, but reckoned it among what they termed Anolympiads; and that, upon occasion of this violence of the Argian prince, they first departed from their original principle of trusting wholly to their sacred character for security, and applied themselves to the practice of arms. With assistance from Lacedæmon, they at length defeated Pheidon, and acquired the territories of the Pisatis and Triphylia. He assigns no dates to any of these events. But Pausanias says that the Pisæans, under their prince Pantaleon, ejected the Eleians in the thirty-fourth Olympiad, and held the presidency of the festival till after the forty-eighth. He has not marked with precision the time when the Eleians recovered it, and destroyed Pisa; but he says the Eleians called all those festivals, at which the Pisæans presided, Anolympiads, and did not register them in their catalogue. These discordancies and deficiencies, in the accounts of two such authors as Strabo and Pausanias, deserve the consideration of those who desire to know what credit is due to the Olympic chronology for the times before the Persian war.

(1) b. 6. c. 22. (2) Strab. l. 8. p. 355. (3) p. 355. (4) b. 6. c. 127.

perhaps

perhaps more analogous to the circumstances, they were under the rule of chiefs like the Scottish highland lairds: for the country, wholly inland, being mostly very mountainous, and the people generally herdmen, the towns were small, and their inhabitants unpolished. Some improvements, however, would come to them from their neighbors: some were suggested by necessity. When bordering states increased in power, the scattered inhabitants of mountain villages were no longer equal to the protection of their herds and their freedom: for men, together with their cattle, were still principal objects of plunder. Toward the frontier, where the most formidable neighbor arose, the land, tho high above the level of the sea, spred more into plains, and afforded opportunity for advantageous tillage. There nine villages uniting made Tegea a considerable city; and five others joined to form that of Mantineia. Strab. l. 8. p. 337.

SECTION III.

History of Lacedæmon. Legislation of Lycurgus.

THE conquering Heracleids had scarcely decided upon the division of Peloponnesus, when Aristodemus, to whose share Laconia fell, died, leaving newborn twin sons, Eurysthenes and Procles. The mother, it is said, through impartial fondness, refusing to declare which was the elder, it was determined that both those princes should succeed to the throne of their father, with equal authority, and that the posterity of each should inherit the rights of their respective ancestors. Laconia was esteemed a territory of inferior value to both Argolis and Messenia; yet, so early as the Trojan war, we find Lacedæmon reckoned among the richest and most powerful cities of Greece. The divided royalty indeed, now established, was apparently a form of government little likely to be lasting in itself, or to give power or happiness to the people, who lived under it: but as, in the natural body, a fever often leads to a renewal of the constitution, so still more, in the political, advantageous establishments commonly owe their very conception to violent disorders. Jealousy, as might be expected, arose between the kings: but hence it became necessary for each to court the favor of the

Herod. l. 5. c. 52. Plat. de Leg. l. 3. p. 683. t. 2. Pausan. l. 3. c. 1. Strab. l. 8. p. 366. Pausan. l. 4. c. 3.

Plut. vit. Lycurg. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 13.

the people: and while, in other Grecian states, the tyranny of the one king drove the multitude to assume, by violent means, the supreme power to themselves, in Lacedæmon the concessions of the two gave by degrees such importance to the people, that the royal authority scarcely remained an object of either terror or envy. Thus, however, the powers of government were at length so weakened, that the worst of all tyrannies, anarchy, prevailed in Sparta. The evils of this lawless situation appear to have been sometimes checked by abler princes, who led the contentious spirit of the people to exert itself in forein wars, in which some successes were obtained. Little, however, of importance occurs among the traditions concerning the Lacedæmonian state, till Lycurgus, of the race of Procles, succeeded his brother Polydectes in the throne. Nor are we informed with the certainty that might be expected, in what age, or even with what cotemporaries, this extraordinary man lived. But the full assurance we have of the subsistence, through many centuries, of that wonderful phenomenon in politics and in the history of humanity, the Spartan system, the establishment of which is by the strongest concurrence of authorities referred to him, may teach us that we ought not to refuse our belief to a relation of facts meerly because they are strange; and moreover, that the uncertainty of the date of any event in those early ages, when no regular method of dating was in use, is no argument that the event itself is uncertain [12].

Herod. l. 1. c. 65. Isoc. Panath. p. 548. t. 2. Strab. l. 8. p. 365. Plut. vit. Lycurg. Pausan. l. 3. c. 2 & 7.

Plut. vit. Lycurg.

According to that account which Plutarch seems to have preferred, Lycurgus was fifth in descent from Procles, and tenth from Hercules. When the scepter devolved to him by the death of his brother, the widow of that prince was breeding. He was no sooner assured of this, than he publicly declared that he held the throne thenceforward upon trust only, to resign it to his brother's child, if it should prove a son;

[12] The most judicious writers of antiquity have contributed to the perplexity about the age of Lycurgus. See Thucydides, b. 1. c. 18. Plato in Minos, Xenophon of the Lacedæmonian commonwealth, and Aristotle on Government. Eratosthenes and Apollodorus the chronologers undertook to decide upon it; but Plutarch, in the beginning of his life of Lycurgus, sufficiently lets us know what credit is due to their decision. Perhaps the best modern attempt to reconcile the discord of antient authors on this subject, as far as the succession of the Lacedæmonian kings only is concerned, may be found in note 32, p. 31, of Wesseling's Herodotus.

and

and dropping accordingly the title of king, he retained the royal power as Prodicus, or protector only. I proceed with this anecdote, which found credit with the best antient historians, and may the rather deserve notice as tending to account for that veneration borne to the character of Lycurgus, which inabled him to execute what an ordinary legislator could not, without extreme imprudence, have attempted. The princess, we are told, more solicitous to remain a queen than to become a mother, caused private intimation to be given to Lycurgus that, if he would marry her, no child of his late brother's should ever interfere with his possession of the throne. The protector thought it prudent, in the weakness of government and licentiousness of the times, to dissemble his abhorrence of so atrocious a proposal. He only insisted that the queen should not indanger her own life and health by any attempts to procure abortion, and he would provide, he said, that the child when born should be no hindrance to their mutual wishes. When she drew near her time he placed trusty persons in waiting about her, whom he directed, if she produced a girl, to leave it to the women, but if a boy, to bring it immediately to him wheresoever he might be. It happened that he was supping in public with the principal magistrates when the queen was delivered of a son, which, according to command, was instantly carried to him. He received the child in his arms, and addressing himself to those present, 'Spartans,' he said, 'a king is born to you;' and immediately placed the infant in the royal seat. Observing then the joy which prevailed through the company, rather from admiration of his prudence and uprightness than from any cause they had to rejoice at the birth of a son to the late king, he named the boy Charilaüs, which signifies the people's joy [13].

Strab. l. 10. p. 482. Plut. vit. Lyc. Justin. l. 3. c. 2.

But notwithstanding the power and influence which Lycurgus derived from his high birth and high office, together with the esteem in which he was held by all good men, it was not difficult, amid the general lawlessness prevalent in Sparta, for the brother of the queen-mother to raise a strong faction against him. Finding it, therefore, no season to attempt that reformation in the state which he wished,

[13] Χαρίλαον ωνόμασε, διὰ τὸ τοὺς πάντα; εἶναι περιχάρειᾶς. Plut. Lycurg.

he

Herod. l. 1. c. 65. Aristot. Polit. l. 2. c. 8. Plut. Lyc.

he determined, being yet a very young man, to indulge his appetite for knowlege by visiting such forein countries as were most celebrated for art and science; the only way, in that early age, by which a desire of knowlege could be gratified. Voluntarily, or involuntarily, he left the administration of Sparta to his opponents, and passed to Crete; induced by its singular laws and institutions, hitherto the most renowned of Greece. There he formed an intimacy with Thales, a poet of great abilities, whom he ingaged so far in his designs as to persuade him to pass to Sparta, and, by popular poems adapted to the purpose, to prepare the minds of the people for those alterations of government and manners which himself was already meditating. It is said that he also visited Asia Minor, where Homer's poems were then popular, and that on his return he first brought them into reputation in Greece.

Strab. l. 10. p. 482. Plut. Lyc.

Æl. var. hist. l. 13. c. 14.

The disorders of Sparta were now grown to a magnitude no longer supportable. The kings were without authority, the laws without efficacy, the anarchy was extreme, and all ranks suffered. Such is the account given by Plutarch, sufficiently consonant to what remains from earlier authors. As far as the scanty light afforded will inable us to discern objects through the dark mist of antiquity, it appears that those disorders arose principally from the ordinary source of sedition in all the antient republics; a tyrannical disposition in the rich, and a spirit of opposition with a disinclination to industry in the poor; hardly failing consequences of domestic slavery. At the same time the laws, being unwritten, were uncertain; and regal power, weak through division, leaned sometimes on either faction, and sometimes took opposite parts, unable to hold the balance between the two. In this situation of things the name of Lycurgus was frequently mentioned: his approved integrity, his unshaken courage, his extensive genius, his popular manners, and that power which above all others he possessed of commanding the minds of men, were recalled to public attention. At length it was agreed, by kings and people, to invite him to return to his country, and, in quality of legislator, to reform the state. He joyfully received the summons; but, in undertaking so arduous an office, he proceeded with the utmost circumspection to

Herod. l. 1. c. 66. Thuc. l. 1. c. 18. Xen. de rep. Lac.

Justin. l. 3. c. 2. Plut. vit. Lycurg.

avail himself of whatever the temper and prejudices of the times offered, that might contribute to his success. He had already imperceptibly begun the business by the poems of Thales; poetry being in those days, while letters were little known, the general mean of popular instruction, and often successfully used to excite popular passion. But before he would exercise his new authority, he went to Delphi to procure the opinion of a divine sanction to his institutions. The directors of the oracle were in the highest degree favorable to his wishes; and he carried back that celebrated response, as Plutarch calls it, in which the Pythoness declared 'That he was singularly 'favored by the gods; himself more god than man; and that it should 'be given him to establish the most excellent of all systems of 'government.'

Plut. Lyc. Herodot. l. 1. c. 65. Xen. Mem. Socr.

Armed with this high authority, in addition to that before derived from the voice of his country, he returned to Sparta; having already, it should seem, formed his plan, not so properly for giving laws to a state, as for totally new-modelling a people, and making them other beings, different from all besides of human race. But, with ideas of a boldness verging upon extravagance, he never failed to observe the most prudent caution in carrying them into execution. He began with assembling the principal citizens, to consult concerning a plan of reformation; but at this meeting he disclosed nothing of his own design. He then took opportunities to advise with his more particular friends privately: and with these he was freer in communication, opening to each more or less as he found them disposed. When he had thus formed a party strong enough to support his measures, the kings Archelaüs and Charilaüs still strangers to his purposes, he summoned an assembly of the people. As the multitude thronged the agora, that place in Grecian towns which served equally the purpose of a market and a general meeting for public debate, alarm was taken at the appearance of Lycurgus's confidential friends in arms. Charilaüs observing a tumult, unaware of the cause, and unprepared for defence, immediately fled to a neighboring temple: but receiving assurance that no violence was intended, and being naturally of a complying temper, he returned to the assembly, and joined his uncle's party. Archelaüs, with more

inclination, was thus left with means too inadequate to attempt resistance, and Lycurgus proceeded unopposed. He immediately committed the executive power of the state to a senate composed of thirty persons; twenty-eight selected from among those leading men in whom he could most confide, with the two kings as presidents. To this body he gave also the most important part of the legislative authority; for laws were to originate there only. To the assembly of the people he intrusted meerly the power of confirming or annulling what the senate proposed, forbidding them all debate: the members only gave a simple affirmative or negative, without being allowed to speak even so far as to declare why they gave either. To the people, however, he committed the future election of senators, confining only their choice to persons who had passed their sixtieth year. The prerogatives of the kings consisted in being hereditary senators, commanders in chief of the armies, and high priests of the nation.

Aristot. Polit. l. 3. c. 14.

Plat. de Leg. l. 3. p. 684. t. 2.

We find it mentioned by Plato that, when the Heracleids established themselves in Peloponnesus, the lands, throughout their conquests, were equally divided among their followers. If this were so, the next measure of Lycurgus would lose something of that appearance of extreme boldness with which it strikes, as it is ordinarily reported. All the evils that can arise in an unsettled ill-constituted government from the accumulation of wealth into few hands, were daily experienced in Sparta: the poor suffered from the oppression of the rich; the rich were in perpetual danger from the despair of the poor; and where laws neither restrained nor protected, dark fraud, or open and atrocious violence, were the unceasing produce of avarice, suspicion, and misery. To combat such inveterate and complicated mischief, said Lycurgus, by ordinary methods of criminal courts and penal laws, were replete with uncertainty, danger, and even cruelty, to a degree that cannot be foreseen. How much better were it, instead of arming the hand of the executioner against the effect, at once to remove the cause! He had begun his work by securing those of higher rank to his party, and by the establishment of the senate had placed almost all legal authority in their hands. But he did not mean a partial benefit: he would extend the advantage of his laws equally

Plut. Lyc.

to all, leaving no distinction but of age and merit. In his present purpose he was sure of the most numerous party, the poor; and these, headed by himself, would immediately become the most powerful. We have no tradition that this measure, so opposite to the strongest passions and prejudices of mankind, produced any commotion. The principal land-owners were persuaded to part peaceably with their possessions, that they might preserve their authority: foreseeing probably that resistance would but occasion the loss of both. Thus was effected in Lacedæmon that extraordinary division of lands, which allotted to every family an equal share, and banished, according to Plutarch's expression, all distinction between man and man, other than what arose from the praise of virtuous, and the reproach of unworthy deeds. The whole territory of Laconia was divided into thirty-nine thousand shares, nine thousand of which were assigned to the city of Sparta, the rest to other townships.

This regulation, however, would have been vain but for another which attended it: Lycurgus forbad absolutely all use of gold and silver. Coin he allowed, but of iron only; which was too weighty and cumbersome, in proportion to its value, for inordinate wealth to be easily either accumulated or used [14]. Among other objects which the legislator thus attained, was the check of forein commerce, and intercourse with strangers. The Spartan money was derided through Greece: forein ships, henceforward, were little seen in the ports of Laconia: flatterers, fortune-tellers, and pandars, says Plutarch, avoided the hostile territory; and all the trades subservient to luxury were effectually banished. The exchange only of the superfluous produce of the earth against useful forein commodities was permitted.

The next ordinance was not carried so quietly. Following in some degree the Cretan model, Lycurgus absolutely forbad that any man should live at home; strictly ordaining that all, even the kings, should eat at public tables only, where the strictest moderation and frugality should be observed. His former law struck at the root of luxury: Polyb. l. 6. p. 492.

[14] Iron money was not absolutely peculiar to Sparta, but that it was nearly so appears clearly from all the most authoritative antient writers who have mentioned it, and particularly from Polybius, b. 6. p. 492.

this aimed at the destruction of every scattered seed; at the annihilation of every use of wealth, of the remotest desire to possess more than others. None of his innovations, we are told, gave so much offence. In an assembly of the people so violent an outcry was raised against him that, apprehensive of the burst of popular passion, and of the advantage that might be taken of it by his particular enemies, he retired toward a neighboring temple. A youth named Alcander, of one of the first families of Sparta, among others, pursued him, and, as he turned, struck him in the face with a stick, and put out an eye. Lycurgus notwithstanding reached the temple; and finding that the multitude were not so mad in their fury as to forget the respect due in the opinion of the times to the sanctity of the asylum, he exhibited to them his lacerated countenance dropping with gore; and when he had at length procured silence and attention, spoke with such moderation of temper, and such force of persuasion, that he converted their rage into pity and remorse; insomuch that, on the spot, they delivered up Alcander to abide his judgement. Lycurgus drew advantage from every circumstance. Instead of condemning Alcander to punishment, he brought him, by gentle argument and ingaging behaviour, to condemn himself; and in the end gained him, from being his most violent opponent, to become his most strenuous partizan. Persisting then in his measure, he not only procured the establishment of it, but he went farther. The more completely to insure equality, and to repress every desire of superfluities, he directed that none should refuse to lend whatsoever he was not immediately using, and that any might take, even without asking, whatsoever he wanted of his neighbor's; being only bound to replace it undamaged. Private property thus was nearly annihilated.

Xenoph. de Rep. Lacon. Aristot. Polit. l. 2. c. 5.

These extraordinary changes being effected, he had little to fear from popular opposition to what farther he might wish to establish: the principal remaining difficulty was to provide for the permanency of what was already done. We are not informed with any certainty what progress letters had made in Greece in Lycurgus's time: but we are told that he would have none of his laws written: he would have them considered as oracles; as emanations from that divine response which sanctified

sanctified the voice of his country, that had appointed him to the office of legislator: he would have them ingraved in the hearts of the people; and, to effect this, he endeavored so to direct the education of the rising generation, that his institutions might be as a law of nature to them. In abolishing distinction of rank, it was his intention not to depress but to elevate his fellowcountrymen; to give every Lacedæmonian those advantages which, in other states, a few only can injoy; to make the whole people one family; every brother of which equally should receive the most liberal education, and equally live in the most liberal manner. The exercise of mechanical arts, and even of agriculture, was totally forbidden to free Lacedæmonians. Slavery therefore was necessary, and slaves must be numerous. For the law required that every Lacedæmonian should be, in the strictest sense of the modern term, a gentleman, without business but that of the state; for which, in peace and in war, it was the purpose of education equally to fit every one who bore the Lacedæmonian name.

And here, as in everything else, Lycurgus carried his views far beyond those of ordinary legislators. Having directed the institutions already mentioned against internal evils, of which wealth is elsewhere so plentiful a source, it was necessary now to provide against external violence: and while, for the first purpose, he made his fellowcountrymen a nation of philosophers, he would, for the other, make them a nation of soldiers, superior to all the rest of mankind. Indeed the large proportion of slaves in every Grecian state, not less than the small extent of territory, made this peculiarly necessary throughout Greece: and hence both the Spartan and Cretan legislators were induced to adapt their constitutions principally to a state of warfare. Plat. de Leg. l. 1. init. Lycurgus began with the care of children before their birth: he would have none born but strong and able men. In other countries great pains are taken to have the more useful brutes perfect in their kind. In England the science of breeding horses and dogs of the most generous temper, and highest bodily ability, has been carried to amazing perfection. Lacedæmon is the only country known in history where attention was ever paid to the breed of men. Lycurgus, considering those from whom the future race of Spartans were to spring as

of

of high consequence to the state, gave very particular directions for the management of the young women. Instead of that confinement, and those sedentary employments of the distaff and the needle, to which the other Grecian ladies were in a manner condemned, he ordered that they should be exercised in running, wrestling, and throwing the quoit and the javelin; that they should live little within doors, and avoid those indulgences which elsewhere make those above the lowest rank of women generally so tender and helpless. Thus, he thought, both themselves would better support the pains of child-bearing, and the children born of them would be more vigorous. It was customary among all the Greeks for the men to appear in public quite naked at their athletic exercises. Lycurgus directed that the young women should all, at certain festivals, appear in public without any covering, dance thus in presence of the young men, and sing, addressing themselves particularly to them [15]. That opinion of the sanctity of wedlock, and that respect for the purity of the marriage-bed, which were common through Greece, he thought in many instances inconvenient; and his morality was always made subservient to his political purposes. To be unmarried, and without children for the commonwealth, he caused to be accounted shameful: but it was indifferent who was the father, provided the child was a fine one [16]. For he reckoned all children to belong not so much to their parents as to the state, the common parent of all; and considering jealousy as a passion often mischievous, and always useless, he contrived to banish it from Sparta by making it ridiculous. Nevertheless, with a morality so loose, he insisted upon the strictest modesty of general behavior, both in women and in men. Virgins went with uncovered faces, but matrons veiled; their proper duty being to please their husbands only; and it was forbidden for any man to praise another's wife. Promiscuous

[15] This practice, as we learn from Plato, was not peculiar to Sparta, having been before established in Crete (1). The Athenian philosopher was so satisfied with it, that he would introduce it in his republic; but he nevertheless gives us to understand, that the Athenian people, in general, as well as all the rest of the antient world, thought of it nearly as modern Europeans would (2.)

[16] Plato not only approved this, but proposed to carry the principle to a still greater extreme.

(1) Plat. de Leg. l. 5. p. 452.

(2) Ibid. & p. 457.

concubinage

concubinage indeed, every politician, independently of any moral consideration, would prevent; and Lycurgus found means, in his system, which, with any other, it would have been impossible to have put in practice. He made it disgraceful and criminal in young men to be seen in company with young women, even with their wives. The married youth was to continue his exercises with the young men by day; he was to sleep in the common dormitory at night: and it was only by stealth, and with the utmost caution, that he could visit his bride. Tho it was held in itself right that he should visit her, yet shame, public rebuke, perhaps stripes, were the consequence of his being seen going or coming: insomuch that it was held creditable for a man that his wife should become a mother without having ever been seen in company with her husband. It is remarkable that, of all the people of Greece, among the rough and warlike Spartans only we find the women free and respected as they were among the northern nations; and it appears still more extraordinary when we consider what a morality was theirs. But desire of applause, and dread of shame, were what Lycurgus depended upon as mainsprings of his most singular political machine; and it seems to have been a very judiciously conceived part of his plan, to place the women upon that independent and respectable footing, which inabled them to be powerful, as they will always be willing, and generally just dispensers of such reward and punishment as applause can give or reproach inflict[17].

In all the Grecian republics of which we have any information, we find the lives of new-born children very little considered by the law: it was generally left to the parents to decide whether to rear or abandon them. But the Spartan legislator, considering the state as the common mother, and individuals as comparatively without a right, would not leave the decision to the parents. All children, presently after birth, were examined by public officers appointed for the purpose: the well-formed and vigorous only were preserved: those in whom any defect

[17] The legislator's idea appears to have been founded on the common manners and sentiments of the heroïc ages. Homer represents Hector acknowleging fear of the reproaches of the Trojan ladies:

——— Ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἰνῶς
Αἰδέομαι Τρῶας καὶ ΤΡΩΑΔΑΣ ἑλκεσιπέπλους,
Αἴ κε κακὸς ὣς νόσφιν ἀλυσκάζω πολέμοιο.
Iliad. I. 6. v. 443.

either

either of shape or constitution appeared, were exposed without mercy to perish in the wilds of mount Taygetus. And that ignorance and prejudice might not, in Lacedæmon, as elsewhere, corrupt what nature had produced excellent, those who were judged worth preserving to the commonwealth, were delivered to the care of nurses, publicly provided, and properly instructed to coöperate judiciously with nature in the rearing of infants. At the age of seven years, the boys were removed to the public schools; no Lacedæmonian being permitted to educate his children otherwise than according to the mode prescribed by law. The masters were always chosen from among persons of the first consideration, and the schools were common places of resort for those of more advanced age; all of whom, according to that principle of patriotism which, above all things, Lycurgus took pains to inculcate, considering themselves as fathers not of their own only, but of all the children of the commonwealth, were attentive to watch the behavior of all, and to assist in preserving good order, and in promoting the acquisition of valuable accomplishments.

The business of education was not so much to give the knowlege of a great variety of things, as to form the passions, sentiments, and ideäs to that tone which might best assimilate with the constitution of the state; and so to exercise the abilities of both body and mind, as to lead them to the highest possible capacity for the performance of everything useful; particularly of everything useful to the commonwealth; for the love of their country was ever held out to the young Lacedæmonians as the polar star, which should influence all their actions, all their affections, all their thoughts. Letters were taught for use only, not for ornament. Indeed in Lycurgus's time books were scarcely known: but the spirit of his laws remaining still in force when litterature had arrived at meridian glory in other parts of Greece, the Spartans, tho always famed for wisdom, never became eminent for learning. In Spartan education, however, great attention was paid to conversation: loquaciousness was reprobated; but the boys were exercised at quickness in reply; and a concise sententious style of speech, with repartees and satirical jokes, was much incouraged. But what, above all things, were equally most valued as qualities, and most insisted

Plut. Lac. ἀποφθέγμ. init.

insisted on as accomplishments, were to be all-daring and all-patient, and to be highly sensible to applause and shame. It was with a view to these that Lycurgus established that incouragement to thieving among the Lacedæmonian boys, which has by some been esteemed the disgrace of his institutions. But those who select this circumstance for blame will, upon due consideration, be found to misconceive the legislator. His fundamental principle was, that the commonwealth was all in all: that individuals were comparatively nothing: that they had no right of property, nor even of life, but in subordination to the wants of the common parent. He had in consequence nearly abolished private property: he had in a manner annihilated equally honesty and dishonesty, by removing from his fellowcountrymen both want and riches. But education was to make the Spartan boys, in the highest possible degree, bold, vigilant, skilful, and obedient soldiers; with a strong point of honor, resting immediately on the desire of applause and fear of shame to themselves, but ever ultimately guided by the love of their country. With this principle and these views, the legislator directed that they should wear but one garment, which should serve equally in winter and summer: that they should sleep on no better bed than rushes, which themselves should gather. The same plain food he allowed to them as to the men; but in very scanty proportion, unless they could steal it. If they could rob a garden, or the messrooms, kitchens, or larders of the men, undiscovered, they were allowed to injoy the fruit of their boldness and skill: but, if detected in the attempt, they were punished severely; not for theft, but for aukwardness and unguardedness. The commonwealth, said the legislator, allows sustenance to you as to the men, but it requires many duties of you. Food shall be given you; sufficient for your support: but would you indulge in what more the appetite may crave, you must earn it. Whatever you can acquire by improving, through exercise in peace, that boldness, dexterity, and vigilance, which hereafter may be useful to the commonwealth in war, is yours; the commonwealth gives it you. This certainly was clearly understood; and it seems unquestionably to follow, that such acquisition of property, among the Spartan

Xenoph. Lac. resp. & Anab. l. 4. c. 6. s. 11. 12. Plut. vit. Lyc. & Lac. ἀποφθ.

boys, had nothing of the immoral and disgraceful nature of theft in other countries.

Education among the Spartans could scarcely be said to end. When boys approached manhood their discipline increased in strictness. To check, says Xenophon, the boiling passions of that critical period of life, the legislator augmented their stated labors, and abridged their leisure. Nor was there any remission but on military service: there many indulgences were allowed; insomuch that the camp was to the Lacedæmonians the scene of ease and luxury; the city that of labor, study, spare diet, and a discipline severe almost beyond conception. To ingage in earnest conflict with blows among one another; to stand while stripes were rigorously inflicted, and bear them without any external sign of a sense of pain; to support heat almost to suffocation, and to indure extreme cold, travelling over the country in midwinter, barefoot, and sleeping in the air, were among their regular exercises, from which none were excused. Even cleanliness of person, or, at least, any particular attention to it, was discouraged in the city; but, in the camp, not only neatness was required, but even ornament in dress was approved.

Xen. Lac. resp.

Plat. de Leg. l. 1. p. 633. t. 2.

Before the age of thirty, none were allowed to meddle with public affairs of any kind; and, even after that age, it was not reputable for a man to addict himself to either political or judicial business. But attendance upon the schools was every man's concern. Every man also gave a portion of his time to military and athletic exercises; and, as an amusement, hunting was greatly incouraged. Poetry having been successfully used in promoting the scheme of reformation, could not fail to find favor in the established system. Music followed of course. Together they made a necessary part of the ceremony and of the amusement of religious festivals; which were frequent at Sparta as in every other Grecian city. But all kinds of poetry and music were not allowed: the style of both was strictly under the restraint of the magistrate. Their hours of leisure from these avocations the Lacedæmonians mostly spent in assemblies for the purpose of conversation; which they called, by a name peculiar to themselves, Leskhē;

Leskhë; and to these much of their time was given. Of private business a Spartan could have but little. It was highly disreputable for his family to ingross his attention; and private study was scarcely less reprobated. For Lycurgus, as Plutarch remarks, would have his fellowcountrymen neither desire nor even know how to live by themselves, or for themselves.

It is the observation of that experienced and able politician Polybius, who saw the constitution of Sparta expiring, after a longer existence than any other commonwealth had then been known to injoy, that for the purposes of preserving civil freedom and political concord within the state, and of securing it against all violence from without, the institutions of Lycurgus seemed to have been conceived with more than human wisdom. Yet what to modern eyes most strikingly sets that extraordinary man above all other legislators is, that, in so many circumstances apparently out of the reach of law, he controled and formed to his own mind the wills and habits of his people. Thus he prescribed sobriety; and the Lacedæmonians were sober. Probably all legislators would prescribe sobriety, if they could hope to make the law effectual. But Lycurgus prescribed mirth to his people; and they were merry: nay, he prescribed a particular kind of mirth: the English proverb, Be merry and wise, was his rule; and the Spartans were ever famous for mirth guided by wisdom. He prescribed a peculiar style of conversation; and while Sparta existed, his people were remarkable for that style which, even now, is distinguished throughout Europe by the name of Laconic. He prescribed respect to age. This is a law of nature; but no legislator ever succeeded like Lycurgus in making a whole people, through many generations, uniformly obedient to it. In other governments valuable institutions often have resulted from fortuitous concurrences or trains of circumstances; but in Lacedæmon all was directed by the comprehensive mind of the legislator, and in many instances we may clearly discover the process by which he produced his most singular effects. With regard to mirth and the style of conversation, for instance; he commanded that, during meals, questions should be put to the boys, to which ready but short answers were required. This was equally

Polyb. l. 6. p. 491.

Xen. Mem. Socr. l. 3. c. 5. s. 15. & l. 4. c. 4. s. 15.

amusement and business for those of advanced years; and, in the scarcity of both allowed to the Spartans, was not likely to be neglected. Great attention, therefore, being given by those who superintended education, among whom were all the first characters of the state, both to the matter and manner of the answers, informing, correcting, applauding, as they found occasion, quickness and propriety in reply, together with a manner of speaking at once graceful, respectful, and determined, became habitual among the Lacedæmonians. It appears at first view very extraordinary that, prescribing modesty to the Spartan youth, he should really make them all modest. But this too was a regular consequence of his institutions. In other states birth and possessions giving rank and authority, the young and the profligate are continually seen superior to the old and the worthy: there age can never find its due respect. But in Lacedæmon eminence and power were the meed of age and merit alone. That strict obedience, therefore, which was required of the young; that constantly watchful eye which was kept over them by the aged; not by a few appointed for the purpose, but by all the elder persons of the commonwealth; together with the placing of all legal authority exclusively in the hands of the old; all these circumstances united, naturally and necessarily produced that modesty in youth, and that reverence for age, for which Lacedæmon became famous. In other cities, says Xenophon, those of nearly the same age keep company mostly together; and in presence of equals respect and circumspection least prevail: but in Sparta the laws of Lycurgus require that the young and the old constantly associate. Hence followed, what the same elegant writer and experienced observer of mankind farther remarks, that whereas in other states the great esteem it a degradation to be thought under the restraint of legal power, in Sparta, on the contrary, the greatest make it their pride to set the example of humility, of respect for the magistrates, and of zealous obedience to the laws.

Xenoph. de Rep. Lac.

It has been a fancy of some modern authors, that the institutions of Lycurgus were but the revived usages of the heroïc ages; and of others, that they were those of the rude Dorian highlanders, improved and systematized. All antiquity contradicts both opinions, and particularly

ticularly the writers of highest authority[18]. Xenophon not only refers everything expressly to the legislator, but affirms that Lycurgus established his plan of government upon principles diametrically opposite to those of all other Grecian states, without any exception for the Dorians, either in their new or their old establishments; and Thucydides, and Isocrates, and Plato, and still more Polybius, speak strongly to the same purpose. On the other hand again, it is urged, that to change at once the manners and antient usages of a people, by any effort of legislation, is impossible. In a great nation we may grant it so; but in a small commonwealth not: and certainly so the antient lawgivers thought. We find it universally their great object to legislate for the manners[19]; and hence all the political theories of the Greek philosophers are calculated for limited and narrow societies. Lycurgus, having had this principle, almost alone, in common with all other Grecian legislators, thought it necessary, for the preservation of his system, to prevent any extensive communication of his people with those of other, even Grecian states. He therefore forbad forein travel, and allowed the resort of strangers to Sparta but under strict limitations. Forein commerce he nearly annihilated, as we have already seen, without an express law for the purpose.

Xenoph. de Rep. Lac. & Mem. Socr. l. 4. c. 4. s. 13. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 18 & 77. Isocr. Panathen. p. 530. & 546. Plat. de Leg. l. 3. p. 635. Polyb. l. 6.

We are not with any certainty informed how far the treatment of slaves among the Lacedæmonians, such as we afterward find it, was prescribed by Lycurgus; but, slavery, indispensable in every Grecian republic, was eminently so in that of Lycurgus. In different states however the condition of slaves varied; and the most remarkable difference, and the most important, and yet the least noticed among antient and modern writers, was, that in some of them the slaves were purchased barbarians, in some they were mostly the descendants of subdued Greeks. All the Lacedæmonian slaves, or almost all, appear to have been of the latter kind. There are different accounts of the origin of those miserable men, who were distinguished from other slaves by name as by condition. The most received is, that Helos,

Thucyd. Isocr. Panath. p. 540. t. 2. Strab. Pausan. Plut.

[18] Not only Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato, Aristotle, and Polybius, were evidently without such an idea; but the discovery appears not to have been made so late as Plutarch's time.

[19] Οὐ γὰρ ψηφίσμασιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἤθεσι καλῶς οἰκεῖσθαι τὰς πόλεις. Isoc. de Pace.

whether

whether an Arcadian town or a rebellious dependence of Lacedæmon is not agreed, being taken by Soüs, son of Procles, the inhabitants were, according to the practice of the times, reduced to slavery; and were dispersed in such numbers over Laconia, that the name of Helot prevailed in that country as synonymous with slave. It appears, however, probable that the Lacedæmonians, as perhaps all the Peloponnesian Dorians, had slaves of Grecian race before the reign of Soüs; and we know that after it they reduced numbers of Greeks to that miserable state. But the institutions of Lycurgus must necessarily have occasioned a considerable alteration in the condition of the Lacedæmonian slaves. For as husbandry and all mechanical arts were to be exercised by them alone, their consequence in the state was considerably increased: but as private property was nearly annihilated, every slave became in a great degree the slave of every freeman. In proportion then as their consequence increased, it became necessary to look upon them with a more jealous eye; and thus every Helot was watched by thousands of jealous masters. Therefore, tho it were unjust to impute, either to the command or to the intention of Lycurgus, that cruelty in the masters, or that misery of the slaves, which we find to have been afterward really established by law, it is however impossible to exculpate his institutions from them. Never was human nature degraded by system to such a degree as in the miserable Helots. Every imaginable method was taken to set them at the widest distance from their haughty masters. Even vice was commanded to them: they were compelled to drunkenness, for the purpose of exhibiting to the young Lacedæmonians the ridiculous and contemptible condition to which men are reduced by it. They were forbidden everything manly, and they were commanded everything humiliating, of which man is capable, while beasts are not. A cruel jealousy became indispensable in watching a body of men, far superior in number to all the other subjects of the state, and treated in a manner so singularly provoking indignation and resentment. Hence that abominable institution the Crypteia. The most active and intelligent young Lacedæmonians were occasionally sent into the country, carrying provisions, and armed with a dagger. They dispersed, and generally lay concealed during the

Aristot. Polit. l. 2. c. 5.

Plut. vit. Lycurg.

the day, that they might, with more advantage in the night, execute their commission for reducing the number of the Helots, by murdering any they met, but selecting in preference the stoutest men, and those in whom any superiority of spirit or genius had been observed. Notwithstanding, however, these inhuman and disgraceful precautions, Lacedæmon was oftener in danger of utter subversion from its slaves than from forein enemies.

Herodotus, as well as Plutarch, attributes to Lycurgus the honor of the MILITARY code of Sparta, equally as of the Civil; and the higher authority of Xenophon goes far to confirm their testimony. If the Spartan military was really put, by the great legislator, upon the footing which the soldier-philosopher describes, the improvement since Homer's age was indeed extraordinary. Probably, however, improvement did not cease with Lycurgus, but was continued, as experience gave occasion, in the course of warfare little intermitted through successive centuries. But that fundamental law, which bade the Lacedæmonians place their security in their discipline and their courage, and not in fortifications, breathes the very spirit of Lycurgus. Lacedæmon accordingly was never fortified. The kings were commanders in chief of the forces; and their authority, as the nature of military command requires, was much greater in the army than in the state, and of course greater in war than in peace, abroad than at home[20]. They were, however, still amenable to the civil power, for any undue exercise of that necessary, but dangerous extent of supremacy.

Herodot. l. 1. c. 65. Plut. vit. Lycurg. Xenoph. de Rep. Lac.

There remain to us two accounts of the Composition of the Lacedæmonian Army, from authors, both living when Sparta was in its highest glory, both military men, both of great abilities, and both possessing means of information such as few, not themselves Lacedæmonians, could obtain. In general they agree; but on some essential points they differ, in a manner not to be accounted for but by the supposition of some error in the transcription of their works. According to Xenophon, the legislator distributed the Lacedæmonian forces into six divisions of foot, and as many of horse; each of these divisions in

Xenoph. de Rep. Lac.

[20] Λακεδαιμονίους, τοὺς ἄριστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολιτευομένους, οἴκοι μὲν ὀλιγαρχουμένους, παρὰ δὲ τὸν πόλεμον βασιλευομένους. Isocr. Nicod. p. 118. t. 1.

either

either service having the title of Mora. The officers of each mora of infantry, he says, were one Polëmarch, four Lochages, eight Pentecosters, and sixteen Enomotarchs: the number of soldiers he leaves unmentioned. Thucydides, without noticing the mora, describes the Lacedæmonian infantry thus: 'Each Lochus consisted of four Pentecostyes, and each pentecostys of four Enomoties; four men fought in the front of each enomoty: the depth of the files was varied, according to circumstances, at the discretion of the lochage; but the ordinary depth was eight men.' Thus the enomoty would consist of thirty-two men, the pentecostys of a hundred and twenty-eight, the lochus of five hundred and twelve, and a mora composed of four lochi would be two thousand and forty-eight. But if the enomoty was of thirty-two men, the pentecostys, according to Xenophon, would be but sixty-four, the lochus a hundred and twenty-eight, the mora only five hundred and twelve, and the whole Lacedæmonian infantry three thousand and seventy-two[21]. If Plutarch, however, may be trusted, the division of lands in Laconia only, before the acquisition of Messenia, provided for thirty-nine thousand families; and a writer of much higher authority, after the loss of Messenia again, speaks of Laconia as having the most numerous free population of any province of Peloponnesus, unless it might be equalled by Arcadia. But the Lacedæmonians were not generally admitted to the honor of going upon service beyond the bounds of Laconia till after the age of thirty: yet, as the proportion of cavalry was very small, and every Lacedæmonian was a soldier, we cannot reckon the infantry much fewer than forty thousand. In the Persian war we shall find ten thousand employed in one army beyond Peloponnesus, when a considerable force besides was on distant service with the fleet, and while an enemy within Peloponnesus would make a powerful defence necessary at home. Thus it appears scarcely dubious that there must be some mistake in the copies of Xenophon. I have thought it, nevertheless, proper to be so particular in a detail which cannot completely satisfy, not only because of the well-earned fame of the Spartan military, but also because of the high character of

Thucyd. l. 5 c. 66. & 68.

Plut. v. Lycurg.

Polyb. l. 2. p. 125.

[21] Diodorus says the mora, in his orthography, μοῖρα, was of five hundred men. l. 15. c. 32. But his authority is little.

the

the authors of these differing accounts, and farther because the impossibility to reconcile them will at least apologize for deficiencies which may appear hereafter in relating operations of the Lacedæmonian forces. For the military reader will have observed, that the difference is not meerly in names and numbers, but materially regards the composition of the Lacedæmonian armies. This, according to Thucydides, was formed with the utmost simplicity, from the file of eight men, by an arithmetical progression of fours; and probably for some purposes the file itself was divided into four quarter-files. Four files, then, made the enomoty, four enomities the pentecostys, four pentecostyes the lochus, and, according to Xenophon, four lochi the mora, which was thus analogous to the modern brigade of four battalions. Xenophon farther informs us that the mora was the proper command of the polëmarch, and from both writers it appears that the polëmarchs were general officers, subordinate only to the kings, or commanders-in-chief. Upon the whole there seems no reason to doubt the exactness of the account remaining from Thucydides. He makes no mention of the mora; the six divisions of which name comprehended, according to Xenophon, the whole Lacedæmonian people; perhaps all between the ages of twenty and sixty. The strength of the mora therefore would vary as the population varied. Moreover it was usual, according to the importance of the occasion, to require the service of all within the military age, or of those only within a more limited age, as between thirty and forty. Upon the whole then it appears probable that the strength of the mora was indefinite[22]; and it is possible that the smaller bodies may have varied, and yet the principle of formation by fours, indicated by Thucydides, may have been generally maintained.

Subordination,

[22] Thucydides's account of the communication of orders through the Lacedæmonian armies agrees better with his own account of their composition than what remains as Xenophon's. Yet the investigators of Greek antiquities have very generally inclined to the latter; apparently for no reason but because they would have the command of the pentecoster, penteconter, or pentecontater (for thus variously the title is written) exactly correspond to the original meaning of his name; and on this shadow of a foundation they assert that the enomoty, including its commander, was of only twenty-five men, tho it is so clearly indicated by Thucydides that its average complement was thirty-two. Xenophon, in a passage not altogether so clear, having possibly been injured in transcription, seems however decidedly enough to speak of the enomoty, Xen. Hel. l. 6. c. 4. s. 12.

Subordination, in the Lacedæmonian discipline, as Thucydides in pointed terms remarks, was simple in principle, but multiplied in degrees, so that responsibility for due execution of orders was widely extended; the proportion of those who had no command being comparatively very small[23]. Upon the whole, indeed, there appears great analogy between the composition of the Lacedæmonian army and that of the modern European, particularly the English, whether we take the lochus of Thucydides, or the mora of Xenophon, as a battalion. The resemblance in the formation was closer till of late years, when the deep files of the old discipline have been totally rejected. Like the company, or subdivision of our battalions, the enomoty appears also to have been the Principle of Motion in the Lacedæmonian forces. Whatever change was to be made in the extent of the line, in the depth of the files, or in the position of the front, the evolution seems to have been performed within each enomoty by itself; the just reference of these primary constituent bodies to one another, and to the whole, being a second business. Farther than this, for want of accurate knowlege of the technical phrases, it is hazardous to attempt explanation of those evolutions of the Lacedæmonian troops which Xenophon has even minutely described, and concerning which his applause highly excites curiosity. Some other circumstances, however, he has related in terms sufficiently clear. Lycurgus, he says, on account of the weakness of angles, directed the circular form for incampment; unless where a mountain, a river, or some other accident of the ground afforded security. A camp-guard was mounted daily, precisely, it should seem, analogous to the modern quarter-guard and rear-guard, to keep order within the camp. A different guard for the same purpose was mounted by night. For security against the enemy out-sentries and vedettes

enomoty, on one great occasion, as of thirty-six men. Nothing, we well know, is more common than for names to remain when things are altered: if hereafter the meaning of the modern words Colonel and Constable should be sought in their derivation, what strange error would result! The Pentacontarchia of Arrian's time was a command not of fifty, as the name seems to import, but of sixty-four men, and the Hecatontarchia of a hundred and twenty-eight. Arrian. Tact. p. 39. ed. Amstel. & Lipz. 1750.

[23] Σχεδὸν γάρτοι πᾶν, πλὴν ὀλίγου, τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἄρχοντες ἀρχόντων εἰσὶ, καὶ τὸ ἐπιμελὲς τοῦ δρωμένου πολλοῖς προσήκει. Thucyd. l. 5. c. 66.

were posted. An advanced guard of horse always preceded the march of the army. Xenophon has thought it worth while particularly to mention that the Lacedæmonians wore a scarlet uniform, and the origin of this he refers to Lycurgus. The Lacedæmonian troops were always singularly well provided with all kinds of useful baggage and camp-necessaries, and a large proportion of Helot servants, laborers, and artificers attended, with waggons and beasts of burthen. It appears, indeed, to have been a principle of the Lacedæmonian service, that the soldier should be as much as possible at ease when off duty, and should have no business but that of arms.

Other states which have florished by the wisdom of their laws, and the goodness of their constitution, have risen by slow degrees to that excellence which has led them to power and celebrity; and fortunate circumstances have often done more for them than their wisest legislators; who have indeed seldom dared to attempt all that themselves thought best. But for Lycurgus, nothing was too difficult, nothing too dangerous: he changed everything at once: new-modelled government, manners, morals; in a manner new-made the people: and yet with all these violent alterations, these experiments in politics hazardous to such extreme, no one consequence seems to have escaped his penetrating genius; no one of his daring ideas failed in practice; he foresaw, and he provided for everything. There was a disease inherent in the vitals of his system, which yet must not be imputed to him as a fault, since human nature seems in few situations to admit either remedy or preventative that may not prove worse than the disease: palliatives alone can safely be attempted. For the military turn which Lycurgus so much incouraged in his fellowcountrymen, and the perfection of discipline which he established among them, were necessary, not only to that respectable independency which he wished them to injoy, but even to the security of their existence as a people. He was, however, not unaware that thirst of conquest, and ambition to command, must unavoidably spring up and florish in a soil so prepared. Two prohibitions, which had other more obvious purposes, appear at the same time to have been intended indirectly to obviate the mischiefs that might be apprehended from these passions:

he forbad the Lacedæmonians to ingage in frequent wars with the same people; and he forbad them, from the moment when victory was decisively theirs, to pursue a flying enemy. Each of these prohibitions tended strongly to prevent the complete conquest of any forein territory: at the same time that the first had, for its more obvious purpose, the prevention of foreiners from acquiring the Spartan discipline; and the other, beside securing against the misfortunes incident to rash pursuit, as it lessened to opposing armies the danger of flight, was likely to make victory often cheaper to the Lacedæmonians than it would be, in parallel circumstances, to any other people. Beside these, some institutions, perhaps already venerable for their antiquity, being favorable to his views, would receive the sanction of his approbation. It was a sacred law at Sparta that the full moon must be waited for before the army could quit Laconia; and, on whatever forein service, it must return for the observance of two religious festivals, both within the ordinary season of military operations, the Hyacinthia at the beginning, and the Carneia toward the end of summer. These then, with the exclusion of wealth, were the curbs to which Lycurgus trusted for restraining that ambition which he could not but foresee must arise among his fellowcountrymen. Those other defects of the Spartan constitution, of which we are informed by the comments of two great philosophers and politicians who saw it in decay, whether originally in Lycurgus's establishment, or whether of after-growth, will rather be objects for future consideration.

Herodot. l. 6. c. 106. Thucyd. and Xenoph. Hel.

Plat. de Rep. l. 8. p. 547. Aristot. Polit.

Lycurgus, then, having with invincible courage and unwearied perseverance, and with penetration and judgement still more singular, executed the most extraordinary plan ever even devised by man[24]; waiting awhile to see his machine in motion, and having the satisfaction to find every part adapted, and the whole move as he wished, his next and last concern was to secure its duration. Summoning an assembly of the people, he observed, upon what had been done, 'That

[24] It is a remark of John James Rousseau, that the many plans of government proposed by speculative men, however excellent in theory, are generally slighted as meer visions, impossible to be reduced to practice: but, says the philosopher very justly, had Lycurgus been a legislator in speculation only, his scheme would have appeared much more visionary than Plato's.

'it

'it proved upon experience good, and would, he hoped, go far toward 'assuring virtue, and of course happiness to his fellowcountrymen. 'He had yet one thing to propose, which however he would not 'venture upon till he had consulted the god; for which purpose he 'would go himself to Delphi: but he must have assurance that nothing 'should be altered before his return.' Immediately kings, senate, and people unanimously desired him to go, and readily ingaged by a solemn oath, that till he returned nothing should be altered. His reception at Delphi was as favorable as before. The oracle declared, 'That the 'constitution of Sparta, as it now stood, was excellent, and, as long as 'it remained intire, would insure happiness and glory to the state.' Lycurgus sent this response to Sparta, determined himself never to return. He had now completed what he esteemed sufficient for his life: his death was wanting to bind his fellowcountrymen indissolubly to the observance of his institutions; and a statesman ought, if possible, he thought, to make even his death beneficial to his country. Conformably to this doctrine, which was not only not alien from the spirit of the age, but consonant to the stoïc philosophy of aftertimes, he is said to have died by voluntary abstinence from nourishment. Different accounts are, however, given, both of the place and manner of his death. One tradition says that he lived to a good old age in Crete; and dying naturally, his body was burnt according to the practice of the age, and the relics, pursuant to his own request, scattered in the sea: lest, if his bones or ashes had ever been carried to Sparta, the Lacedæmonians might have thought themselves freed from their obligation by oath to observe his laws.

Justin. l. 3. c. 2.

SECTION IV.

History of Messenia from the Return of the Heracleids, and of Lacedæmon from the Legislation of Lycurgus, to the Completion of the Conquest of Messenia by the Lacedæmonians.

IT was not long after the full establishment of Lycurgus's institutions, before the increase of vigor to the Lacedæmonian state, for external exertion, became as apparent as the internal change from boundless disorder to unexampled regularity. The Spartans exulted in their new-felt strength: the desire to exercise it grew irresistible; and they became early marked by their neighbors as a formidable people. Wars arose with all the bordering states; but those with Messenia, for the importance of their consequences, will principally demand attention.

Herodot. l. 1. c. 66.

MESSENIA, as we have already observed, was the least mountainous, and the most generally fruitful province of Peloponnesus; but it seems never to have been blest with a government capable of securing to its inhabitants the advantages which the soil and climate offered. Cresphontes the Heracleid, we are told, endeavoring to support himself by the favor of the lower people against the arrogance of the leading men, an insurrection insued, in which he was cut off with the greater part of his family. According to some accounts only one son, Æpytus, escaping the massacre. This prince, however, ascended the throne; and so far acquired fame, that from his name the Messenian royal race were distinguished as the Æpytidian branch of the Heracleid family. But the Messenian history affords little interesting before the wars with Lacedæmon, which, with their consequences, form indeed almost the whole of it. Concerning those wars hardly anything remains from the older Grecian writers. Herodotus, without giving us to know why, avoids all account of them, tho he mentions the most important result, the conquest of Messenia. In a very late age Pausanias endeavored to supply the deficiency; and he appears to have taken great pains, by collating poems, and traditions preserved by prose-writers, with

Pausan. l. 4. c. 3. Isocrat. Archid.

Herodot. l. 1. c. 66. & seq.

Pausan. l. 4. c. 6. & al.

with antient geneälogies, and temple records, to ascertain the principal circumstances of Messenian history. In many points he is confirmed by scattered passages of authors of high authority; and the consequences were so remarkable and so important, and remain so unquestionably ascertained, that Pausanias's account of the wars themselves will reasonably require some scope in a general history of Greece.

The assigned causes of the fatal quarrel are objects of notice, as they tend to mark the manners of the age. However the Greeks were politically divided, they always maintained a community in the concerns of religion. Some religious rites indeed were held peculiar to particular cities, and some even to particular families; but some were common to all of the same hord, Dorian, Ionian, Æolian, and some to the whole nation. There was at Limnæ, on the frontier of Messenia against Laconia, a temple dedicated to Diana: where Messenians and Lacedæmonians, both being of Dorian origin, equally resorted to sacrifice, and to partake of those periodical festivities which were usual at the more celebrated Grecian temples. In a tumult at one of those festivals, Teleclus king of Sparta, son of Archelaüs the cotemporary of Lycurgus, was killed. The Lacedæmonians, were loud in complaint that the Messenians had attempted to carry off some Spartan virgins, and that Teleclus received his death in defending them. The Messenians, averred that the treachery was on the part of the Lacedæmonians; that the pretended virgins were armed youths, disguised with a purpose to assassinate the Messenian chiefs who attended the solemnity; and that Teleclus and his followers met a just fate in attempting to execute their execrable intention. On whichsoever side the truth lay, the Lacedæmonians checked their resentment, till, in the reigns of Alcamenes son of Teleclus, and Theopompus grandson of Charilaüs (for we have no dates of any authority for these events but what the geneälogies of the Spartan kings furnish[25]) other causes of quarrel arose.

Pausan. l. 4. c. 4.

Pausan. ut sup. Strab. l. 8. p. 362.

[25] Pausanias indeed says that Polychares, who immediately brought on the Messenian war, was victor in the fourth Olympiad. Pausan. l. 4. c. 4. We may believe that the name of the victor in the fourth Olympiad was Polychares, and yet perhaps reasonably doubt if he was the person who caused the Messenian war, which, according to Newton's chronology, must have begun near a century later, about the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth Olympiad. Numbers are very liable to suffer in transcription, and evident errors

arose. Polychares, a Messenian of rank, put out by agreement some cattle, in which still consisted the principal riches of the times, under the care of herdmen his own slaves, to pasture on the lands of Euæphnus, a Lacedæmonian, who sold both cattle and herdmen, and pretended to Polychares that they had been carried off by pirates. The fraud was however discovered by one of the slaves, who, escaping from his purchaser, returned to his former master. Euæphnus, thus detected, promised an equivalent; but the son of Polychares, being sent to receive it, was assassinated. The father, full of grief and indignation, went himself to Sparta, and laid his complaint before kings and people. Finding however no disposition to grant him any redress, he returned inraged into his own country, and retaliated by frequent assassination of the Lacedæmonian borderers. These outrages brought a deputation from Sparta to the Messenian state, to demand reparation.

Pausan. l. 4. c. 5. Two kings then reigned in Messenia. Of these Androcles was inclined to give up Polychares rather than risk a war with Lacedæmon. But Antiochus opposed a measure which he affirmed to be equally mean and unjust; and such was the imperfect and unsettled state of the Messenian government, that recourse was had to arms for deciding the dispute. Androcles and his principal partizans were killed, and Antiochus thus became sole king of Messenia.

The Lacedæmonians highly exasperated, and now without any view of peaceful redress, are said to have taken a measure not incredible of their age and circumstances, however impossible to have happened in such large kingdoms as have led the affairs of modern Europe. Without any of those formal declarations by heralds, which the law of nations, even then among the Greeks, required, as the forerunners of honorable war, they prepared secretly for hostilities; and so extreme was the animosity against the Messenians, which then pervaded their little

Polyb. l. 6. p. 492. Strab. l. 6. p. 279. Pausan. l. 4. c. 5. Justin. l. 3. c. 4.

errors in the statement of numbers occur in our copies of Pausanias. The great earthquake of Sparta is there said to have happened in the age of Cimon and in the twenty-ninth Olympiad. We know from Thucydides that it did happen in the age of Cimon, and we may therefore believe that Diodorus and the chronologers, tho they disagree, do not err by many years when they assign it to either the fourth year of the 77th, or the fourth year of the 78th Olympiad.

state,

state, an oath was universally taken, That no length of time should weary them, no magnitude of misfortune should deter them, but they would prosecute the war, and, it is added by some writers, would on no account return to their families, till they had subdued Messenia. This violent resolution thus solemnly taken, Ampheia, a small town advantageously situated for covering the frontier, became their first object. A body of troops, led by their king Alcamenes, entered it by night: the gates being open and no guard kept, as no hostilities were apprehended. The place was taken with scarcely any resistance; and all the inhabitants, except a few who escaped by flight, were put to the sword.

Pausan. ut sup. Ol. 32. 1. B. C. 652. *N.* Ol. 9. 2. B. C. 743. *B.*

Antiochus dying, after having injoyed but for a few months the monarchy of Messenia, was succeeded by his son Euphaës. This prince prepared wisely to resist the storm which was bursting on his country. While he avoided battles with the Lacedæmonians, whose art of war and practised discipline gave them a decided superiority in the field, he provided so effectually for the defence of the Messenian towns, that every attempt of the enemy proved unsuccessful against them. Thus secure at home, he took opportunities occasionally to imbark some chosen troops, and revenged the pillage committed in Messenia by similar depredations on the coast of Laconia. It was not till the fourth year of the war that he thought his people practised enough in arms to meet the Lacedæmonians in the field; and even then, resolved to put nothing to hazard, his aim was less to push for decisive victory, than to let it appear that, while watching opportunities, he could face the enemy without disadvantage. In the following year, however, the two armies came to a general ingagement; and with a fury of which polished times, being without equal incentives, can furnish no example. 'Recollect,' said Euphaës, speaking to his troops on the point of ingaging, 'it is not for your lands only, your goods, your wealth, 'that you are going to fight. But you well know what will be your 'fate if vanquished: your wives and children will be slaves; and, for 'yourselves, death will be your fairest lot, if it comes without ignominy 'or torture: Ampheia may tell you this.' Night, however, stopped

the battle; and next morning each army found itself so weakened by the numbers slain, that both shunned a renewal of the ingagement.

Pausan. l. 4. c. 9. But tho the trial of arms was thus equally maintained by the Messenians, yet their affairs were, in other points, declining greatly. The open country had been so long the spoil of the enemy, that the means of supporting themselves within their garrisons began to fail; their slaves deserted; and disease, the common consequence, especially in hot climates, of crouding together, in towns, persons accustomed to breathe the free air and eat the fresh food of the fields, made havoc among them. New measures became necessary. They drew their people, from all their inland posts, to Ithomë, a strong situation near the coast; which they preferred, because, the Lacedæmonians having no naval force, it would always be open to supplies by sea. Inlarging this place sufficiently to receive its new inhabitants, they added at the same time, to its extraordinary natural strength, everything of which their skill in fortification was capable. While these works were going forward, their doubts and fears directed them farther, to ask advice of the Delphian oracle, the common resource of desponding states, how the blessing of the gods might be obtained to their endeavors. The answer might perhaps justify a suspicion that the Delphian priests were corrupted by the Lacedæmonians; for it was perfectly adapted to produce discord and confusion in Messenia. The Pythoness declared, That a virgin of the blood of Æpytus must be sacrificed to the infernal deïties. The consequences were no other than might be expected from an absurd and cruel superstition. The lot fell upon the daughter of Lyciscus. But a priest, gained by the father, declared that the daughter was supposititious, and therefore not known to be of the blood required by the gods. Lyciscus, however, still fearing for his child, took the opportunity afforded by the doubts and confusion which the priest's declaration had occasioned, to carry her off, and he deserted with her to Sparta. Double confusion, doubt, and despondency now took possession of the Messenian council: when Aristodemus, a man in whom superstition or ambition, or perhaps both together, had stifled paternal tenderness, offered his own daughter for the victim. But here other

obstacles occurred. The virgin was betrothed to a young Messenian of highest rank and estimation; who, shocked with the suddenness of the father's dreadful purpose, insisted vehemently that his daughter was not at his disposal, but belonged to him to whom she was betrothed. This, however, not availing, the young man, agonizing with the thought of thus tragically losing his beloved bride, averred that the daughter of Aristodemus could not satisfy the requisition of the gods, for she was no virgin, being already with child by him. Insult, thus added to opposition, inraged Aristodemus to madness; the savage slew his daughter with his own hand; and, to vindicate the honor of his family by demonstration of the falsehood of the lover's assertion, caused the body to be dissected. The priests now demanded another virgin, the deceased not having been regularly sacrificed. But the wiser Euphaës, finding himself strongly supported by the Æpytidian families, who were numerous and powerful, persuaded the people that the command of the oracle was sufficiently performed, and no more blood required by the gods.

The horrid deed of Aristodemus is said so far to have served his country, that the fame of the oracle, and of the obedience paid to it, threw some diffidence into the minds of the Lacedæmonians; insomuch that, for five years, the war was almost intermitted. But in the sixth another great effort was made. Theopompus led an army toward Ithomë; and Euphaës now, trusting in the practised valor of his people, or perhaps still more dreading the consequences of confining them in garrison, marched to meet him. A battle was again fought, in which, as in the former, great slaughter was made on both sides, without any decisive advantage to either; only that the brave and worthy Euphaës, anxious by his example to lead his people to victory, received a mortal wound. The ambition of Aristodemus now was gratified: Euphaës leaving no issue, he was raised to the throne by the voice of the people, in preference to all others of Æpytidian race.

The known bravery and activity of this prince were such that the Lacedæmonians derived little incouragement from the death of Euphaës; and their loss in the late battle was so great that, again,

for four years, the operations of the war were confined to meer predatory incursions. This time was judiciously employed by the new Messenian king in strengthening his alliance with the Argians, Arcadians, and Sicyonians; insomuch that, when, in the fifth year of his reign, the Lacedæmonians marched all their forces against Ithomë, he received powerful assistance from those states. A pitched battle was fought, in which the abilities of Aristodemus, as commander-in-chief, were not less conspicuous than his bravery had been when an inferior officer. The Lacedæmonian armies excelled in heavy-armed foot. The Messenians were superior in light troops, who used chiefly missile weapons. By a judicious disposition of these, supported by the determined bravery of his heavy phalanx, Aristodemus, after repeated and well varied efforts, succeeded in breaking the Spartan order of battle. Great numbers fell, both on the field and in the retreat. But, tho victory was fairly on the side of the Messenians, yet the excellence of the Spartan discipline prevented a total rout. The Lacedæmonian chiefs, however, found it necessary to lead the shattered remains of their army immediately into Laconia.

Now the Lacedæmonians in their turn sent to Delphi to ask advice of the god. The Messenians, still more interested in the event, again did the same. Unintelligible responses were absurdly and childishly interpreted; and for some time there was an emulation between the two people in superstition rather than in arms. Remorse for his daughter's death meantime took possession of Aristodemus. We are not informed of any considerable subsequent misfortune, public or private, that had befallen him, when he is said to have killed himself on her tomb. The accounts, indeed, of the conclusion of this war are extremely defective: they leave us almost wholly uninformed of the steps immediately leading to the catastrophë. The death of Aristodemus was probably among them; for we hear of no Messenian leader of eminent abilities after him. Spartan discipline and Spartan perseverance therefore at length prevailed. Ithomë was besieged and taken. The inhabitants and garrison, pressed with extremity of famine, found opportunity to pass the Lacedæmonian lines, and fled, as every one formed hopes of safety and subsistence. Many had claims of hospitality at Argos, at Sicyon, and

Ol. 37. 1. B. C. 632. N.

Ol. 14. 1. B. C. 724. B.

in

in the Arcadian towns: and to those places accordingly directed their steps upon this melancholy occasion. Those who had been admitted to the mysteries of Ceres, or could trace their pedigree to the sacred families of that goddess, found refuge at Eleusis. The miserable multitude, to whom no place of secure retreat occurred, scattered, some to find their former dwellings, others variously about the country. The Lacedæmonians, having destroyed Ithomë to the foundation, proceeded to take posession of the other towns without opposition. They gave to the Asinæans, who had lately been expelled from their town and lands by the Argians, a tract on the Messenian coast, which to the days of Pausanias was still inhabited by their posterity. The other lands they left to the remaining Messenians; exacting from them, together with an oath of allegiance, half the produce as tribute. Thus was this important territory added to the dominion of Sparta.

Pausan. l. 4. c. 14.

Strab. l. 8. p. 373. Pausan. l. 4. c. 14.

Among the events of this war, one is related, which bears a strange appearauce to modern readers, and yet found credit with eminent antient writers. Their accounts indeed differ: yet all are so far consonant to one another, to the manners and circumstances of the times, and to other authenticated events, that we cannot suppose them unfounded. The absence, we are told, of the Lacedæmônians from their homes, in consequence of the rash oath taken at the beginning of the war, was long supported by their wives with Spartan fortitude. But year elapsing after year, and Messenia still unsubdued, the matrons at length sent to the army, representing the unequal terms on which the war was waged. The enemy, they observed, living with their families, new citizens were continually produced, to supply the decay of nature and the ravage of war: but the Spartan women had passed years in widowhood; and should the war continue, however victorious their arms, the state would be as effectually annihilated as it could be by a conquering enemy; for there would be no rising generation. The complaint was acknowleged to require serious consideration; but remedy appeared difficult without incurring the guilt of perjury, and thus drawing down the vengeance of the gods for that supposed of all crimes the most offensive to them. The difficulty was, however, not to Lacedæmonians what it would have been to any other people. It

Strab. l. 6. p. 378, 379. Justin. l. 3. c. 6.

was

was determined that those who had arrived at the age for bearing arms since the commencement of the war, none of whom fortunately had taken the oath, should be sent home to cohabit promiscuously with the marriageable virgins; or, according to some authors, with all the women. The institutions of Lycurgus were effectual to conquer some of the strongest passions of human nature, yet they were not equal to the annihilation of all prejudice. When the war at length was happily terminated, and things at Lacedæmon resumed their wonted course, the innocent offspring of these irregular embraces were slighted by the other citizens. Being, however, not the less high-spirited for being less regularly born, some disturbance was apprehended from their uneasiness at the distinctions made to their disadvantage. It was therefore thought prudent to offer them means of establishing themselves without the bounds of Peloponnesus. They readily consented to emigrate; and under the conduct of Phalanthus, one of their own body, they founded the city of Tarentum in Italy.

During near forty years Messenia remained in quiet subjection. Those of its unfortunate people who submitted to the Lacedæmonian terms, chose the least among evils presenting themselves, and rested under their hard lot. But the succeeding generation, unexperienced in the calamities of war, unexperienced in the comparative strength of themselves and their conquerors, yet instigated by a share of that irresistible spirit of independency which at this time so remarkably pervaded Greece, and buoyed up by that hope of fortunate contingencies, so natural in adversity to generous minds, could not brook the comparison of their own circumstances with those of all other Greeks. Their subjection was indeed too severe and too humiliating to be by any possibility borne with satisfaction, yet not sufficiently depressing to insure the continuance of quiet submission. A leader therefore only was wanting of reputation to attract and concentrate the materials of the rising storm, and it would burst with energy. Such a leader appeared in Aristomenes, a youth whose high natural spirit was still elevated by the opinion of his descent from Hercules, through a long race of Messenian kings. When therefore others were proposing a revolt, Aristomenes was foremost to act in it. Persons were sent privately

privately to the former allies of the state, the Argians and Arcadians, to solicit assistance. Very favorable promises being received, Aristomenes and his party immediately attacked a body of Lacedæmonians at Deræ. A very obstinate action insued, which terminated without victory to either party: yet the Messenians were so satisfied with the behavior of Aristomenes, that they would have raised him to the throne. He prudently refused that invidious honor, but accepted the office of commander-in-chief of the forces. Ol. 43. 2. B. C. 607. *N.* Ol. 23. 4. B. C. 685. *B.*

The first adventure related of this hero, after his elevation, sounds romantic; but the age was romantic, and his situation required no common conduct. His principal friend and constant companion was Theocles, a man of birth among the Messenians, and esteemed the ablest prophet of his time; a character, in that rude age, apparently indicating that he was a man of more than common understanding, addicted rather to study and contemplation than to active life. Such a man, and the friend of such a man, would be aware of the advantages to be derived from the prevailing popular superstitions. There was at Lacedæmon a temple called the brazen house, dedicated to Minerva, and held in singular veneration. Aristomenes entered that city alone by night; which was not difficult, as there were neither walls nor watch, and the less dangerous as no Grecian towns were lighted, and the Lacedæmonian institutions forbad to carry lights. Secure therefore in obscurity, he suspended against the brazen house a shield, with an inscription declaring, that Aristomenes, from the spoils of Sparta, dedicated that shield to the goddess. Nothing the early Greeks dreaded more than that their enemies should win from them the favor of a deity, under whose peculiar protection they imagined their state to have been placed by the piety of their forefathers. The Lacedæmonians were so alarmed, that they sent to inquire of the Delphian oracle what was to be done. The answer of the Pythoness was well considered for the safety of the oracle's reputation, but embarrassing to the Lacedæmonians: it directed them to take an Athenian for their counsellor. An embassy was accordingly sent to Athens. But here too some embarrassment arose: for the Athenians, far from desirous that the finest province of Peloponnesus should become for ever annexed Plut. Lac. Inst. init.

annexed to the dominion of Sparta, were nevertheless fearful of offending the god who gave the oracle. They took therefore a middle way; and in complying hoped to make their compliance useless. They sent a man named Tyrtæus, who, among the lowest of the people, had exercised the profession of a schoolmaster; supposed of no abilities for any purpose of the Lacedæmonians, and lame of one leg. There is something in these circumstances so little consonant to modern history, that they are apt at first view to bear an appearance both of fable and of insignificancy. But they come so far authenticated, that it is impossible not to give them some credit. It was partly from the admired works of Tyrtæus himself, fragments of which remain, that historians afterward collected their account of the Messenian affairs; and it is still common, we know, for circumstances, in themselves the most trifling, to have consequences the most important.

Lycurg. con. Leocrat. p. 211. t. 4. or. Gr. ed. Reiske. Strab. l. 8. p. 362. Pausan. l. 4. Justin. l. 3. c. 5.

The Messenian army was now reinforced by Argian, Arcadian, Sicyonian, and Eleian auxiliaries; and Messenian refugees from various forein parts came in, with eager zeal, to attach themselves once more to the fortune of their former country. These combined forces met the Lacedæmonian army, which had received succor from Corinth only, at Caprusema. The exertions of Aristomenes, in the battle which insued, are said to have exceeded all belief of what one man could do. A complete victory was gained by the Messenians; with so terrible a slaughter of the Lacedæmonians, that it was in consequence debated at Sparta whether a negotiation for peace should not immediately be opened. On this occasion great effects are attributed to the poetry of Tyrtæus, and probably not without foundation. We know that even in these cultivated times, and in the extensive states of modern Europe, a popular song can sometimes produce considerable consequences. Then it was a species of oratory suited beyond all other to the genius of the age. Tyrtæus reanimated the drooping minds of the Spartan people. It was thought expedient to recruit the number of citizens, by infranchising and associating some Helots. The measure was far from popular, but the poetry of Tyrtæus persuaded the people to acquiesce; and it was determined still to prosecute the war with all possible vigor.

Aristomenes

Aristomenes meanwhile was endeavoring to push the advantage he had gained. He did not venture a regular invasion of Laconia, but he carried the war thither by incursion. He surprized the town of Pharæ, bore away a considerable booty, and routed Anaxander king of Sparta, who had planted an ambush to intercept his return. In another irruption he took the town of Caryæ; and, among other plunder, led off a number of Spartan virgins, assembled to celebrate, according to custom, the festival of Diana. Pausanias relates to his honor, on this occasion, a strong instance of the strictness both of his discipline and of his morality. On his appointment to the command-in-chief, he had selected a band of young Messenians, mostly of rank, who attended him and fought by his side in all his enterprizes. The Spartan virgins, taken at Caryæ, being intrusted to a guard from this body, the young men, heated with wine, attempted to force their chastity. Aristomenes immediately interfered; but finding it in vain that he represented to them how they dishonored the name of Grecians by attempts so abhorrent from what the laws and customs of their country approved, he laid the most refractory with his own hand dead upon the spot, and then restored the girls to their parents. We have remarked on a former occasion how common rapes were in Greece. Law and order, we may suppose, had made some progress since that period; yet scarcely such as generally to insure the chastity of women captives in war. But where the crime of ravishing is most common, the virtue which prompts to such dangerous exertion, as that related of Aristomenes, for the prevention of it, will be most valued, will consequently become most an object of renown, and thence will more be caught at by aspiring minds.

Among the extraordinary adventures of that hero we find it related that, in an attempt upon the town of Ægila, he was made prisoner by some Spartan matrons assembled there for the celebration of a festival; who, trained as they were under the institutions of Lycurgus, repelled the attack with a vigor which the men of other states could scarcely exceed. Here the softer passions, it is said, befriended him: Archidameia, priestess of Ceres, becoming inamored of him, procured his escape.

It was now the third year of the war, when the Lacedæmonian and Messenian forces met at Megaletaphrus; the latter strengthened by their Arcadian allies only, whose leader, Aristocrates prince of Orchomenus, was secretly in the Lacedæmonian interest. On the first onset this traitor gave the signal for his own troops to retreat; and he artfully conducted them so as to disturb the order of the Messenian forces. The Lacedæmonians, prepared for this event, seized the opportunity to gain the flank of their enemy. Aristomenes made some vain efforts to prevent a rout: but his army was presently, for the most part, surrounded and cut to pieces; and he was himself fortunate in being able to retreat with a miserable remnant.

Pausan. l. 4. Strab. l. 8. p. 362. Polyb. l. 4.

The Messenians had not the resources of an established government. A single defeat induced instant necessity for resorting to the measure practised by Euphaës in the former war. Abandoning all their inland posts, they collected their force at Eira, a strong situation near the sea, and prepared by all means in their power for vigorous defence. The Lacedæmonians, as was foreseen, presently sat down before the place; but the Messenians were still strong enough to keep a communication open with their ports of Pylus and Methone [26].

The enterprizing spirit of Aristomenes was not to be broken by misfortune. Even in the present calamitous situation of his country's affairs, he would not confine himself to defensive war. With his chosen band he sallied from Eira, pillaged all the neighbouring country on the side occupied by the Lacedæmonians, and even ventured into Laconia, where he plundered the town of Amyclæ. His expeditions were so well concerted, and his band so small and so light, that he was generally within the walls of Eira again before it was known in the Spartan camp that any place was attacked. The business of a siege commonly in those times was very slow. The usual hope of the besiegers was to reduce the place by famine. But this was a vain hope

[26] Pausanias writes this name Mothone, and among the Greeks it so remains to this day; but the Italians, unable to pronounce the Greek θ, speak and write it Modona: the French for the same reason call it Modon. The Italian name of Pylus is Navarino. This was, according to Strabo, not the residence of Nestor, that city being situated more northward, not far from the river Alpheius.

to

to the Lacedæmonians while Aristomenes could thus supply the garrison. The government of Sparta, therefore, finding their army ineffectual to prevent this relief, proceeded to the extremity of forbidding, by a public edict, all culture of the conquered part of Messenia. Probably the Lacedæmonian affairs were at this time ill administered, both in the army and at home. Great discontents, we are told, broke out at Sparta; and the government was again beholden to the lame Athenian poet for composing the minds of the people.

But the temper of Aristomenes was too daring, and his enterprizes too hazardous, to be long exempt from misfortune. His scene of action was not extensive, so that in time the Lacedæmonians learnt, by their very losses, the means of putting a stop to them. He fell in unexpectedly with a large body of Lacedæmonian troops, headed by both the kings. His retreat was intercepted; and in making an obstinate defence, being stunned by a blow on the head, he was taken prisoner with about fifty of his band. The Lacedæmonians, considering all as rebels, condemned them without distinction to be precipitated into a cavern called Ceada, the common capital punishment at Sparta for the worst malefactors. All are said to have been killed by the fall except Aristomenes; whose survival was thought so wonderful, that miracles were invented to account for it. An eagle, it was reported, fluttering under him, so far supported him that he arrived at the bottom unhurt. How far such miraculous assistance was necessary to his preservation, we cannot certainly know; but the plain circumstances of the ſtory, tho extraordinary, have, as far as appears, nothing contrary to nature. Aristomenes at first thought it no advantage to find himself alive in that horrid charnel, surrounded by his companions dead and dying, among the skeletons and putrid carcases of former criminals. He retreated to the farthest corner he could find, and, covering his head with his cloak, lay down to wait for death, which seemed unavoidable. It was, according to Pausanias, the third day of this dreadful imprisonment, when he was ſtartled by a little ruſtling noise. Rising and uncovering his eyes, he saw by the glimmering of light, which assisted him the more from his having been so long in perfect darkness, a fox gnawing the dead bodies. It presently struck him

Pausan. l. 4. Strab. l. 8. p. 367.

that this animal must have found some other way into the cavern than that by which himself had descended, and would readily find the same way out again. Watching, therefore, his opportunity, he was fortunate enough to seize the fox with one hand, while with his cloak in the other he prevented it from biting him; and he managed to let it have its way, without escaping, so as to conduct him to a narrow bury. Through this he followed, till it became too small for his body to pass; and here fortunately a glimpse of day-light caught his eye. Setting, therefore, his conductor at liberty, he worked with his hands till he made a passage large enough for himself to creep into day, and he escaped to Eira.

The first rumor of the reäppearance of Aristomenes found no credit at Sparta. Preparations were making for pushing the siege of Eira with vigor, and a body of Corinthian auxiliaries was marching to share in the honor of completing the conquest of Messenia. Aristomenes, receiving intelligence that the Corinthians marched and incamped negligently, as if they had no enemy to fear, issued with a chosen body from Eira, attacked them by surprize in the night, routed them with great slaughter, and carried off the plunder of their camp. Then, says Pausanias, the Lacedæmonians readily believed that Aristomenes was living. Tradition says that this extraordinary warrior thrice sacrificed the Hecatomphoneia, the offering prescribed among the Greeks for those who had slain in battle a hundred enemies with their own hands. It was after this action that he performed that ceremony the second time.

The Lacedæmonians now, for the sake of celebrating in security their festival called Hyacynthia, which was approaching, consented to a truce for forty days. Pausanias, who is not favorable to their fame, reports that they incouraged some Cretan mercenaries in their service to watch opportunities for striking a blow against the Messenians, even during the truce; that Aristomenes was actually seized in consequence; and recovered his liberty only through the favor of a young woman in the house where he was lodged, who cut his bonds, and procured him the means of slaying his keepers.

Through the unskilfulness of the age in the attack of places, and the varied efforts of Aristomenes's genius to baffle the besiegers, the siege

siege, or rather blockade, of Eira was protracted to the eleventh year. Ol. 48. 2.
A concurrence of circumstances seemingly trifling, but which in the B. C. 587.
detail of them by Pausanias, form an important lesson for military men, N.
at length decided its fate. In a violently tempestuous night intelligence Ol. 27. 2.
was brought to the Lacedæmonian commander, by a private soldier, B. C. 671.
whom an intrigue with a Messenian woman had led to the discovery, B.
that the Messenian guard at one of their posts, yielding to the weather, and trusting that the storm itself would prevent their enemies from acting, had dispersed to seek shelter. Immediately the troops were silently called to arms; ladders were carried to the spot, and the Lacedæmonians mounted unresisted. The unusually earnest and incessant barking of dogs first alarmed the garrison. Aristomenes, always watchful, hastily formed the first of his people that he could collect: and presently meeting the enemy, managed his defence so judiciously as well as vigorously, that the Lacedæmonians ignorant of the town, could not, during the night, attempt any farther progress. But neither could Aristomenes attempt any more than to keep the enemy at bay, while the rest of his people, arming and assembling, used their intimate knowledge of the place to occupy the most advantageous points for defending themselves, and dislodging the enemy. At day-break, having disposed his whole force, and directed even the women to assist by throwing stones and tiles from the house-tops, he made a furious charge upon the Lacedæmonians; whose superiority in number availed little, as they had not room to extend their front. But the violence of the storm, which continued unabated, was such as to prevent the women from acting on the roofs; many of whom were, however, animated with such manly resolution for the defence of their country, that they took arms and joined in the fight below. There the battle continued all day, with scarcely other effect than mutual slaughter. At night there was again a pause; but it was such as allowed little rest or refreshment to the Messenians. Now the Lacedæmonian general profited from his numbers. He sent half his forces to their camp while the other half kept the Messenians in constant alarm, and, with the return of day, he brought back his refreshed troops to renew the attack. The Messenian chiefs became soon convinced that all attempts

to

to expel the enemy must be vain. After a short consultation, therefore, they formed their people in the most convenient order for defending their wives and children, and most portable effects, while they should force their way out of the place. The Lacedæmonians, whose political institutions in some degree commanded the permission of escape for a flying enemy, gave them free passage. The Messenians directed their melancholy march to Arcadia. There they were most hospitably received by their faithful allies of that country, who divided them in quarters among their towns.

Even in this extremity of misfortune, the enterprizing genius of Aristomenes was immediately imagining new schemes for restoring his country, and taking vengeance on her enemies. He selected five hundred Messenians, to whom three hundred Arcadian volunteers joined themselves, with a resolution to attempt the surprize of Sparta itself, while the Lacedæmonian army was yet in the farthest part of Messenia, where Pylus and Methonë still remained to be reduced. Everything was prepared for the enterprize, when some of the Arcadian chiefs received intelligence that a messenger was gone from their king Aristocrates to Sparta. This man they caused to be waylaid on his return. He was seized; and letters were found upon him, thanking Aristocrates both for information of the expedition now intended, and for former services. An assembly of the people was immediately summoned, in which the letters and their bearer were produced; and the leaders, in the interest opposite to Aristocrates, worked up the anger of the commonalty to such a pitch against their treacherous prince, that they stoned him to death. To perpetuate his infamy, a pillar was afterward erected, with an inscription, still preserved in the writings both of Pausanias and Polybius, warning future chiefs of the vengeance of the deity, which unfailingly sooner or later overtakes traitors and perjurors.

Pausan. l. 4. c. 22. Polyb. l. 4. p. 301. Plut. de sera Num. Vind.

The Pylians, Methonæans, and other Messenians of the coast, judging it now vain to attempt the defence of their towns, imbarked with their effects, in what vessels they could collect, and sailed to Cyllenë, a port of Eleia. Hence they sent a proposal to their fellowcountrymen in Arcadia, to go all together and settle a colony wherever they could find

find an advantageous establishment; and they desired Aristomenes for their leader. The proposal was readily accepted by the people, and, as far as concerned them, approved by the general; but excusing himself, he sent his son Gorgus, with Manticlus, son of his friend the prophet Theocles, to conduct the enterprize. Still it remained to be decided to what uninhabited or ill-inhabited coast they should direct their course. Some were for Zacynthus, some for Sardinia; but winter being already set in, it was soon agreed to put off the determination till spring. In the interval a fortunate occurrence offered. After the abandoning of Ithomë which concluded the former war, some Messenians, joining with some adventurers from Chalcis in Eubœa, had wandered to Italy, and there founded the town of Rhegium. These colonists had perpetual variance with the Zanclæans on the opposite coast of Sicily; a people also of Grecian origin, the first of whom were pirates, who settled there under Cratæmenes of Samos, and Perieres of Chalcis. Anaxilas, now prince of Rhegium, was of Messenian race. Hearing therefore of this second catastrophë of his mother-country, he sent to inform the Messenians at Cyllenë that there was, in his neighbourhood, a valuable territory, and a town most commodiously situated, which should be theirs if they would assist him in dispossessing the present proprietors, his inveterate enemies. The offer was accepted: the confederates, victorious by sea and land, besieged Zanclë; and reducing the inhabitants to extremity, an accommodation was agreed upon, by which it was determined that the Messenians and Zanclæans should hold the city and country in common as one people, but that the name should be changed to Messenë.

Strab. l. 6. p. 257. & 268. Pausan. l. 4. c. 23.

Ol. 43. 3. B. C. 588. N.

Ol. 27. 4. B. C. 669. B.

Aristomenes for some time still indulged the hope, through some favoring contingency, to avenge his country on the Lacedæmonians. But going to Delphi, he found the Pythoness too wise to prophesy him any incouragement. Yet tho he was no longer to shine in a public situation, fortune was favorable to his private happiness. Damagetus, prince, or, as he is styled by Grecian writers, tyrant, of Ialysus in the iland of Rhodes, happened to be at Delphi inquiring of the oracle whom he should marry; for it seems to have been about this time that Delphi was in highest repute; individuals often straining their circumstances

Pausan. l. 4. c. 23, 24.

circumstances to obtain its advice on their more interesting private concerns. To a question in its nature rather puzzling, the Pythoness gave a very prudent answer, and at the same time of uncommonly obvious interpretation. She directed Damagetus to take the daughter of the man of highest character among the Greeks. Aristomenes, then on the spot, was unquestionably in reputation the first of the Greeks, and he had a daughter unmarried. Damagetus, therefore, made his proposals, which were accepted; and Aristomenes passed with him to Rhodes, where he is said to have passed the rest of his life in honorable ease.

The Lacedæmonians found themselves masters of a country almost a desert. The Asinæans, indeed, whom on the conclusion of the former war they had planted in Messenia, still retained their settlement. To the Nauplians, lately ejected from their country by the Argians, they now gave the town and territory of Methonē. The rest of Messenia they divided among themselves: and many of the miserable inhabitants, who had been either unable or unwilling to seek their fortune out of their native country, they reduced to the condition of Helots.

Pausan. l. 4. c. 24. Strab. l. 8. p. 373.

Such is the account given by Pausanias; for the matter, in some principal points confirmed, but for the time of the settlement in Sicily, contradicted by earlier and far more authoritative writers. Numbers of the Messenians, unwilling or unable to emigrate, remained in the country, subjected to the harsh dominion of their conquerors. Many years then after Aristomenēs, if his age is rightly assigned, they rose again in arms, and maintained a war which put Lacedæmon a third time to difficulty. Overborne at length by superior force, a large part were reduced to the condition and name of Helots. Then it was that a fortunate number found means to escape from the country, and under the patronage of Anaxilas prince of Rhegium, established themselves in Zancle which had from them the name of Messena. This new settlement of the Peloponnesian Messenians, among many heavy misfortunes generally florishing, has always been a great city, at one time the capital of the iland; and an interesting memorial of a brave and unfortunate people is yet

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 4. & 5. Plat. de Leg. c. 3. p. 698. t. 2. Strab. l. 6. p. 268.

preserved in its name, with us commonly, according to the Latin orthography, Messina, but in its own country Messana, the original Doric form unaltered, to this day. How far the dreadful convulsion of the elements, which a few years ago involved in common desolation Messina with its antient rival Reggio, and violently changing the face of nature to a great extent on both coasts, may beyond all former calamities urge its final downfall, or how far it may still more suffer from the political volcano, will be for the historian of future years to tell.

Here we might naturally suppose the history of Messenia ended. But we shall, in the sequel, find its unfortunate people still taking part occasionally in Grecian affairs, and at length, after more than a century and a half, by a very extraordinary revolution becoming again the free masters of their antient country.

During the long course of years from the first hostilities with Messenia to the completion of the conquest, Lacedæmon was not without wars with other neighboring states, nor without political convulsions at home: but the chronology of that period is so utterly uncertain, that it were a vain attempt to arrange the facts reported, in scattered passages, by antient authors of best credit. Very early, we are told, a dispute arose concerning the limits of Argolis and Laconia. The Lacedæmonians ejected the Argians from Cynuria. Then they asserted, with similar violence, a claim to the territory of Thyrea. In the old age of king Theopompus, according to Pausanias, (therefore between the first and second Messenian wars, tho Herodotus seems to refer it to a later date) the armies of the two states meeting, it was determined, in a conference of the leaders, that the right to the lands in dispute should be decided by a combat between three hundred men from each army. The rest of the troops on both sides retired. The six hundred fought with such determined valor, and such equal strength and skill, that two Argians only, Chromius and Alcenor, remained alive; with not a single Lacedæmonian, as far as in the dusk of advanced evening they could perceive, surviving to oppose them. Eager, there-

Pausan. l. 10. c. 9. Herodot. l. 1. c. 82. Plutarch. Parall. Min. Vid. et Thucyd. l. 5. c. 41.

fore, to relate their victory, they hastened to the Argian camp. But, during the night, Othryades, a Lacedæmonian, recovering from the loss of blood under which he had fainted, found himself, weak as he was, undisputed master of the field. His strength sufficed to form a trophy from the arms of his slain enemies, and he rested on the spot. On the morrow the Argians learned with astonishment that the Lacedæmonians claimed the victory. Another conference was held, in which neither side would yield its pretensions. The armies again met; and, after a most obstinate conflict, the Argians were defeated. The measure which followed, reported by Herodotus, and confirmed by Plato, strongly characterizes both the spirit of war and the spirit of government of the times. The whole Argian people having cut off their hair, (a common mark of public mourning) it was decreed, with solemn curses against transgressors, that 'no man should suffer his 'hair to grow, and no woman wear ornaments of gold, till Thyrea 'were recovered.' The animosity which we shall find long subsisting between Lacedæmon and Argos will, with the recollection of these circumstances, not appear extraordinary.

Plat. Phædon. p. 89. t. 1.

The Lacedæmonians had also early and long contentions with the Arcadians. These allied themselves with the Argians; with whose assistance the city of Tegea, formed, as we have before observed, by an assemblage of the inhabitants of nine villages, was fortified, and became capable of protecting the Arcadian borders against Lacedæmonian inroads. None of the neighboring people, in the earlier times, opposed Spartan incroachments with more valor, or more success, than the Tegeans. After often suffering considerable losses, the Lacedæmonians, however, at length gained some advantages; and the circumstances of the times induced that politic people to use the opportunity for forming a close alliance with the brave mountaineers; who in the sequel proved highly serviceable to them in their more extensive views of ambition.

Ch. 4. sec. 1. of this Hist.

Herod. l. 1. c. 65. Pausan. l. 8. c. 45.

As it is in the nature of human affairs that things most advantageous shall have their inherent evils, so the nice balance, established by the

Spartan lawgiver between the several powers of the government, naturally produced a constant, and often violent struggle of factions. But as the Lacedæmonian institutions were unfavorable to litterature, as they strongly inforced secrecy on politics, and as foreiners had little access to Sparta, we are very defectively informed of the internal transactions of that state. Authors of greatest credit are not to be reconciled concerning the first establishment of those magistrates called Ephors, who, in course of time, acquired almost a despotic authority. Herodotus, Plato, and Xenophon, refer it to Lycurgus: Aristotle, Plutarch, and others, to king Theopompus, who completed the first conquest of Messenia. If magistrates with such a title were appointed by Lycurgus, the tenor of that lawgiver's institutions will not permit us to suppose that he meant to allow them powers such as they afterward exercised. He certainly favored oligarchy; and possibly the large authority which he committed to the senate might sometimes be abused. But from the consent of Grecian writers it appears that, if the ephors were not first appointed under Theopompus, their powers and privileges were, however, considerably augmented under his reign. That prince either found it necessary, for prevention of commotion, to grant indulgence to the people; or convenient, for his own power, to raise an authority capable of balancing the overbearing spirit of the senate[27]; whence perhaps the saying reported of him, on being reproached for transmitting the regal authority diminished to his posterity, 'that on the contrary he should transmit it 'greater, inasmuch as he should transmit it firmer.'

Thucyd. c. 18. Plat. de Rep. l. 8. p. 545. t. 2. Isocr. Panathen. Plato. Epist. 8. p. 354. t. 3. Xenoph. de Rep. Lac. Aristot. Polit. Plutarch. Lycurg. Plutarch. Apoph. Lac.

The ephors were five in number, elected from the people and by the people; and the purpose of their office was at first meerly to preserve to the people their constitutional rights against any attempts of the kings or senate. The tribunes of Rome afterward, in the cause of their appointment, in the purpose of their office, in their original powers and privileges, and in what they by degrees assumed, very

Aristot. Polit. l. 2. c. 9. Plutarch. Lycurg. & Agesil. & Cleomen.

[27] To such a balance Plato, or whoever wrote the epistle attributed to him, seems to refer where he calls the senate and the college of Ephors *φάρμακον τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀρχῆς σωτήριον*. Epist. 8. p. 354. t. 3.

remarkably resembled the Spartan ephors; and the history of both goes strongly to prove the inherent impotence of the antient democracy, which, in two of the best constituted commonwealths of antiquity, unable to maintain its own rights, was reduced to the absurd necessity of creating and supporting a tyrannical magistracy to defend them.

CHAPTER V.

Summary View of the State of the Northern Provinces of GREECE, and of the Establishment of the early GRECIAN Colonies; with the History of ATHENS, from the TROJAN WAR to the first public Transaction with PERSIA.

SECTION I.

View of the State of the Northern Provinces of Greece after the Trojan War. History of Athens from the Trojan War to the Abolition of Royalty, and the Appointment of Hereditary Archons.

WHILE Lacedæmon, partly through the internal vigor of its singular constitution, partly by conquest, was raising itself to a preëminence among the Grecian states, which, since the expulsion of the princes of the house of Pelops from the throne of Argos, none had obtained, a rival power, of very different character and very different institutions, was more silently growing without Peloponnesus. But the divisions, whence arose the weakness and insignificancy of the other Grecian people, were among the circumstances principally contributing to set Lacedæmon and Athens at the head of the nation. During some centuries after the Trojan war, we have no history of the northern provinces, beyond confused accounts of migrations and expulsions, which were frequent, and predatory wars, which were almost unceasing. The principal revolution, of which we are informed, was effected by the Bœotians, a Thessalian people; who, according to Thucydides, about sixty years after the Trojan war, migrating southward, joined some of their own tribe before settled in the neighborhood of Thebes, and, overpowering the Cadmeians, conquered the whole province, from themselves called BŒOTIA. Thebes which, as Homer seems to indicate, had been much reduced by the wars preceding the Trojan

B. C. 841. *N.*
B.C. 1124. *B.*
Thucyd. l. 1. c. 12.
Schol. ad v. 505. l. 2. Iliad.

Trojan times, became the principal seat of the Bœotians; and under them again rose to importance.

But the history of Bœotia, to a late period, remarkably verifies an observation of the great poet upon its circumstances at a very early day, 'that none could live there without the protection of fortifications[1].' Military spirit is a plant naturally florishing in almost every barbaric soil. Political wisdom, without which military spirit is of very uncertain worth, requires much and careful culture, and, even in circumstances the most favorable, is of slow growth. The Bœotians could conquer, but they knew not how to legislate: they could spurn the tyranny of one, but they knew not how to establish the equal liberty of all. In the country which they had subdued, Thebes, by its central situation, the natural strength of the eminence on which stood the citadel, the largeness of the town, its copious springs of purest water, and the fruitfulness of the surrounding plain, invited the residence of the chiefs; who proposed thence to rule the other towns, in which they settled their followers. But the rich acquisition, which had been made by arms, was not without arms to be preserved: the whole people must be still military; and every township must suffice for its own protection, at least against sudden attacks from near neighbors, against whose spirit of war and rapine military force only could give security. With such necessary military power, some civil power must be allowed for the internal government of each municipality. The difficulty then, the universal difficulty, as we have formerly observed, of Grecian legislation, was to provide advantageous bonds by which all should be united, so that each might be protected by the strength of all, yet all be free.

Thucyd. l. 3. c. 61.

Ch. 4. s. 1. of this Hist.

We are very imperfectly informed of the Bœotian constitution, yet we learn with certainty that it was unequal to its purpose. Eleven magistrates, (when Thucydides wrote) presided, with the title of Bœotarch, over the affairs of the whole people. Afterward, according to Diodorus and Pausanias, they were only seven. Perhaps the number

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 91.
Diod. l. 15. c. 53.
Pausan. l. 9. c. 13.

[1] Mentioning the building of the walls of Thebes by Zethus and Amphion, he adds:

——Ἐπεὶ οὐ μὲν ἀπύργωτον γ' ἐδύναντο
Ναιέμεν ἐυρύχορον Θήβην, κρατερώ περ ἐόντε. Odyss. l. 16. v. 264.

varied,

varied, as the power of Thebes rose or sunk, or as the smaller towns suffered or successfully resisted oppression. The election of these great officers was annual; their authority, like that of the kings of old, principally military; they commanded in chief the Bœotian armies. The political administration was also in their hands, but under the control of four councils; how constituted we are not informed, nor whether they possessed legislative as well as administrative power. Deputies from all the Bœotian towns sometimes met in one assembly, where the Bœotarchs presided; but this seems to have been rather convened on extraordinary occasions, than a permanent or periodical council, for transacting ordinary business, whether of administration or legislation. In general every town legislated for itself. All were thus truly separate republics; and while Thebes always claimed a right of presidency, at least of military presidency, a kind of protectorship, over all, the rest would often insist that each was united with the others only by voluntary league, and competent to decide for itself concerning all its forein interests, as well as its internal administration. All the towns of Bœotia, not less than of the rest of Greece, were divided between an oligarchal and a democratical party; but in these early times, the oligarchal mostly prevailing in Thebes, the influence of that leading city sufficed long to give oligarchy a general preponderancy in Bœotian politics.

Thucyd. l. 5. c. 37.

Herod. l. 6. c. 108. Thucyd. l. 3. c. 61.

Such is the picture which remaining memorials give of the state of Bœotia, from the Thessalian conquest downward for centuries; and, in the want of more particular accounts, it may serve to convey a general idea of the state of the other provinces north of the isthmus: each divided into little self-governed townships; each distracted between an oligarchal and a democratical party, with some connection maintained throughout the whole, but mostly still more defective than that of Bœotia. THESSALY, by the extent and richness of its territory, should have carried the greatest political importance of perhaps any province of Greece. The whole country besides could not raise such a force of cavalry; and no other province, by the superiority of its produce to its consumption, could equally support expensive establishments,

establishments, and maintain distant warfare. But Thessaly was divided, and subdivided, into little governments, yet more than Bœotia, with connecting institutions even more defective. Thus the history of its people is reduced to confused accounts of conquest, of which no detail remains, over the northern inhabitants of their own country, the Perrhæbians and Magnetes, and of eternal predatory war with the Phocians their southern neighbors; whence arose a national animosity that nearly involved the subjugation of all Greece, when assailed, as will be hereafter related, by a forein enemy.

Thucyd. l. Herod. l. 8. c. 27. & seq.

We have already observed the favorable circumstances by which ATHENS became early populous and polished beyond the other Grecian cities. From the time of the Trojan war till after the Dorian conquests in Peloponnesus, it affords nothing important for history. But such a revolution as that effected by the Heracleids could not be without material consequences to a neighboring state. The Athenian territory at that time extended to the Corinthian isthmus; where, to mark the limits, a pillar had been erected, on one side of which was ingraved, 'This is Peloponnesus, not Ionia,' for so Attica was then called: on the other side, 'This is not Peloponnesus but Ionia.' But the people of the peninsula itself, throughout the province that stretches along the coast westward from the isthmus, were of Ionian race. When Tisamenus, with his Achaian followers from Argos and Lacedæmon, had procured security to this country against the Heracleids, its narrow bounds were found unequal to the increased population: the new comers prevailed against the antient possessors, and the Ionian families were mostly compelled to emigrate. Athens, always hospitable to the unfortunate, amid those extensive troubles through Peloponnesus, principally afforded refuge. Not only the Ægialian Ionians, but many Messenians also, under Melanthus king of Pylus, resorted thither. The Athenians were then ingaged in war with Bœotia; and on this account, and perhaps through some dread also of the conquering Dorians, were the more solicitous to accommodate all that offered, as an addition of strength to the state. The charity was not unproductive of reciprocal benefit. For the armies of Athens and Bœotia

Strab. l. 9. p. 392.

Strab. l. 9. p. 393. & l. 14. p. 633.

Bœotia meeting, the Bœotian king proposed to decide the matter in dispute between the two states by single combat between himself and Thymœtes, then king of Athens. Thymœtes, probably knowing himself inferior in bodily strength and agility, declined the challenge. But the temper of the times was favorable to that mode of deciding political controversies[a]. Melanthus therefore, the Messenian prince, who had his fortune to seek, offered himself for champion of the Athenians, and was accepted: he was victorious, and the scepter of Athens was his reward. Thymœtes was deposed, and with him ended the succession of the family of Theseus.

Strab. l. 9. p. 393. Herod. l. 5. c. 65. Pausan. l. 2. c. 18.

Tradition is little accurate concerning a war which followed between the Athenians and Peloponnesians. But a conquering people is commonly an overbearing people; the protection given by Athens to the refugees from Peloponnesus would afford pretence; and the Dorians, we find, soon after their establishment in the peninsula, made incroachments on the Athenian frontier, and founded the town of Megara on the northern coast of the Saronic gulph. When Codrus succeeded his father Melanthus in the kingdom of Attica, Megara seems to have been already firmly settled. Hostilities however continued, or were recommenced; and so large assistance came to the Megarians from Peloponnesus, that Athens itself was threatened with subversion. While the hostile armies were incamped so near together that a battle appeared unavoidable, the Delphian oracle was consulted about the event. The answer of the Pythoness was understood to import that the Peloponnesians would be victorious, provided they did not kill the Athenian king. This response being promulgated, Codrus, in the heroïc spirit of the age, determined to devote his life for the good of his country. Disguising himself in the habit of a peasant, with a faggot on his shoulder, and a hook in his hand, he entered the enemy's camp. Observing in one part a croud of soldiers, he pushed in among them; words arose; he struck a soldier with his hook; the soldier retorted with his sword, and Codrus was killed. Inquiry being presently made about the tumult, the body was found to be that of the king of Athens;

Strab. l. 9. p. 393.

B. C. 804. *N.*

B. C. 1070. *B.*

Lycurg. or. con. Leocrat. Pausan. l. 7. c. 25. Vell. Paterc. l. 1. c. 2. Justin. l. 2. c. 6.

[a] In the return of the Heracleids, according to Strabo, the possession of Eleia was so determined κατὰ ἔθος τὶ παλαιὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Strab. l. 8. p. 357.

upon which the Peloponnesian chiefs, dreading the accomplishment of the oracle to their overthrow, hastily withdrew their forces into Peloponnesus. A peace with Megara seems to have followed[s].

The death of Codrus, while it thus fortunately delivered Athens from the dangers of forein war, was the immediate cause of internal sedition, threatening nearly equal evils. Medon, eldest son of Codrus, was lame: and bodily ability still held that high rank in popular estimation, that his younger brother made advantage of this defect to dispute the succession with him. Each found strong support: but the contention brought forward a third party still stronger, which was for excluding both, declaring they would have no king but Jupiter. The most fatal consequences were to be apprehended, when fortunately a declaration of the Delphian oracle was procured in favor of Medon, and the business was amicably accommodated. It was determined that, after Codrus, who had merited so singularly of his country, none ought to be honored with a title of which it was impossible for any living man to be comparatively worthy: that, however, Medon should be first magistrate of the commonwealth, with the title of Archon, chief, or prince; and that this honor should remain hereditary in his family; but that the Archon should be accountable to the assembly of the people for due administration of his high office. And as Attica then, through the multitude of refugees, overabounded with inhabitants, it was agreed that a colony should be sent to Asia Minor, of which Androclus and Neleus, younger sons of Codrus, should be leaders. Thus was internal quiet restored to Athens as happily as external peace. The restless spirits mostly joined in the migration: the storm of contending factions dispersed; and the affairs of the commonwealth flowed so smoothly for some generations after, that no materials for history remain.

Pausan. l. 7. c. 2.

Schol. in Aristoph. Nub.

Herod. l. 9. c. 97. Strab. l. 14. p. 632, 633. & 640. Pausan. l. 7. c. 2.

[s] The spot where Codrus fell was preserved in memory, or pretended to be preserved, in the time of Pausanias, and shown near the altar of the Muses on the bank of the Ilissus, opposite to the temple of Diana Agrotera, whose ruins yet remain on the other bank. Pausan. l. 1. c. 19. Sir George Wheler's Journey into Greece, and Stuart's Antiquities of Athens.

SECTION II.

Grecian Ilands: Æolic and Ionic Migrations: Grecian Colonies in Asia Minor, Thrace, Cyprus, Africa, Sicily, and Italy.

WHILE Athens thus was injoying repose, and the ambition of Lacedæmon was yet confined within the narrow bounds of Peloponnesus, the theater of Grecian action, or, we may say, Greece itself, was expanding very greatly, through those numerous colonies which were poured forth in every direction. Of the Grecian ilands, Crete almost alone has occurred hitherto as an object of history. The others of the Ægean sea were antiently held, and perhaps originally, some by Phenicians, but most by the people called Leleges, a branch, apparently, of the Pelasgian hord, who, as well as the Phenicians, exercised continual piracy. Minos king of Crete expelled both, and planted colonies of his own people in their room. Afterward the power of the Cretan kings decaying, some of those ilands became independent, and others were variously subjected. Eubœa, one of the largest and most valuable in the Grecian seas, never probably was under the dominion of the Cretan kings, and indeed was scarcely in the circumstances of an iland; being separated from the coast of Bœotia by a channel so narrow and shallow that it is in effect an adjoining peninsula. While the Ionic Pelasgians of Attica spred southward into Peloponnesus, they had also extended their settlements northward into this iland, where Chalcis and Eretria are said to have been Athenian colonies before the Trojan war. Those two cities, tho distinct governments, yet maintained such close alliance as to form almost one state, and became very florishing. They held the neighboring ilands of Andros, Tenos, and Ceos in subjection: they extended the Grecian name northward by planting the peninsulas of Pallenë and Athos, together with the territory around Olynthus on the confines of Thrace and Macedonia; and they established colonies in Italy and Sicily.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 4. & 8. Herod. l. 1. c. 171. Strab. l. 12. p. 572. & l. 14. p. 661.

Strab. l. 10. p. 447, 448.

It has been supposed by some authors, but apparently without good grounds, that, before the Trojan war, migrations had been made from

Wood on Homer.

Chap. 1. sect. 4. of this Hist.

Greece to Asia Minor. We have seen that the earliest known people of the western parts of that country differed little in origin or in language from the inhabitants of Greece; and some of the towns on the coast were held by people so unquestionably Grecian, at so early a period, that the antiquarians of aftertimes, unwilling to allow anything to be Greek that did not originate from Greece, were at a loss to account for their establishment. Miletus, mentioned by Homer in his catalogue, and Teos, and Smyrna, are said by Strabo to have been Grecian towns before the Trojan war. But the great Æolic and Ionic migrations made a complete revolution in the state of that fine country, and gave it almost intirely a new people. Of those extraordinary and important events no antient author having left any complete account, it must be endeavored to connect the scattered information remaining from writers of best authority, among whom Strabo will be our principal guide.

Strab. l. 14. p. 573. 633, & 634. Pausan. l. 7. c. 2.

Not the prosperity, not the policy, but the troubles and misfortunes of the country gave origin to the principal colonies from Greece. The ÆOLIC MIGRATION was an immediate consequence of the conquest of Peloponnesus by the Heracleids. Penthilus, one of the sons of Orestes, took refuge upon that occasion in Eubœa, whither multitudes of Peloponnesians followed. Many found settlements there; but the larger number, joined by a powerful body of Bœotians, passed with their prince into Thrace. He dying, his son Echelatus led the colony across the Hellespont, and made himself master of Troy; putting then, it is supposed, a final period to that unfortunate city, and to the name of its people. In the mean time Cleues and Malaüs, also of the race of Agamemnon, had assembled a number of Peloponnesian fugitives on mount Phricius in Locris, near Thermopylæ; and, passing thence to Asia Minor, founded the town of Cuma. Thus the whole coast, from Cyzicus on the Propontis to the river Hermus, together with the iland of Lesbos, conquered by Graïs son of Echelatus, became settled by Peloponnesians and Bœotians, and received the name of Æolis or Æolia. How long the monarchy was maintained we find no information. Very early however the Æolian towns appear to have become, like those of the mother-country, separate republics.

Strab. l. 9. p. 402. l. 10. p. 447. l. 13. p. 582. Pausan. l. 2. c. 2.

Wood on Homer.

Strab. l. 13. p. 582.

Strab. l. 13. p. 586.

republics. An assembly at Cuma for a common sacrifice, but, as far as appears, without any professed political object, assisted to support some little connection between the Æolian cities. Herod. l. 1. c. 149. & 157.

The great IONIC MIGRATION took place somewhat later, but produced colonies yet more florishing. It was led from Athens by Androclus and Neleus, younger sons of Codrus, upon the occasion, already mentioned, of the determination of the succession to the archonship in favor of Medon. A great multitude followed: many Athenians, and almost all the Ionian and Messenian families which the Dorian conquest had driven for refuge to Athens. They seized the finest part of the coast of Asia Minor, and, according to Herodotus, the finest country under the most favorable climate in the world; extending from the river Hermus southward to the headland of Posideion, and including the ilands of Chios and Samos. The Carian inhabitants were expelled, the Grecian were associated; and twelve cities were founded, which became all very considerable: Ephesus, Miletus, Myus, Lebedos, Colophon, Prienë, Teos, Erythræ, Phocæa, Clazomenæ, Chios, and Samos; to which was afterward added Smyrna, acquired from the Æolians. Androclus fixed his residence at Ephesus, Neleus at Miletus. The authority of the former is said, by Strabo, to have extended over all the settlements. But monarchal was early superseded by republican government, with the claim of separate sovereinty for every municipal administration. A confederacy, however, apparently better established than the Æolian, connected the Ionian cities, with a regular general council called Panionion, or the Panionian Synod. Its sessions were originally held in a desert spot of the promontory of Mycale, and Neptune was the deïty to whom it addressed sacrifices and looked for protection. Afterward, among the wars of the country, a situation in readier reach of human help being found requisite, a place was chosen, still not within the walls of a town, but near Ephesus. The territory thus acquired on the continent of Asia Minor, scarcely anywhere perhaps extending forty miles from the coast up the country, was, however, in length from the north of Æolis to the south of Ionia, near four hundred.

Herod. l. 9. c. 97. Strab. l. 14. p. 632, 633. Diod. l. 15. c. 49. Pausan. l. 7. c. 2. Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 8. c. 5.

Herod. l. 1. c. 142.

Herod. l. 1. c. 143. 148. Strab. l. 14. p. 639. Diod. l. 15. c. 49.

Still

Still the Greeks acquired settlements southward of this tract, within the bounds of that corner of Asia which the great migrations had left to the Carians, genuine descendants of the Leleges, and which retained the name of Caria. Here the Trœzenians founded Halicarnassus, which became much more considerable than the parent-city. The adjacent iland of Rhodes had been very early occupied by people of Grecian race, some from Crete, it is said, some from Thessaly: and Homer relates, that Tlepolemus, son of Hercules, carried a colony thither from Argos, and afterward joined in the expedition against Troy. The great poet celebrates the power and wealth of Rhodes. In his time it was divided between three independent states, which were not till some centuries after united, when the city of Rhodes was built, in a very advantageous situation, for a common capital of the iland. A happy system of government prevailed: people of higher rank alone directed public affairs, but provision was made for the welfare and security of all[4]. Hence Rhodes long florished in commerce, arts, and arms, and extended its dominion over a considerable territory upon the neighboring continent. The Halicarnassians, on the contrary, held Cos, with some smaller ilands, in subjection. Other towns, on the continent and in the iland, were founded by colonies from Megara. The Carian colonies in general boasted the DORIAN name. Their people, like the Æolian and Ionians, held meetings for common sacrifice, for which the promontory of Triopium was the chosen place; but their political connection, like that of the Æolians, was very imperfect.

Herod. l. 1. c. 171.
Herod. l. 7. c. 99.
Strab. l. 14. p. 656.
Strab. l. 14. p. 653.
Iliad. l. 2. v. 674.
Strab. l. 14. p. 652. 655.
Herod. l. 7. c. 99.
Strab. ut ant.

The northern coast of the Ægean sea was not successfully and permanently settled by people from Greece so early as the eastern. It was, however, still an early period when, beside the acquisitions already mentioned of the Eubœans, all the best situations on the THRACIAN coast of the Ægean, and on both shores of the PROPONTIS, were possessed by Greeks, and some establishments were made far in the EUXINE sea. MACEDONIA, occupied by a colony from Argos, under a leader of the family of Temenus the Heracleid, will require its own history.

Herod. l. 2. c. 33. & l. 4. c. 12.

[4] Strabo is warm in eulogy of the Rhodian government: Θαυμαστὴ ἡ εὐνομία, he says. But his phrase to express its character is particularly remarkable: Δημοκηδεῖς δ' εἰσὶν οἱ Ῥόδιοι, καίπερ ὂν δημοκρατούμενοι. l. 14. p. 652.

But these were not the most distant, or the most extraordinary of the Grecian acquisitions in those remote ages. Poetical tradition says, and the most judicious Grecian writers adopted the report, that, shortly after the Trojan war, Teucer, son of Telamon and brother of the celebrated Ajax, leading a colony from the little iland of Salamis on the coast of Attica, founded the city of Salamis in CYPRUS. Unquestionably Cyprus was very early settled by Greeks. It had still earlier been occupied by the Phenicians; from whom it derived that worship of the goddess Venus, originally a Syrian goddess, for which it became early and continued long remarkable. Cyprus was then wooded like the uncleared parts of America. The Phenicians therefore, who, through their superiority in arts and manufactures, found more immediate profit in trading to inhabited countries than in planting the uninhabited, seem not to have been averse to the establishment of Greek adventurers there. On the contrary, the overabundance of wood and the consequent scarcity of people were esteemed such inconveniencies, and the value of soil covered with wood was so trifling, that it was long customary to give lands to any who would clear them. Colony therefore followed colony, from Laconia, from Argos, from Athens, and some other parts. Thus, in time, Cyprus became completely a Grecian iland; and, from being an object for nothing but its ship-timber and its copper-mines, was made a rich and populous country, fruitful in corn, and famous for the excellence and abundance of its wines and oil. It was however, in early times, divided into too many little states for any one to become considerable; and these fell mostly under that reprobated sort of monarchy which the Greeks denominated tyranny [5].

Pindar. Nem. 4. Isocrat. Nicocles. p. 120. t. 1. Strab. l. 14. p. 682.

Herod. l. 1. c. 105. Homer. Odyss. l. 8. v. 362. Strab. l. 14. p. 684.

Strab. l. 14. p. 684.

Among the most southern of that cluster of little ilands in the Ægean sea, called the Cyclades, is Thera, planted at an early period by a colony from Lacedæmon. This little iland also sent out its colony: the city of Cyrenë in AFRICA originated thence; and through the excellence of its soil, the opportunity of extending its territory, the convenience of its situation for commerce, and the advantage of its climate for productions valuable in exchange, Cyrenë rose to an

Herodot. l. 4. c. 147. & 155. Strab. l. 10. p. 448. & l. 17. p. 837. Ol. 37. 3. B. C. 630. A. & B.

[5] Κατὰ πόλεις ἐτυραννεύοντο οἱ Κύπριοι. Strab. p. 684.

importance

importance impossible for the mother-country ever to attain. Its horses, of Arabian breed, by their victories on the course of Olympia, procured celebrity to their owners and their country from the pen of Pindar; whose extant works bear testimony to the early wealth of Cyrenë, and to the largeness of the towns that arose from it over that part of Africa which acquired the name of the Cyrenaïc. Barca, afterward called Ptolemaïs, became early a considerable independent commonwealth.

Pindar. Pyth. 4. & 5. & 9.

Thus great and thus widely spred were the early Grecian colonies eastward, northward, and southward; and yet they were exceeded, in historical importance at least, by those planted toward the west. ITALY and SICILY were, in Homer's time, scarcely known but by name. They were regions of imaginary monsters and real savages; and the great poet has described these as accurately, as he has painted those fancifully, 'Neither plowing nor sowing,' he says, 'they feed on 'the spontaneous productions of the soil. They have no assemblies for 'public debate; no magistrates to inforce laws; no common concerns 'of any kind: but they dwell in caverns on mountain-tops; and every 'one is magistrate and lawgiver to his own family.' The calamities and various confusion insuing from the Trojan war are said to have occasioned the first Grecian migrations to those countries: which appears highly probable, tho we should not implicitly believe the traditions which name the leaders and the spots on which they severally settled. But while we doubt whether Diomed, after having established colonies of his followers in Arpi, Canusium, and Sipontum in Apulia, reälly penetrated to the bottom of the Adriatic gulph, and became master of the country about the mouth of the Po; whether Pisa in Tuscany was built by those Peloponnesian Pisæans who had followed Nestor to the siege of Troy; and whether, as report says, at a still earlier day, the Arcadian Evander founded that village on the bank of the Tiber, which afterward became Rome; still we learn with unquestionable certainty that, if these were not facts, yet Grecian colonies were settled in various parts of Italy at a very early period: so early, that tho we can trace them very high, yet their origin lies beyond all investigation. The reputation was hence acquired by Cuma, on the Campanian

Strab. l. 6. p. 267.

Odyss. l. 9. v. 108.

Strab. l. 6. p. 283, 284. Virg. Æn. l. 10. v. 28. Strab. ut sup. & l. 5. p. 215. Id. l. 5. p. 222. Virg. Æn. l. 10. v. 180. Strab. l. 5. p. 230. Virg. Æn. l. 8. v. 51. 313. 336.

Strab. l. 5. p. 243.

Campanian coast, of being the oldest of all the Grecian towns both in Italy and Sicily; because it could with the greatest certainty refer its foundation to the remotest era. It was a colony led by Megasthenes and Hippocles from Chalcis and Cuma in Eubœa, not a great while, according to Velleius Paterculus, after the founding of those towns by the Athenians. The Campanian Cuma prospered and sent out its own colonies: Naples is among its offspring. Strab. ibid. Vel. Paterc. l. 1. c. 4.

One florishing settlement in that inviting country would incourage farther adventures. The Chalcidians of Eubœa, we are told, finding, at a following period, their population too great for their territory, consulted the Delphian oracle. The Pythoness directed them to decimate their whole people, and send a tenth to found a colony. It happened that some of the principal Messenians, of those who had fled their country after the first war with Lacedæmon, were at the same time at Delphi to ask advice of the god. The managers of the oracle commanded them to join in the adventure with the decimated Chalcidians. Both parties were pleased with the order; and chusing for their leader a Messenian of the Heracleid family, they founded Rhegium on the southern point of Italy, which became a florishing and powerful state. Not long after, Tarentum was founded by Lacedæmonians; Locri Epizephyrii, and Medama, by Locrians from Crissa; Scylleticum, afterward called Scyllacium, by Athenians; Crotona, and Sybaris, from whose ruin rose Thurium, by Achaians; Salentum and Brundusium by Cretans. Some of these had many inferior towns within their territory: and in the end full half the coast of Italy came into the possession of Greeks. Strab. l. 6. p. 257. Strab. l. 6.

While the coasts of Italy thus became Grecian ground, settlements were made with equal or superior success in SICILY. Thucydides informs us that the name by which that iland first became known to the Greeks, was Trinácria; and that the first inhabitants, concerning whom any tradition reached them, were the Cyclopes and Læstrigons; whose history however, with his usual judgement, he professes to leave to the poets. The Sicans, from whom it acquired the name of Sicania, he supposes to have passed from Spain; driven from their settlements there by the Ligurians. Afterward the Sicels, forced by similar violence Thucyd. l. 6.

from their native Italy, wrested from the Sicans the greatest and best part of the iland, and fixed upon it that name which it still retains. At a very early period the Phenicians had established, in some of the most secure situations around the coast, not colonies, but factories, for the meer purposes of trade; and probably less the uninfluenced violence of the barbarous natives, than Phenician policy directing that violence, has given occasion to those reports, so much cultivated by the poets, of giants and monsters peculiar to Sicily. No Grecian trader dared venture thither: but some Phocian soldiers, in returning from the siege of Troy, being driven by stress of weather to the coast of Africa, and unable, in the imperfection of navigation, thence directly to reach Greece, crossed to the Sicilian coast. It happened that there they fell in with some Trojans, who, after the overthrow of their city, had wandered thus far in quest of a settlement. Brotherhood in distress united them; they found means to make alliance with the Sicans in the western part of the iland; and, establishing themselves there, Trojans, Greeks, and Sicans formed together a new people, who acquired the new name of Elymians. The strong holds of Eryx and Egesta, called by the Romans Segesta, became their principal towns.

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 2.

Strab. l. 6. p. 267.

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 2. Strab. l. 6. p. 272. Plut. vit. Nic. init.

It was, according to Ephorus, as he is quoted by Strabo, in the next age, or generation, after this event, that Theocles or Thucles, an Athenian, being driven, also by stress of weather, on the eastern coast of the iland, had opportunity to observe how little formidable the barbarous inhabitants in that part really were, as well as how inviting the soil and climate. On his return he endeavored to procure the authority of the Athenian government for establishing a colony there; but, not succeeding, he went to Calchis in Eubœa, where his proposal was more favorably received. Many Chalcidians ingaged in the adventure. Thus incouraged, many from other parts of Greece joined them; and, under the conduct of Thucles, they founded Naxus, the first Grecian town of Sicily.

Strab. l. 6. p. 267.

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 3. Strab. ut sup.

A prosperous beginning here, as in Italy, invited more attempts. It was, according to Thucydides, in the very next year after the founding of Naxus, that Archias, a Corinthian, of Heracleid race, led a colony to Sicily. To the southward of Naxus, but still on the eastern

Thucyd. ut sup.

B. C. about 650. N.

eastern coast, he found a territory of uncommon fertility, with a harbor singularly safe and commodious. Within the harbor, and barely detached from the shore, was an iland, about two miles in circumference, plentifully watered by that remarkable fountain, which, through the poets chiefly, has acquired renown by the name of Arethusa. From this advantageous post he expelled the Sicels, and founded there the city which became the great and celebrated Syracuse. Meanwhile Naxus so increased and florished, that, in the sixth year only from its foundation, its people, still under the conduct of Thucles, driving the Sicels before them, founded first Leontini, and soon after Catana. About the same time a new colony from Megara, under Lamis, founded the Hyblæan Megara. It was not till above forty years after, that any settlement was attempted on the southern coast, when a united colony of Rhodians and Cretans founded Gela. But the superiority of the Greek nation in Sicily was already decided; and Tauromenium, Selinus, Himera, Acræ, Casmenæ, Camarina, Acragas, called by the Romans Agrigentum, and Zanclē, afterward named Messena, became considerable cities, mostly colonies from those before founded in that iland, or in Italy. The interior of both countries remained to the former race of inhabitants.

Ol. 12. 1. B. C. 732.

Strab. l. 6. p. 270.

Swinburne's Trav. in Sic. v. 2. p. 327.

Mosch. Eidyll. 8.

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 4.

Strab. l. 6. p. 270.

It is indeed remarkable that the Greeks seem never to have coveted inland territories: their active temper led them always to maritime situations; and if driven from these, they sought still others of the same kind, however remote from their native country, rather than be excluded from the means which the sea affords for communication with all the world. Accordingly the Italian and Sicilian Greeks (whose possessions were so extended as to acquire the name of Great Greece) and not less the African colonies, maintained constant intercourse with the country of their forefathers: particularly they frequented the Olympian games, the great meeting for all people of Grecian race. Still greater advantages perhaps were derived from the yet more intimate communication maintained by some of them with the Asiatic colonies: for there Grecian art and science first rose to splendor: there Grecian philosophy had its birth, and from the iland of Samos on the Asiatic coast the great Pythagoras came and settled at Crotona in

Pindar.

Herod. l. 3. c. 138. & l. 6. c. 21.

Strab. l. 6. p. 263.

Italy. Thus the colonies in general advanced nearly equally in improvements of art, science, and civilization, and sometimes went even before the mother-country. The first system of laws committed to writing among the Greeks, according to Strabo, was the celebrated code of the Epizephyrian Locrians, composed by Zaleucus; and scarcely any had greater fame, none was more extensively adopted, than that of the Catanian lawgiver Charondas. The political institutions of Zaleucus, were, according to Ephorus, as he is cited by Strabo, principally taken from those of Crete and Lacedæmon; the criminal law from the practice of the court of Areiopagus at Athens. It is said to have had the merit of being the first among the Greeks that secured the accused against the arbitrary authority of judges, by stating the penalty for every transgression; and his system altogether was admired for the general easiness of its application, upon liberal principles, to all possible occurrences. His religious and moral precepts, always an essential part of the system of every early lawgiver, if we might give any credit to the disputed account of Diodorus, had very superior merit[6].

Strab. l. 6. p. 259.

Aristot. Polit. l. 2. c. 12. Strab. l. 12. p. 539.

Strab. l. 6. p. 260.

Diod. Sic. l. 12. c. 20. 24.

Few of the Grecian colonies were founded with any view to extend the dominion of the mother-country. Often the leaders were no more than pirates, not unlike the buccaneers of modern times. On a savage coast they seized a convenient port, set slaves to cultivate the adjoining lands, and themselves continued their cruises. When a state by a public act sent out a colony, the purpose was generally no more than to deliver itself from numbers too great for its territory, or from factious men, whose means of power at home were unequal to their ambition. Corinth, however, early, and in later times Athens, had sometimes farther views. Possessing naval force, they could give protection and exact obedience; of which the Grecian commonwealths

Pausan. l. 4. c. 23. Herod. l. 6. c. 17.

Strab. l. 4. p. 158. Plat. de Leg. l. 5. p. 735. t. 2. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 38.

[6] The age of these lawgivers is very uncertain. Aristotle mentions it as reported that Charondas was fellow-disciple of the Spartan lawgiver Lycurgus, under the Cretan Thales, and that Zaleucus studied under Charondas. Polit. l. 2. c. 12. The inaccurate Diodorus, on the contrary, without hesitation, makes Charondas cotemporary with Pericles. It seems nevertheless unlikely that his age was so remote as Aristotle's report would make it. His reputation however was such among the Sicilian and Italian Greeks, that Plato does not scruple to rank him with Solon: Χαρώνδαν μὲν γὰρ Ἰταλία καὶ Σικελία, καὶ ἡμεῖς Σόλωνα (νομοθέλην ἀγαθὸν γεγονέναι καὶ σφᾶς ωφεληκέναι ἀιλιᾶται.) Plat. de rep. l. 10. p. 599. t. 2.

in general could do neither. For the most part, therefore, in the colonies, as in Greece itself, every considerable town claimed to be an independent state; and, unless oppressed by a powerful neighbor, maintained itself by its own strength and its alliances.

SECTION III.

History of Athens from the Abolition of Royalty to the Legislation of Solon.

HAVING thus briefly surveyed the extensive and important acquisitions of the Greek nation in various foreïn parts, we return to Athens. We have heretofore had occasion to observe that all the traditions of the Greeks, concerning the early history of their country, bear strong marks, if not of accuracy, yet at least of honesty. Even those ages distinguished by the epithets poetical, fabulous, and heroïc, are far from abounding with matter of flattery to the Greek nation. Homer's perfect impartiality is perhaps among the greatest wonders of his works; and from the period when his history ceases, to that in which the first prose historians lived, a space of at least two centuries and a half, we find absolutely nothing of what the character of vanity, so liberally attributed to the Greek nation, might lead us to expect. It is an observation of Sallust that the actions of the Athenians, really great, nevertheless owe their superior reputation much to the superior manner in which their historians have related them. But those celebrated actions of the Athenians did not begin till the eyes of many inlightened and jealous people were upon them. That remote period of their history where invention, secure from conviction, might riot in flattery, is remarkably barren of circumstances flattering to the nation. Cecrops, their first hero, was no Athenian; even their favorite Theseus was not born in their country: Codrus was a Peloponnesian; and, with Codrus, heroïsm in the antient style ended. Here appears a striking difference between the histories of Greece and of Rome. The first accounts of Greece present us with a people inferior to the inhabitants of other known

known countries, looking up with reverence to any strangers who would do them the honor to come among them. After the times of the hydras, chimeras, flying horses, sea-monsters, and other mythological extravagancies, the hero whose actions remain recorded as most extraordinary, is Aristomenes; whose memory was cherished as the solace of an unfortunate people, while their conquerors, become the most powerful of the Greeks, have attributed no remarkable celebrity to any of their great men of the same age; but have left unquestionable victories to speak for themselves by their effects only. But the history of Rome, from the establishment of the consulate, is made up of gross flattery to the people at large, and to the great families in particular, till it became, in too notorious reality, a disgrace to human nature. I would not depreciate the just merit of the Romans. If we had no history of Rome from the time when it was sacked by the Gauls to the time when it ruined Carthage, still we should be certain that, in that interval, it must have produced not a few, but a whole people of great men. It is the history only, and not the people of Greece and Rome, that I mean at present to compare. In consequence of the modest veracity of the Attic historians, Athens is almost without history for some generations after the death of Codrus. The few objects occurring are not matter of boast. Twelve archons are named, who followed Medon by hereditary succession; and the vanity of aftertimes has not ascribed to any one of them, or to any one man under their government, a memorable action; tho, according to Blair's chronology, the reigns of the thirteen were of no less than three hundred and sixteen years, from the year before Christ one thousand and seventy to the year seven hundred and fifty-four. Newton, who places the death of Codrus only eight hundred and four years before Christ, makes the interval to the death of Alcmæon, the thirteenth archon, no more than one hundred and fifty-seven. It may not be absolutely useless to lay before the reader the barren list of names, which the investigators of Attic antiquities have preserved, as of persons who, under the title of king or archon, reigned in Attica from earliest tradition to this period. He will judge whether inventive posterity has attributed to them an improbable proportion of brilliant atchievements. Ogyges is mentioned as a

prince

prince who reigned at a time beyond connected tradition. After an undetermined interval, the next named is the Egyptian Cecrops. To him succeeded Cranaüs, Amphictyon, Erechtheus, Pandion, Ægeus, Theseus, Menestheus, Demophoön, Oxyntes, Aphidas, Thymœtes, Melanthus, Codrus, Medon, Acastus, Archippus, Thersippus, Phorbas, Megacles, Diognetus, Pherecles, Ariphron, Thespicus, Agamestor, Æschylus, Alcmæon. Some writers have supposed three kings more between Amphictyon and Ægeus; making a second Cecrops, a second Pandion, and a second Erechtheus; or calling the first Erichthonius.

During the reigns of the hereditary archons, we do not learn that the Athenians had any transactions with other people, unless from the incidental mention by Strabo of their accession to the Calaurean league, of which some account has already been given. The next important occurrence in their history is a farther change in the constitution. On the death of Alcmæon, Charops was raised to the archonship upon condition of holding it for ten years only: but the naked fact alone remains recorded, unimbellished as unexplained. Six archons are said to have followed Charops by appointment for ten years. But, on the expiration of the archonship of Eryxias, a farther and greater change was made; the duration of the office was reduced to a single year, and its duties were divided among nine persons. These were appointed by lot, but out of the first order of the state, the eupatrids or nobles, only. All bore the title of Archon, but they differed in dignity and in function. One principally represented the majesty of the state: by his name the year of his magistracy was distinguished; whence he was sometimes called Archon Eponymus, but more usually he was intitled simply the Archon. The second in rank had the title of *King*. He was head of the religion of the commonwealth, to which principally the peculiar functions of his dignity related. The Polëmarch was third; and originally his office was what the title imports, chief in military affairs. The other six archons had the common title of Thesmothete: they presided as judges in the ordinary courts of justice, and the six formed a tribunal which had a peculiar jurisdiction. The nine together formed the council of state. Legislation remained with the assembly of the people; but almost the whole

Ol. 33. 2. B. C. 647. *N*
Ol. 6. 4. B. C. 753. *B.*
Ol. 43. 2. B. C. 607. *N.*
Ol. 24. 1. B. C. 684. *B.*
Thucyd. l. 1. c. 126.

whole administration, political, military, judiciary, and religious, was with the archons.

Farther than this we are little exactly informed what was yet the conſtitution of Athens: for writing was hitherto so little practised in Greece,* that there were no written laws. It was therefore impossible for improvements in legislation, or in the forms of government, to advance with any steddy pace, or, except with ſuch extraordinary institutions as those of Crete and Lacedæmon, to rest on any firm ground. The abolition of hereditary supreme magistracy is a measure not generally likely to bring internal peace to a country; and the Athenian history, during above a century which, according to the lowest computation, passed between the appointment of annual archons and the Persian invasion, is supplied by scarcely anything but intestine troubles. Soverein power being open to all the principal families, some, who could not obtain it by legal, would seek it by illegal means. Cylon, a man of a very antient and powerful house, ill bore the superiority of the Alcmæonids, who claimed descent from the perpetual archons, and the kings of the Neleid line. He had married the daughter of Theägenes, tyrant of Megara: he had been victor in the chariot-race at the Olympian games; a circumstance which in those days of itself gave rank and reputation, not without ſome opinion of peculiar favor from the god of the festival; and being apparently a man of much ambition and little understanding, he interpreted a dubious response of the Delphian oracle as a declaration of divine blessing upon his purpose of making himself by violence master of the republic. With some troops, which he received from his father-in-law, he seized the citadel of Athens. But he seems to have been little prepared for the farther prosecution of his enterprize. Megacles, head of the Alcmæonid family, was archon. The people ran to arms under his conduct, and immediately laid siege to the citadel. Its strength might have enabled Cylon to maintain himself there, but he was without stores. Famine therefore pressing, he was not ashamed to seek his own safety in flight, leaving his adherents to their own measures. The manners of the age afforded better ground of hope in the superstition

Newton's Chronol.

Herod l. 5. c. 71.
Thucyd. l. 1. c. 126.
Plut. Solon.
Pausan. l. 2. c. 18.

Thucyd. ib.

* Τῶν πάλαι ἀγχινοῦς καὶ δυνατός. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 162.

than

than in the generosity of their enemies. Forsaking therefore their arms they fled to the altars. Persuaded then to quit these, under promises of personal security, they were notwithstanding condemned and executed. The moral, the political, but still far more the religious guilt of this sacrilegious perfidy, made a deep impression upon the minds of the Athenian people. Political power remained with the archon and his party, but popular favor began to attach more to the cause of the injured. We are not informed what, beyond a general sense of the intolerable evils of an unsettled government, and an uncertain jurisprudence, led to the legislation of Draco, which soon followed. Draco was a man whose severe morals and inflexible uprightness justly recommended him, but who was unfortunately of genius very inferior to the undertaking. The political constitution he left nearly as he found it, but he established a new system of penal law. All crimes, equally from the most enormous to the most trifling, that became objects of his statutes, he made capital; urging that a breach of any positive law, being treason to the jurisprudence of the state, deserved death; and he could go no farther for greater crimes. The severity of such a system defeated its own purpose. Few would be accusers against inferior criminals, when the consequence was to be fatal to the accused; and the humanity of the judges interfering, where that of prosecutors was deficient, it followed that all crimes, except those highly atrocious, went wholly unpunished. The laws of Draco, therefore, were a very imperfect remedy for the evils under which Athens labored; in some instances they but increased them[7].

Ol. 52. 1. B. C. 572. N.

Ol. 39. 1. B. C. 623. B.

Plut. Solon.

Meanwhile the people of Salamis, probably suffering under the weak and uncertain government of Athens, revolted, after the example of so many other members of Grecian republics, and strengthened themselves by alliance with Megara. Many attempts were made to recover the iland by force of arms; but always with loss. Then followed the first instance upon record of any direct opposition of the democratical to the oligarchal part of the constitution. The people had submitted hitherto to be instruments of the great in their quarrels with one another; but now they refused any more to

Plut. Solon. Justin. l. 2. c. 7.

[7] Δράκωνος δὲ νόμοι μέν εἰσι· πολιτείᾳ δ' ὑπαρχούσῃ τοὺς νόμους ἔθηκεν. Ἴδιόν δ' ἐν τοῖς νόμοις οὐδέν ἐστιν, ὅ τι καὶ μνείας ἄξιον, πλὴν ἡ χαλεπότης διὰ τὸ τῆς ζημίας μέγεθος. Aristot. Polit l. 2. c. 12.

follow unskilful or unfortunate leaders against revolted fellow-subjects. Assembling by themselves, they decreed capital punishment against any, private or magistrate, who should ever propose to lead them again in arms against Salamis. The leading men were appalled. The lower people then having once felt their united strength, with arms in their hands, would hold it. But, masters as they were of the state, they knew not how to use their new power. United they could prevent others from directing administration, but none were eminent enough to take the business upon themselves. The law concerning Salamis, as we learn from high authority, was not singular in its kind among the Greek republics; but the loss of Salamis, and its connection with a hostile state, were obviously great and threatening evils. A general dissatisfaction with their own act soon became evident among the people, but none dared propose a reversal of it. In these circumstances came forward one of the greatest characters that Greece ever produced. Solon, a young man of an old and honorable family of Attica, had been hitherto distinguished only by his love of learning and his genius for poetry. He managed now, it is said, to spread report that he had occasional accesses of madness; and for some time kept his house. In this retirement he composed a poem, that might excite the multitude to his purpose. Watching opportunity then, during an assembly of the people, he ran into the agora like one frantic, mounted the herald's stone, whence proclamations were usually spoken, and thence recited his poem to the crowd. Some of his friends were at hand, prepared to wonder, admire, and applaud. The people caught the frenzy; the law concerning Salamis was abrogated; and it was decreed immediately to send a fresh expedition against that iland. The business came into the hands of the party to which Solon attached himself: it was conducted with prudence, and the success was answerable: the Athenians recovered the iland with little loss. The government at the same time resumed in a great degree its former consistency, and the party of Megacles again directed the administration.

Thucyd. l. 2. c. 24.

But among all the antient commonwealths, of which any account remains, we find violent agitations resulting from inequality of property: the principal division of the people was into the faction of the rich and the faction of the poor, and the animosities between these were vehement,

ment, and the contests marked with acrimony. Everywhere this evil appears to have had its root in the institution of slavery; whence the operation of wealth has been remarkably similar among all the antient republics, and remarkably different from anything known in modern Europe. Nowhere the poor had ready means of getting a livelihood by creditable industry. The rich, to acquire at the same time revenue and influence, lent their money. The poor, averse to employments which put them in appearance upon a footing with slaves, and often unable to obtain hire even for such employment, borrowed, at exorbitant interest, with their persons only to offer for security. Everywhere therefore the laws gave the lender certain rights over the person of the borrower. Thus the wealthy, to the power always attending property, added a power not originally intended by the constitution, yet derived from the laws, and confirmed by them. The indiscretion of the needy has always coöperated, at first, with the ambition of the rich, to increase that power. The indiscretion of the rich afterward, indulging a disposition to avarice and tyranny, has at length urged the poor to resist an authority to which themselves had contributed to give the sanction of law. At Athens an insolvent debtor became slave to his creditor; and not himself only, but his wife and children also, if less would not answer the debt. Sometimes a debtor would sell his children to save himself. Power on one side, and resources on the other, both so abhorrent to humanity, necessarily produced a violent irritation in the minds of the poor against the rich. But the oligarchal principle yet predominated in the Athenian constitution. The claims of birth were high: civil magistracy, religious office, military command, all remained, as they had been appointed by the laws of Theseus, the exclusive privilege of the eupatrids: almost the whole property of Attica was theirs; and it appears that the consequent oppression of the lower people was often severe. At the same time the constitutional power of the people was great, weighty, and even overbearing, when they could be brought to anything approaching to unanimity in the exercise of it. In the contest of parties therefore it was the object of all to cultivate popularity.

Aristot. Polit. l. 2. c. 12.

Aristot. ibid.

While the struggles of faction were thus convulsing Athens, the Megacians found opportunity to retake Nisæa, and draw Salamis again to revolt.

revolt. The opponents of Megacles then became clamorous about the sacrilege committed in the execution of the partizans of Cylon; insisting that it must be expiated, or greater misfortunes would follow from the wrath of the gods. Solon, it is said, had influence to persuade the accused peaceably to abide a trial, to which the administration of the republic was unable to compel them. They were condemned to exile; but the atonement was deemed insufficient to secure the commonwealth from the vengeance of the affronted deity, till the bones of the offenders who had died were also removed beyond the mountains.

The superstition then which others had used to raise disturbance in the state, Solon conceived now to be the powerful and advantageous engine by which a better order of things might be produced. For his kindness to the lower people, and the disposition he always showed to provide them legal protection, he was extensively popular. Nevertheless the eupatrids, fearful of utter overthrow, seem to have been willing to commit their interest to his direction. With their coöperation reports were circulated of phantoms seen, and various ominous circumstances observed, which portended the anger of the gods. The people were alarmed: the priests declared that expiations and purifications were necessary; but how the divine wrath might with certainty be averted, they professed themselves at a loss to determine.

After various consultations, a deputation was sent to Crete, inviting Epimeneides, a philosopher of that iland, of high reputation for skill in the divinity of the age, to take upon him, in this season of anxiety and terror, the superintendance of the religion of Athens. To this stranger, the supposed favorite of the gods, the people looked with expectation and awful suspense, while he directed the performance of sacrifices and proceſſions, with increased pomp and new ceremonies. The dazzling splendor, and alluring but well-regulated festivity, which accompanied every act of devotion, ingaged the public mind, checked the pursuits of faction, and led to the establishment of good order and sober conduct. According to Plutarch, that scheme of improvement in the government and jurisprudence of the commonwealth, afterward executed by Solon, was at this time concerted with the Cretan philosopher; with whom Solon is said to have lived in intimate friendship, and to whose worth

Plat. de Leg. l. 3. p. 677.

and abilities we have Plato's testimony in strong terms. At present Epimeneides was the ostensible director of everything: but excepting the new religious ceremonies, we find only one permanent regulation attributed to him: he restrained the usual excess of public mourning for deceased relations, which had often led to tumult; being conducted, after the manner of many barbarous nations, and of the provincial Irish to this day, with public and clamorous lamentation and weeping, in which the women bore a principal part. Internal quiet being thus restored to Athens, Epimeneides took his leave. High honors and valuable presents were decreed to him by the state for his services. He refused all, and requested only a branch of the sacred olive-tree which grew in the acropolis, said to be the parent of its kind, and to have sprung from the ground at the command of the goddess Minerva. This being granted, he returned to Crete. When superior abilities have acquired influence to one man over the many, such ostentatious disinterestedness beyond all things confirms their power; and it is in times only when honorable poverty may be an object even of ambition to men of superior talents, that great reformations in a state are to be expected.

Plut. Solon. Herod. l. 8. c. 55.

But the disorders of Athens, having their foundation in a defective constitution, were but in small part removed, and for the rest, meerly lulled, by the measures of Epimeneides. Each order of the state by itself had too much power, the authority of the two was not duly connected and blended, and a moderator was wanting to hold the balance between them. The whole authority of the country was not yet concentrated in the city: the landed interest had considerable weight. Among the proprietors of the mountainous tracts the democratical interest prevailed; the plain country was mostly the possession of the eupatrids, whose general aim was to establish an exclusive oligarchy; but the mercantile men and many landowners of the coast, averse to either extreme, were anxious for a mixed government. Hence Highlanders, Lowlanders, and Coastmen became the distinguishing names of three factions which long divided the Attic people. The contentions of these grew so threatening, that, according to Plutarch, many sober men began to think that nothing less than the establishment of regal power,

Plutarch. Solon.

power, or, as it was then called, a tyranny, could prevent greater evils. Then the superior character of Solon drew the attention of all parties. He was obnoxious to none: not to the lower people, because, tho rich, he never oppressed any: not to the higher, because, tho adverse to their private tyranny, he favored their political power. His superior wisdom had been approved; his integrity was believed above all influence; and he was respected universally. He was accordingly with general, or, it is said, unanimous consent, appointed archon, with peculiar powers for reforming the laws and constitution.

Ol. 54. 3. B. C. 562. N.

Ol. 46. 3. B. C. 594. B.

SECTION IV.

Reformation of the Athenian Government and Jurisprudence by Solon.

BARBAROUS ages are most favorable for legislation. History affords few instances of great improvement in the constitution of polished states. The means there can scarcely occur but through some violent convulsion, threatening subversion, confounding all establishments, and reducing things to the chaos of barbarism. The English constitution stands singular in the circumstance of its gradual improvement. But the materials of its foundation, derived from German forests, were arranged by the great Alfred in days of the deepest barbarism: and our jurisprudence, by the acknowlegement of our greatest lawyers, received more improvement in the early reigns of Henry the Second and Edward the First than in all the centuries since. The friends of Solon appear to have been aware of the greater difficulty of political reformation among an inlightened people, when, doubting the sufficiency of the authority given him to repress the effects of party, and curb the interfering ambition of powerful individuals, they offered to assist him in assuming royalty, and with a high hand molding all things to his own pleasure. Solon was wise enough, for his own sake, to refuse that dangerous preëminence; and, for the sake of his country, to avoid attempting those fundamental changes for which he saw the season was past. Bold as well as virtuous, he had yet neither the daring nor the severe

Plutarch. Solon.

severe temper of the Spartan lawgiver; but each seems to have been born for his own age and country.

Like Lycurgus, Solon's first object, and what indeed the state of things at Athens most urgently demanded, was to remedy the evils produced by inequality of possessions; to reconcile the rich with the poor, to relieve these without violently offending those. But Solon would obviate the abuse, not abolish the use of riches. The business was of extreme nicety. Accounts differ concerning the manner in which it was effected; but the legislator at length brought the two parties to join in a common sacrifice, which was called the Seisachtheia, or feast of delivery from burthens, and all was settled: probably, as some authors have related, not by annulling the debts, but by lowering the interest; by giving means of advantage to the debtor through some alterations in the value of money; and especially by taking from the creditor all power over the persons of the debtor and his family.

This most difficult and dangerous business being accommodated, Solon proceeded to regulate the constitution of the commonwealth. We are told that Lycurgus being asked why he, who in other respects appeared so zealous for the equal rights of men, did not make his government democratical, rather than oligarchal, 'Go you,' the legislator answered, 'and try a democracy in your own house.' Solon was not unaware of the evils inherent in that turbulent form of rule; and he proposed to obviate its inconveniencies, by the establishment of balancing powers. But the great resource of representation and delegated authority, tho not unknown among the Greeks, seen in earliest times in the council of Amphictyons, and afterward in national congresses, was however nowhere so arranged as to afford any very promising example. Solon therefore gave supreme power to the people in assembly, where every free Athenian had his equal right to vote and speak; a foundation of evil so broad, that all the wisdom of his other regulations was weak against it. Plutarch, Apoph. Lacon.

It were however difficult, if not impossible, by the most accurate collection of what remains to us in various antient authors, to ascertain what was at any time, in every particular, the form of government of Athens; nor have we the means of always determining what was, and what was not, of the institution of Solon. The learned archbishop Potter,

Potter, and those who have followed him, with all their labors, leave us in the dark concerning some matters which we might wish to have elucidated: for if it were only on account of the esteem in which they were held by the Romans, who must have been impartial as well as otherwise most respectable judges, the institutions of Solon would be among the greatest objects of curiosity in all antiquity. Indeed they may be considered, in some degree, as the fountain of all the legislation and jurisprudence of Europe; being the acknowleged model of the Roman law, which has formed that of many of the European nations, and contributed considerable improvements to all, even to our own. In thus tracing modern jurisprudence upward, we arrive indeed at a very remote source. Through Rome we pass to Athens, to Crete, to Egypt. But it is in the constitution and practice of Athens that a regular and scientific jurisprudence first becomes known to us in any detail: and tho Athens probably gained much from Crete, first by Theseus, then by Epimeneides, yet those improvements, that polish, which formed the peculiar merit of its constitution, have by the consent of all been attributed to Solon.

In the inquiry then what the Athenian constitution was, it will be first necessary to take a view of the COMPONENT MEMBERS of the Athenian commonwealth; because in these it differed so widely from everything in modern Europe, that this alone suffices to prevent any close resemblance in almost any particular. The results of two polls of ATHENIAN CITIZENS remain reported to us; one taken in the time of Pericles, the other in that of Demetrius Phalereus. By the first they were found to be no more than fourteen thousand and forty persons; probably men above the age of thirty, before which they were not competent to be admitted on juries for the trial of causes, nor, it should seem, regularly to vote in the general assembly: tho, whatever may have been the ordinance of Solon, this point seems, in aftertimes, to have been less decisively settled than its importance required[8]. At the second

Plut. vit. Peric. Athen. Deipnosoph. l. 6.

[8] It appears strange that such a point should have been left undetermined in the Athenian constitution, and yet it seems to have been so. Aristophanes, in his comedy of the Knights, introduces the people, represented by a single person with the name of Demus, saying in general terms, 'I will not 'allow beardless youths to meddle with the 'business

second period the Athenian citizens were twenty-one thousand; and at the same time there were found resident in Attica ten thousand FREEMEN of age to pay the capitation-tax, who had NOT the rights of Athenian citizens, being either foreiners, or of forein extraction, or freed slaves, or descended from such; all comprehended under the common name of METIC; and the SLAVES in actual bondage, men, women, and children, were no less than four hundred thousand.

This proportion of slaves to freemen, in a commonwealth so boastful of liberty as its darling passion, astonishes. Not that it is difficult to account for either the origin, or this enormous increase of slavery in the progress of society. For savages can exist only where they are few in proportion to the territory they have to wander over. As numbers increase, agriculture becomes necessary to subsistence, and the savage state ends. Still while choice and change of soil are open, moderate labor suffices, in a favorable territory and climate, to maintain a family. But when every productive spot is occupied; when necessity becomes the mother of art, and when arts advancing, wants increase, when thus, in the progress of national prosperity, those who cultivate the soil are only a small proportion of those to be fed by it; the degree of labor then wanting from the numbers employed, to procure from the earth a cheap abundance of its most valuable and necessary productions, is so irksome, that nothing less than constant practice from early years can make it tolerable. Few persons in easy circumstances readily conceive this. Living mostly in towns, they talk with ignorant envy of the healthy labors of the peasant. Those labors of the peasant, not generally adverse to health indeed, unfailingly bring on immature old age. The limbs early stiffen: they bear the accustomed labor, which no others can bear: but they lose that general power of brisk exertion which we call activity. The internal frame at the same time

'business of the agora.' Cleisthenes and Straton are then named as very young men who had put themselves forward in public affairs; and Demus proceeds, 'I will send 'such youths a-hunting, and will not permit 'them to be proposing laws (1).' In Xenophon's Memoirs of Socrates we find Glaucon, brother of Plato, of a noble, but not a wealthy or powerful family, attempting to speak in the assembly of the people before he was twenty years old; and Plato represents Alcibiades proposing to become a public man at an equally premature age. Xen. Mem. Socr. l. 3. c. 6. Plat. Alcib. 1.

(1) Aristoph. Equit. v. 1370.

wears; and even the luxurious sometimes reach a length of days which the hard-laboring man never sees. When warlike people, therefore, emerging from the savage state, first set about agriculture, the idea of sparing the lives of prisoners, on condition of their becoming useful to the conquerors by labor, was an obvious improvement upon the practice of former times, when conquered enemies were constantly put to death; not from a spirit of cruelty, but from necessity; for the conquerors were unable to maintain them in captivity, and dared not set them free. SLAVERY thus established, it is easy to conceive how it would increase. In infant societies labor cannot be hired; because all can employ themselves in their own concerns. Hence the necessity for slavery in our colonies. Tradition still in the age of Herodotus preserved memory of the time when slavery was unknown in Greece; but before Homer, as we have seen, slaves were numerous. Throughout Greece the slave-trade became as regular a branch of commerce as now in the West Indies: Athens had its slave-market. But hired labor, which formerly could not be had, then became little desirable. The poor, therefore, to subsist, must either emigrate, or become voluntary slaves, like the indented servants of America; which, we are told, was not uncommon. The great superiority in number of slaves to freemen at Athens, with these considerations will not appear wonderful. The disproportion was greater at Lacedæmon, and scarcely inferior over Greece[?]: tho it was probably not so great in the age of Solon, as it was become in that of Demetrius Phalereus.

Herod. l. 6. p. 137.

From this view of things then, it appears that DEMOCRACY was a mode of government not so absolutely absurd and impracticable among the Greeks, as it would be where no slavery is. For tho in democracies the supreme power was nominally vested in all the people, yet those called the people, who exclusively shared that power, were scarcely a tenth part of the men of the state. The people, moreover, were almost all in circumstances to have received some education, and to subsist by easier means than those which, through constant labor of the body, disable the mind for liberal exertion. It was held by the Grecian

? Thucydides says, the proportion of slaves was nowhere greater than in Chios, except in Laconia. l. 8. c. 40.

politicians

politicians as a self-evident proposition, that those who are to share in government should have the means of living independently in leisure; and the only question was, how, in a democracy, those means should be secured to a whole people[10]. Slavery, however, was absolutely necessary; and hence, tho it was disputed by some philosophers, yet Aristotle maintains that slavery is natural among mankind. The same great author supposes a commonwealth consisting of thirteen hundred families; of which one thousand should be rich, and three hundred poor. Antiently in Colophon, he adds, most of the citizens had large property. The proportion of slaves must of course be great. In Lacedæmon, as we have seen, the constitution required that every freeman should be strictly a gentleman; and in the rest of Greece, scarcely any were so low as our laborers and handicraftmen. At Athens the meat distributed at sacrifices, and the pay for attendance on public business, went far to support the poor. Thus the greatest part of the people were inabled to live with little bodily labor, and incouraged to application of the mind.

Aristot. Polit. l. 1. c. 5. & 6.

Polit. l. 4. c. 4.

But SOVEREIN POWER being thus vested in the GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PEOPLE, it was of great consequence, to ascertain who were ATHENIAN PEOPLE, legally intitled to that high privilege; and to provide effectually for the exclusion of those who were not so. Attica had been divided in very early times, it is said by Cecrops, in a manner very nearly analogous to that of our own country by the great Alfred, into shires, hundreds and tithings. These divisions of Attica, in the course of ages, underwent changes both of name and effect; and two of the three seem to have remained of principal use, the Phyle and the Demus, Tribe and Borough, as archbishop Potter turns them; but Dryden translates the former word literally, and more properly, by the old English term, Ward[11]. The Wards, from Cecrops till about fifty years after Solon, were only four. A new

[10] Ὅτι μεν οὖν δεῖ, τῇ μελλούσῃ καλῶς πολιτεύεσθαι, τὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑπάρχειν σχολὴν, ὁμολογούμενον ἐστι· Τίνα δὲ τρόπον ὑπάρχειν οὐ ῥᾴδιον λάβειν. Aristot. Polit. l. 2. c. 9. And to the same purpose nearly Plato: Τὰ μὲν δὴ πολλὰ οὔτε νοῆσαι χαλεπὸν, οὔτε λῆσασθαι· τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν οἰκετῶν, χαλεπὰ πάντα. De Leg. l. 6. p. 776.

[11] This word is still retained in a sense exactly analogous to the Attic, for the primary divisions of the city of London, and of the county of Northumberland.

division was then made of the country and people into ten wards; and the boroughs were a hundred and seventy-four. Each ward or phyle had its presiding magistrate, called Phylarchus or Epimeletes Phyles, analogous to our sheriff; and each borough or demus its Demarchus, analogous to our constable or headborough. It is remarkable that as the title of King, Basileus, was scrupulously preserved to the high-priest, or person presiding over the religious concerns of the Attic nation, so the president of the religious concerns of each ward was intitled Phylobasileus, King of the Ward; and he was always appointed from among the nobly born, the eupatrids. Every child, born to the privileges of an Athenian, was carefully registered soon after birth. Youths at eighteen were inscribed in a second register, when they were reckoned among the Ephebi, and became liable to military duties within Attica. At twenty, being esteemed men, they were introduced at a public meeting of their demus, and were registered a third time.

If democracy was a form of government desirable for any people that ever existed, the Lacedæmonians must have been above all others competent for it: yet Lycurgus deemed it unfit even for those among whom was no difference of rank, or riches, or education, but who were all equally, and with assiduous attention, bred for the business of the commonwealth only, and to all of whom equally he meant to secure the most perfect freedom of which mankind in society is capable. Solon, therefore, more yielding to the temper of the times and the difficulty of circumstances than pursuing what himself thought best, having confirmed to the Assembly of the People an authority more universally and uncontrolably absolute than any despot upon earth ever did or ever can possess, his great concern was to establish some balancing power, capable in some degree of obviating the evils which a soverein multitude is ever ready to bring upon itself. Theseus, as we have seen, had divided the Attic people into three ranks, or perhaps rather into two ranks, though there were three classes; and by his law those of the first rank were alone competent for magistracy of any kind. Various changes seem to have been made after him, as it suited the interest of leaders of prevailing factions to inlarge or to abridge the privileges of the lower orders; and when Solon undertook the legislation,

legislation, contradictory precedents had been so numerous as nearly to have overthrown all rule. That lawgiver made a new division of the people into FOUR RANKS, determined meerly by the value of every man's possessions. The first rank consisted of those whose lands produced yearly, in corn, wine, oil, any commodity, dry or liquid, five hundred of the Attic measure called Medimnus; whence they had the title of Pentacosiomedimnians. The second rank was composed of persons whose lands yielded at least three hundred measures. These, as well as the first rank, were exempt from service in the infantry and on shipboard, except in some command: but they were bound to keep a horse for the public; and, within the age for military service, to serve personally in the cavalry. Hence they had the title of Hippeis, Horsemen, or, as our writers often translate it, by our antient term for a horse-soldier, Knights. The third rank, called Zeugites, were of persons whose lands produced two hundred measures, but less than three hundred. These, being deemed of estate insufficient to be required to keep a horse for public service, were bound to serve in the infantry among the heavy-armed, and to be provided with complete arms for the purpose. The rest of the citizens, not possessed of lands producing two hundred measures, were comprehended under the name of Thetes. These also, like the rest, were bound to military service. If provided with sufficient armor, they might increase the force of the heavy-armed: if not so provided, they were reduced to the less honorable service of the light-armed. But when Athens became a maritime power, the Thetes principally manned the fleet; in that service they might be esteemed perhaps superior to the crowd, as it was often contemptuously called, of light-armed infantry, but the meer seaman was never reckoned equal in rank with the heavy-armed soldier.

We shall in vain inquire what, according to the relative value of money and commodities in our own age and country, was the value of an Attic estate, in the age of Solon, estimated by so uncertain a medium as hundreds of measures of any produce of the earth, dry or liquid: Arbuthnot, in his diligent researches on the subject, seems to have been unable to satisfy himself for any era of the Athenian commonwealth. But in a country like Attica, almost without meadows, little

fruitful

fruitful in corn, and, in Solon's age, little commercial, horsekeeping would be very expensive. The lawgiver, therefore, in excusing the possessors of estates yielding less than three hundred measures annually, from keeping a horse for public service, judged, nevertheless, that an estate of two hundred would put the owner so far at his ease, that he might be competent, not only to serve in the heavy infantry without pay, (distant service being wholly out of his view,) but also to execute offices of magistracy for which no salary was allowed. The Athenian magistracies accordingly were, by his constitution, to be filled from the first three ranks of citizens. The election of magistrates he committed to the fourth in common with the others. The fourth also was admitted on juries who decided causes in the courts of justice, and to the fourth he allowed the equal vote of every Freeman in the soverein Assembly of the People. This sufficed in the end to put unlimited power into the hands of those least capable of properly exercising any power; for the fourth rank, being more numerous than all the others, would, if united, of course be omnipotent, and might overthrow Solon's barriers, and alter the constitution, as we shall hereafter find they did, to their own pleasure and their own ruin[12].

Aristot. Polit. l. 2. c. 12.

Still, however, pursuing his view of forming a balance against the indiscretion of the multitude, Solon instituted a new COUNCIL or SENATE, consisting of one hundred persons out of each of the four wards which composed the Attic people. Such an assembly, he hoped, would have a weight which the college of Archons had been unable to maintain; and he therefore committed to it many of the powers which had before belonged to those magistrates. But this Council becomes more known to us after the increase of the number of Wards to ten; when Fifty Counsellors were appointed out of each, making the whole number five hundred. Its common title was THE COUNCIL; but for distinction it was called the Council of Five Hundred, or sometimes simply THE FIVE HUNDRED. The members were appointed annually by lot, from among those of the Athenian people, legally qualified for

[12] It will be but justice to the character of Solon to observe, that better political principles were not discovered so late as the age of Isocrates. See his Areiop. p. 112. v. 2. Δεῖ τὸν μὲν Δῆμον, κ. τ. ε.

the dignity, who were desirous of obtaining it. But previously to their admission they were to undergo, before the existing council, a strict inquiry concerning their past life, which was termed Dokimasia; when, if anything could be proved prejudicial to their character, they were to be rejected. The counsellors of each tribe in turn, for the space of thirty-five days, had superior dignity and additional powers, with the title of PRYTANES; and from them the council-hall was called PRYTANEIUM. The Prytanes were in turn Presidents of the council; and each held that high office only one day; during which he had the custody of the public seal, of the keys of the treasury, and of the keys of the citadel. The whole assembly formed the Council of State of the Commonwealth, having constant charge of its political concerns. It was moreover a particular and very important function of this council to prepare business for the Assembly of the People; in which, according to Solon's constitution, nothing was to be proposed which had not first been approved here. But the powers which he had already ratified to that assembly were too preponderant for any certain restraint. Whenever, at the instigation of a factious demagogue, it desired more, it might demand and take.

Aware how much the business of all is liable to be considered as the business of none, Solon, having given soverein power to the people, would not leave it to their choice to neglect its duties. Upon this principle rests that singular, but surely wise ordinance, That those should be held criminal who took no part in civil commotions. For as it is notoriously the honester men who are generally most disposed to be quiet on such occasions, nothing seems so likely to secure the constitution as compelling all men to interfere. For the same reason the legislator provided means to inforce the attendance of the people at the general assemblies. Four were regularly to be held during the presidency of each prytaneia, which, as we have seen, was for a term of thirty-five days; and each of these assemblies had its stated business. That of the first was principally to approve or reject magistrates, to receive accusations of public offences presented by the Thesmothete Archons, and to hear the catalogue of fines and confiscations for public service. The second inacted laws and received petitions, relative either

either to the public or to private persons. The peculiar business of the third was to give audience to the ministers of forein powers. The concerns of religion were the sole object of the fourth. Often the business of those assemblies would be little interesting to the people in general; yet great inconvenience might follow from want of due attendance. When therefore the people were remiss, which seems to have been common, the magistrates shut all the city-gates except one, by which the people were permitted to pass only toward the assembly: they caused all vendibles to be removed from the markets; and they sent about their attendants holding an extended cord, prepared with a dye for the purpose, with which they marked all they overtook, and those so marked were fined. All who attended in due time received a small pay from the treasury. To keep order in so large a meeting, nine Proëdri, Foremen, were appointed by lot from the council; one from each of those tribes which were not at the time prytanes. From these nine the Epistates, Chairman, Speaker, or President of the assembly, was appointed by lot. With them sat the Nomophylaces, from their number called the Eleven, whose peculiar duty it was to be watchful over the laws, and to explain to the people the tendency of any proposals contrary to the spirit of the constitution. The Eleven had also the charge of persons imprisoned for crimes. The Prytanes had distinct powers in the assembly, which were considerable.

The members of the Grecian democracies, sensible, from frequent experience, of the uncertain power of reason over a multitude, and of the evils liable to arise from the fluctuating and inflammable nature of popular passion, devised or admitted various precautions to prevent themselves from being led to acts to their own prejudice. It was ordained by the celebrated lawgiver Charondas, that whosoever would propose to abrogate an old law or inact a new one, should come into the assembly with a halter about his neck; and death was to follow if his proposal was rejected. Solon was not so rigid. Aware that regulations the best adapted to the circumstances of the commonwealth at one time, might not equally suit those of another, he injoined an annual revisal of the laws. If the assembly of the people declared alteration in any point necessary, a committee was to be appointed,

Diodor. Sic. l. 12. c. 17.

in

in later times consisting of no less than a thousand persons, who, with the title of Nomothetes, were directed to consider of the alteration proper to be made. The new law being prepared by this numerous committee, five officers, called Syndics, were appointed to defend the old before the assembly; which then decided between the two. In any other manner than this it was hazardous to propose a new law at Athens. A law passed by the assembly without having been previously published as the constitution required; a law conceived in ambiguous or fallacious terms; or a law contrary to any former law, subjected the proposer to penalties. It was therefore usual to repeal the old law before a contrary new one was proposed; and the delay thus occasioned was an additional security to the constitution.

The regular manner of INACTING a LAW at Athens was thus: It was the office of the council to give legal form to the proposed matter: but any Athenian, having anything to offer for public consideration, might address it to the Prytanes; whose duty it was to receive all petitions and information, and transmit them to the council. If approved there, it became a Probouleuma, analogous to our parliamentary bill prepared by a committee; and, being then written on a tablet, was exposed during several days for public perusal and consideration. At the next assembly it was red to the people. This being done, proclamation was made by the public crier in these terms: 'Who 'of those above fifty years old chuses to speak?' When these, if any were so disposed, had made their orations, the crier again proclaimed, 'Any Athenian, not disqualified by law, may speak.' The disqualifying circumstances were, having fled from their colors in battle, being deeply indebted to the commonwealth, or having been ever convicted of any flagitious crime. But the Prytanes had a general power to injoin silence to any man at discretion. The debates being ended, the crier, at the command of the Foremen, signified to the people that the business waited their determination; when suffrages were given by holding up hands. This was the ordinary manner of voting: but in some extraordinary cases, particularly when the question related to the maladministration of magistrates, votes were given privately by casting pebbles into vessels prepared by the Prytanes. The Foremen

examined the suffrages, and declared the majority: the Prytanes dismissed the assembly.

We see, in the conduct of this business, numerous precautions, wisely taken, to insure regularity, and to prevent sinister management, in a form of government so intrinsically disposed to irregularity, and open to the arts of designing men. But Solon hoped to provide a farther and powerful weight in the balance against the uncertainty and turbulence of democratical rule, by the restoration of the court of AREIOPAGUS. We have no account of the origin of this celebrated court, the fame of which the partiality of aftertimes has carried far into the fabulous ages [14]. The institutions of Draco had nearly abolished its authority and superseded its use. Solon restored its consequence, improved its regulations, and augmented its powers. How its members were before appointed we are not informed. By his institutions it was composed of those who had executed the office of archon with credit; all of whom, having passed the Euthyne, or scrutiny concerning their conduct in that high office, were admitted members of the Areiopagus. This seems to have been the only dignity of the Athenian government conferred for a longer term than one year: the Areiopagites were for life.

The power of the court of Areiopagus was very great. It is said to have been the first that ever decided upon life and death; in early times in Greece, as throughout western Europe, public justice proceeding no farther against the most atrocious criminals than the exaction of a fine. Capital offences among the Athenians were, for the most part, connisable by this court only. It was the only court from which was constitutionally no appeal to the assembly of the people. It had authority to stop the effect of the judicial decrees of the assembly

[14] Archbishop Potter apologizes, seemingly unnecessarily, for differing from such respectable authors as Cicero and Plutarch, who call Solon the founder of the court of Areiopagus. It is not probable that Cicero and Plutarch meant to deny the existence of the court of Areiopagus before Solon; but they call him justly the founder of that court, such as it was in the florishing times of the Athenian commonwealth. Aristotle mentions its earlier existence (1), and Demosthenes professes his ignorance of its origin (2), of which he scarcely could have been ignorant had it not been older than Solon.

(1) Aristot. Polit. l. 2. c. 12.

(2) Orat. in Aristocratem.

of

of the people itself; to annul an acquittal, or extend mercy to the condemned. It directed all issues from the public treasury. It had great power as a censorial court, punishing impiety, immorality, and all disorderly conduct; not meerly when accusations were brought; but it was the duty of the Areiopagites to watch the behavior of the citizens. Idleness was a crime of which they were to take connisance; and it was required that every citizen should annually account to them for his means of livelihood; an institution said to be derived from Egypt. The superintendance of youth was also committed to them; and it was their duty to provide by their authority that all should be educated suitably to their rank and fortune. Herod. l. 2. c. 177. It was the custom of this court, for judicial business, to sit only in the night, and without light. The purpose of this singularity is said to have been that the members might be the less liable to prejudice for or against accused persons. It was for the same reason a rule that pleaders should confine themselves to simple narration of fact, and statement of the law, without any ornament of speech, or any attempt to warp the judgement by appealing to the passions of the judges. The reputation of the court of Areiopagus for wisdom and strict justice, and very remarkably for the respectable characters of its members, was long very high [15].

The Athenian constitution, for so small a state, was very complex. Beside the General Assembly and the Areiopagus, there were no less than TEN COURTS OF JUDICATURE in Athens; four for criminal causes, and six for civil. In the establishment of these it was that

[15] Xen. Mem. Socr. l. 3. c. 5. s. 20. The learned dean Humphrey Prideaux (1) has summed up the principal testimonies to the great authority and high reputation of the court of Areiopagus in the following words: among which the concluding hyperbole of the great Tully is remarkable: 'Areopagitis 'a Solone commissa est legum custodia (2). 'Sæpe igitur injustitiæ et temeritati populi 'restitisse, sæpe eorum decreta rescidisse, 'memorantur; et sine eorum approbatione 'nihil omnino majoris momenti Athenis, 'ante deminutam eorum per Ephialtem au-'toritatem, de republicâ unquam decerne-'batur (3). Totam igitur, ut paucis dicam, 'regebant rempublicam (4). Tamque ne-'cessarium ad illam rectè instituendam 'eorum semper videbatur consilium, ut de 'illis dicat Cicero Atheniensium rempubli-'cam non magis posse sine Areopagi con-'silio, quam mundum sine providentiâ Dei, 'administrari (5).'

(1) In Marm. I. Oxon. p. 351. (2) Plutarch. in Solon. et Andocides in Orat. de Mysteriis. (3) Demosthen. in or. con Androtionem. (4) Suidas in voc. Ἄρειος πάγος, & Lysias in or. de probatione Evandri. (5) M. T. Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 1. c. 2.

Solon most eminently displayed both his honest zeal for the equal liberties of men, and his ability, as a legislator, to devise the most effectual means for securing them: here we see principally exemplified the idea expressed in his celebrated answer reported among the sayings of the seven wisemen: 'That,' said Solon, 'is in my opinion the most 'perfect government where an injury to any one is the concern of all.' Before that lawgiver the archons were, in most causes, supreme and sole judges. Solon directed that, in the ten courts just mentioned, causes should be decided by a body of men, like our juries, taken for the purpose from among the people; the archons only presiding in the manner of our judges, and sometimes carrying the business through the necessary steps preparatory to the determination of a jury, as in our courts of Westminster-hall. But the archons being appointed by lot, and consequently often very insufficient for such business, it was usual for each to chuse two persons of experience to assist him in his office. These, in time, became regular constitutional officers by the name of Paredri, assessors; undergoing the same probation as the archons themselves before entering on their office, and the same scrutiny at its conclusion. The manner of appointing the jurors was thus: A small pay from the treasury induced those who had leisure to offer themselves. Any Athenian, above thirty years of age, and not under any legal disqualification, delivered his name and legal description to the thesmothete archons; and these assigned the jurors to the different courts by lot. This is that department in the machine of government which ought to belong to the people at large. It is that for which they are most competent, and the security of property and equal liberty requires that they should alone possess it.

To save the inhabitants of the country from the inconvenient necessity of going to Athens for justice in cases of inferior consequence, itinerant judges, called the Forty, were appointed to go through the boroughs, with power to determine actions of assault, and controversies of property under a certain value [16].

In

[16] This account of the Athenian constitution has been taken almost intirely from Archbishop Potter's Grecian Antiquities. Those who are desirous of investigating the subject more deeply will of course consult that valuable work, and the numerous authorities

In all the Grecian republics every freeman was bound to MILITARY SERVICE. The abundance of slaves in them all made this both practicable and necessary, which in countries without slaves would be neither. The slaves by their labor supported the freemen in arms; and the practice of arms was indispensable for every freeman, if it were only to preserve that ascendancy over the superior number of the slaves, without which property, freedom, and life itself would be utterly insecure. No Grecian town, therefore, was without its gymnasium, or public school of bodily exercise. Every free Athenian, at the age of eighteen, was inrolled among the military. His duty, for the first two years, was confined within the bounds of Attica. The city-guard of Athens was chiefly of youths under twenty. After that age till forty he was legally compellable to any forein service that the affairs of the commonwealth required. Rank and property made no other distinction than giving the privilege to serve on horseback; which was at the same time a privilege and a burthen; for in the Athenian, and some other of the more powerful commonwealths, every man of competent property was bound to provide and maintain a horse for public service [17].

The Greeks made a great distinction between the heavy and the light-armed foot; the former termed Hoplite, the other Psilus. The Hoplite wore that nearly complete armor, described in treating of the Homeric age: he carried a large shield, and his principal weapon was a long spear. The full set of his arms, defensive and offensive, was called the Panoply. The usual formation of this heavy foot was in a large compact body, termed Phalanx, in which the files were seldom of fewer than eight men. The Psilus, on the contrary, had very imperfect defensive armor, he carried missile weapons, and no shield. He was, therefore, incapable of ingaging in close fight with the Hoplite. Free citizens only were allowed to serve in the heavy foot; and in

See chap. 2. sect. 3. of this Hist.

thorities there quoted. Petit's collection of Attic Laws, with his diffuse comment on them, may perhaps then attract their attention. As the Archbishop's work is in everybody's hands, I have thought it unnecessary to repeat the authorities.

[17] The Roman law was similar, and the near conformity of the old English to the Athenian is remarkable. By the statute of the 13th of Edward I. which professes not to inact novelties, but meerly to inforce the old law, all natives, between fifteen years and forty were to have arms, at least a sword and a battleaxe, and those who had fifteen pounds a year in land or forty marks in goods, were not to be without a horseman's arms.

some

some of the oligarchal states, only those of higher rank, or possessing a qualification in property. The light-armed were chiefly slaves, who waited upon the Hoplites, and who alone generally did all duties of meer fatigue. They were esteemed, as soldiers, so inferior to the heavy foot, that it was usual, in reporting the numbers of Grecian armies, to reckon the heavy foot only, tho commonly attended by at least an equal number of light-armed. Upon one great occasion we read of a Lacedæmonian army, in which no less than seven slaves, all doing duty as light-armed soldiers, attended upon every Spartan Hoplite. The Lacedæmonians, and in general the Peloponnesians, would serve only as heavy foot in close fight; and in this the Thebans agreed with them; but the Athenians attributed more value to the use of missile weapons. We find bowmen, and particularly Athenian bowmen, always mentioned by Thucydides as a valuable species of troops, whose numbers he specifies upon all occasions with no less care than those of the heavy-armed; and he never confounds them with, what he sometimes calls contemptuously, the crowd of light-armed, as a body of men not less inferior in discipline than in arms. Different from all these was the Middle-armed, who, from the small shield or target which he bore, distinguished from the large shield of the heavy-armed by the name of Pelta, was denominated Peltast, Targeteer. We find these mostly among the colonies, and in those small or poor democratical states which were unable to provide the expensive armor of the Hoplite, especially those in the mountainous parts of northern Greece.

Herod. l. 9. c. 11.

Several of the Grecian states, even of those powerful in infantry, had in early times no cavalry. But the Thessalians were almost universally horsemen; and the Bœotians cultivated early the horse-service. Of the cavalry of Athens we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, but what it was in the time of Solon we are little informed.

Democratical jealousy occasioned at Athens a very inconvenient system of Military Command. What were the military institutions of Solon we should wish to know, because he was himself a military man of large experience. Probably when he lessened the civil power of the college of archons, the military authority of the polëmarc was also abridged; for in the end we find that officer meerly a civil magistrate, having

having peculiar jurisdiction over the Metics, those numerous free inhabitants of Attica who were not Athenian citizens. But we are uninformed what was the military establishment of Solon's time. When afterward the Athenian wards were increased to ten, every ward elected its own military commander. Ten generals, therefore, with equal rank, commanded the forces of the Athenian commonwealth. All were not sent together on forein expeditions: but at home generally each commanded his day in turn; the ten forming a council of war to decide on emergencies. The inconveniencies of this system were often felt; and in consequence it became usual, on important occasions, by a particular decree of the people, to commit the command in chief to one person: but the appointment of ten generals from the ten tribes, with equal authority, remained always the established system of Athens.

The composition of Grecian armies, and the subordination of command in them, appear to have been generally very regular; but in little particulars they differed so much in different ages, and in different republics in the same age, that it is impossible now to ascertain what was at any time the exact formation of the Athenian phalanx, or indeed of that of any other republic. The account already given of the Spartan army may however serve to convey an idea of the Grecian system in general. The Athenian seems to have differed from it more in names than in things. The Taxis of the Athenian service, like the Lochus of the Lacedæmonian, was analogous to our battalion, and the rank of the Taxiarc, its commander, as of the Lochage, was nearly that of our colonel. Taxis generally meant a battalion of foot, but it was also used for a squadron of horse. The troop of horse was Ilë. The Athenian Strategе, like the Lacedæmonian Polemarc, was the general officer. The commander of a fleet was called Navarc, the commander of a trireme Trierarc; but it is observable that the Taxiarc had rank superior to the Trierarc. The distinguishing characteristic of the Spartan discipline seems to have been that it was more perfect, the divisions more numerous and better graduated, the detail more regular, the subordination more exact[18].

See chap. 4. sect. 2. of this Hist.

Xen. Hel. l. 1. c. 6. s. 21.

[18] Guischardt, the ablest modern interpreter of the antient military writers, has the following remarks in a note to his translation of Arrian's Tactics (1): 'Je doute si 'les interpretes et les traducteurs entendent 'les manœuvres que Xenophon decrit, et 'celles

(1) P. 119. note q.

SECTION V.

History of Athens from the Legislation of Solon to the Expulsion of the Peisistratids and the first public Transaction with Persia.

AMONG the imperfect memorials remaining of Solon, we find one very important matter authenticated, without any connecting circumstances, or any indication of times or concomitant events. Solon however was the first man of the Athenian republic, and the Athenian republic had already acquired under his guidance, some steddiness of administration at home, and respect among neighboring states, when alarm arose for the temple and treasury of Delphi. The oracle there had at this time its highest fame, and, for the sanctity widely attributed to the place, its treasury was used as a depository of valuables, whence

* celles qu'il detaille, dans le troisieme livre ' (of the Anabasis) quand il parle des dispo- ' sitions qu'on fit pour la marche des troupes. ' La tactique de Thucydide et de Xenophon ' est differente de celle du tems d'Alexandre ' le grand. Les termes qui designoient les ' corps n'etoient plus les memes, et il y eut ' une autre disposition de sections. Faute ' d'y donner attention on ne peut que s'em- ' brouiller.' It may be proper to add here the observation that the term Λόχος, which with the Lacedæmonians signified a body of men composed of many files (according to Thucydides generally of sixty-four) (1) among the later Greeks was synonymous with στίχος, and was the more common word of the two to express simply a file (2). Accordingly the term Λοχαγὸς, which with the Lacedæmonians was the title of an officer of considerable rank, whose command was of above five hundred men, with the later Greeks meant no more than the fileleader, a common soldier. The term Ενωμοτία, originally peculiar to the Lacedæmonians, and signifying a body, generally of thirty-two men, formed in four files, was also adopted by the later Greeks to signify a division of their λόχος or file, perhaps commonly of not more than four men. See Arrian. Tact. p. 20. Xenophon also seems to use the word λόχος for a file (3). Yet Euripides gives the title of Λοχαγὸς to the seven chiefs before Thebes, and of Λόχος to the division which each commanded, and to the opposing divisions of the Theban army. Phœniss. v. 124, 150, 759, 760, and 1157. Xenophon also, in his anabasis, uses the terms Λόχος and Λοχαγὸς in the Lacedæmonian sense, or nearly so. The Λοχαγοὶ were next in rank to the Στρατηγοὶ, generals. The force of the λόχος, in an army so irregularly composed, might differ greatly. We find in one place a hundred (4), and in another only fifty (5), men mentioned as actually composing the Lochus, but we are not assured that those numbers were the complement.

(1) Thucyd. l. 5. c. 68. (2) Arrian. Tact. p. 18 and 20. ed. Amstel. & Lipz. 1750. (3) Cyrop. l. 4, (4) Anab. l. 4. c. 8. s. 13. (5) l. 1. c. 2. s. 25.

whence all Greece was interested in its security. What gave occasion for a war which threatened it we do not learn: but the Phocians, in whose country Delphi stood, took arms: the Amphictyons proclaimed a sacred war against them: the Athenian government took part with the Amphictyons, and Solon was appointed general of the army of the god. He was successful, and for the ability, the impartiality, and the integrity exhibited in his conduct, and the beneficial tendency of the regulations he established, he gained great credit throughout Greece.

Nevertheless Solon, with all the wisdom of his institutions, and all his popularity, could not prevent new ebullition of faction in Athens. Each party objected to that among his institutions which obviated its purpose of acquiring superiority. The legislator himself, mild and candid and impartial, was free of access to all; and confident both in the goodness of his cause, and in his own powers of argument and persuasion, he incouraged conversation upon his institutions and discussion of their merit; always professing willingness to alter whatsoever could be clearly proved capable of amendment. Plut. Solon.

'But the power, which Solon would not assume, others would contend for. The parties of the Highlands, the Lowlands, and the Coast, were still maintained, and leading men were sedulous to cultivate an interest severally in them. What one party then approved in Solon's laws, the others of course would desire amended, and what these would be most satisfied with, the former would be most eager to alter. Himself thus involved in difficulties, and his great work of legislation in much danger, he assembled the soverein people. 'What he had done,' he said, 'he found 'generally approved, but on particular parts different opinions pre-'vailed. For himself, he could not immediately satisfy his own mind, 'tho possibly improvement might be made, what the alteration should 'be. He would therefore travel into the countries most known for 'the excellence of their constitution and laws, and after careful 'examination and inquiry among other states, he might be better 'able to satisfy both himself and them. One thing however he would 'request, that till he returned they should alter nothing.' Such, it is said, was the general estimation of him, and such the address with which he put this proposition, that the people bound themselves by

solemn oath to change nothing of his institutions for ten years. This done he left Athens.

Herod. l. 1. c. 29. Proclus in Timæum. l. 1.

The success of Solon's expedient seems to have been as great as himself could probably expect. He would hardly hope that, when he was gone, the struggle of parties contending for the first situations under his constitution would be remitted. The three parties of the Lowlands, the Highlands, and the Coast, each supported an eminent leader. Lycurgus son of Aristolaïdes, was at the head of the party of the Lowlands; Megacles, chief of the great family of the Alcmæonids, took the lead of the Coast party. He had increased the antient wealth and splendor of his house by marrying Agaristē, daughter and heiress of Cleisthenes tyrant of Sicyon; he had acquired fame by victories in the Olympian, Pythian, and Isthmian games; and he was through these circumstances, added to his former advantages, esteemed by much the most powerful individual in Athens. Meanwhile Peisistratus, a young man of a very antient and honorable family, claiming descent from Codrus, and through him tracing their pedigree to Nestor and the Pylian kings of that very early age where Homer first takes up history, had begun to distinguish himself by his eloquence and his military talents: for wars had arisen with neighboring states, and he gained reputation, especially in taking Nisæa, the seaport of the Megarians. Recommended besides by manners singularly ingaging, he excelled all in popularity, whence he seems to have been induced to take the lead readily deferred to him by the Highlanders, or high democratical party. Thus all the three parties which divided the Athenian people had for their leaders men of the highest rank among the eupatrids or old nobility.

Herod. l. 1. c. 59. & l. 6. c. 126. & seq. Pindar. Pyth. 7.

Herod. l. 5. c. 65.

Herod. l. 1. c. 59.

Meanwhile Solon it is said remained ten years abroad. Of the circumstances of his travels nothing remains reported but his interview with Crœsus king of Lydia, who was accustomed to receive Greeks, and received Solon with distinction. Nor have we any satisfactory information of his measures on his return. It only appears that the ferment of factions was become violent, the leaders intent each upon his own power, their followers wedded to the interests of their several parties, and he could no longer still the storm and bring jarring minds to union. Matters were thus at a crisis, when Peisistratus came into the

Plutarch. et Diog. Laert. vit. Solon.

the agora in his chariot, himself and his mules wounded. The people assembling about him, he told them 'that, as he was going into the 'country, he was waylaid by his political opponents, and with diffi- 'culty had escaped them; wounded, as might be seen. Hence they 'might judge whether it could be safe for any man any longer to be a 'friend to the poor. It was obvious that he could no longer live in 'Attica, unless they would take him under that protection which he 'implored.' Immediately Ariston, one of his partizans, proposed to decree to the friend of the people, the martyr of their cause, a guard of fifty men for the security of his person. Such a measure was probably not new; for we shall find, in the sequel, other instances of it among the Grecian democracies. The popularity of Peisistratus and the indignation excited by the visible marks of ill-treatment which he bore, procured assent to the motion of Ariston, and a decree passed accordingly. The enemies of his family afterward asserted that the story was an imposture, and that the wounds were from his own hands to support it. But, gathering as we best may from remaining evidence, it seems at least equally probable that the attempt upon his life was reäl. Indeed the conjecture appears warranted by the very accounts which speak of it as fictitious. For those accounts testify that the belief of a reäl attempt to assassinate Peisistratus prevailed at Athens for a considerable time: we are not informed how the fraud was detected; and had there ever been any detection of such gross knavery, it must have gone far to ruin his credit, which, during his life, certainly never was ruined. But an actual attempt of such a kind could not fail to increase, if not the extent of his popularity, at least the zeal of his party; and thus the decree for guards might be obtained, in a manner more consistent with the forms of the Athenian constitution, and with probability, than the defective accounts of antient historians seem to imply. On this point however we can only chuse our belief in the dark. What stands ascertained is, that Peisistratus with his guards seized the citadel; that his party supported him; and that their opponents were forced, part into exile, the rest to submission. Peisistratus, as leader of the prevailing party, was of course the first man of the commonwealth, and henceforward he is called by historians Tyrant of Athens.

Herod. l. 1. c. 59. Plut. v. Solon. Justin. l. 2. c. 8.

Corn. Nep. vit. Miltiad.

The term Tyrant, among the Greeks, had a very different signification from what it bears in modern languages: it meant a citizen of a republic, who, by any means acquired sovereinty over his fellow-citizens, or the sole direction of the executive government. Many of the Grecian Tyrants were men of extraordinary virtue, who used their power in strict conformity to established law, and very advantageously for the people they governed. Thus they differed widely from Tyrants in the modern acceptation of the word. But some even were raised to the dignity of Tyrant by a voluntary decree of the people themselves. Plutarch mentions particularly Tynnondas thus elected by the Eubœans, and Pittacus by the Mitylenæans; and he says the Athenians would so have elected Solon. Usurper, therefore, is not a convertible term: tho in general the Grecian tyrants were usurpers. Without a favoring party among the people, no man could rise to the tyranny: therefore a man of universal bad character, could not become a tyrant[19]. But the violence of faction among the Greeks was extreme: enormous severities were frequently practised against a defeated party: perhaps most enormous when the party prevailing was not headed by a tyrant, whose authority or influence might inable him, and whose very interest would generally induce him, to restrain private malice, and check popular fury. A citizen, however, irregularly raised to sovereinty over his fellowcitizens, would often find himself very insecure in his exaltation. Popular favor, and party favor, which is a more confined popular favor, are extremely liable to fluctuate. But firmness is necessary to command; and even great abilities, united with fortunate circumstances, would with difficulty, in such a situation, avoid the necessity of occasional severity; weak minds and morose tempers would naturally fall into cruelty. The outcry against Tyrants, then, has been first raised by the disappointment of faction; for among the antients the appellation was arbitrarily applied; the person to whom it was given being often reälly no more than the leader of a party; and sometimes, as we have just seen, a supreme magistrate by the best of all rights, the voice of the people. But most commonly Tyrants were more or less usurpers of power which the laws of their country forbad; and

Plut. vit. Solon. Vid. et Aristot. Polit. l. 3. c. 14. et l. 5. c. 10. et Sophoc. Oedip. Tyr. v. 1. 93. 391. & 543.

[19] Ἀρ' οὐχὶ μῶρόν ἐστι τ' ὀυγχειρημά φόυ,
Ἄνευ τε πλήθους καὶ φίλων τυραννίδα
Ὧηρᾶν, ὁ πλήθει χρήμασίν θ' ἁλίσκεται; Sophoc. Oedip. Tyr. v. 550.

too

too frequently severities were used, sometimes atrocious crimes perpetrated, to acquire that power, or to retain it. Hence alone the modern acceptation of the term Tyrant, from which it is necessary to distinguish the antient.

It is expressly said by Herodotus, and confirmed by all succeeding writers, that Peisistratus changed nothing in the Athenian constitution. All the laws continued in force; the assembly, council, courts of justice, and all the magistracies remained with their constitutional powers; he himself obeyed a citation from the Areiopagus on a charge of murder. We are not assured that he even retained his guards; but it appears probable. It was usual for those called Tyrants among the Greeks to have guards; and the distinguishing name of doryphori, spearbearers, became attached to them, as that of toxotæ, bowmen, to the armed attendants of the regular magistrates. But even this was not a necessary characteristic; for in the preceding age, Cypselus, who was notwithstanding always termed Tyrant of Corinth, so intirely trusted in the affection of his fellowcitizens that he never would have guards. It appears not how such a Tyrant differs, but in title, from those patriots of succeeding times, whose abilities and virtues placed them at the head of a commonwealth, without any such invidious appellation. They seem, however, thus far generally to have differed in fortune, that the history of the latter has been transmitted to posterity by those of the same faction, that of the former by those of the opposite faction[20].

Herod. l. 1. c. 59. Plut. Solon.

Aristot. Polit. l. 5. c. 12. Plut. Solon.

Aristot. Polit. l. 5. c. 12.

Peisistratus was, by every account, a man singularly formed for empire. Solon himself is reported to have said of him, 'Take away 'only his ambition; cure him of his lust of reigning, and there is not a 'man more naturally disposed to every virtue, nor a better citizen.'

Plut. Solon.

[20] Even Aristotle is scarcely always consistent in applying the term Tyrant. In one part of his Treatise on Government (1) he observes that a guard is proper both to legal kings and to tyrants; and he mentions it as a characteristical distinction between the two, that kings had subjects for guards, tyrants foreiners. Yet in the same treatise (2) he calls Cypselus Tyrant of Corinth, tho, he tells us, Cypselus never would have any guard. It appears clearly that Cypselus in fact was a demagogue, and never properly a Tyrant. But, the party in opposition to his family prevailing at length against his grandson, it became popular at Corinth to give the title of Tyrant to Cypselus himself. We find also that the bowmen attending the regular magistrates of the Athenian commonwealth were commonly foreiners, frequently Scythians. See Potter, b. 1. c. 13.

(1) b. 3. c. 14. (2) b. 5. c. 12.

We

We have however no satisfactory account of the conduct of the great lawgiver upon this important occasion; party-spirit having mutilated and deformed the traditions of these transactions. It became the temper of succeeding times to brand the memory of Peisistratus; but the character of Solon was not to be involved in the reproach. It was therefore necessary to account for his want of authority and influence for preventing the usurpation, and to apologize for his acquiescence under it; neither of which has been adequately done. Plutarch relates some anecdotes very much to the credit of his spirit, but very little to that of his wisdom, and the influence which should have attended it: for the Athenians, it seems, were so satisfied with Peisistratus, that they utterly disregarded all their venerable legislator's remonstrances. His friends arguing with him upon his imprudent freedom of speech, and asking to what he trusted for security against the tyrant's vengeance, 'To my old age,' he replied. But it was by other arts than those of iniquitous revenge and cruel precaution that Peisistratus proposed to secure, as he had acquired his preëminence. Indeed what Plutarch himself proceeds to relate, explains, in a great degree, what party-spirit had inveloped in contradiction and obscurity. Far from resenting any freedom in Solon's conduct, Peisistratus treated him with the highest respect. Nor did the venerable sage, the unblemished patriot, refuse the tyrant's friendship; but on the contrary lived with him in familiarity, and assisted him in the administration of the commonwealth. This is Plutarch's testimony. Diogenes Laertius, indeed, says that Solon, having long braved the tyrant's vengeance, finding the Athenians so lost to all sense of virtue that his utmost efforts could not excite them to attempt the recovery of their freedom, left Athens, and never returned more. He even gives letters said to have passed between the legislator and the tyrant. His account however does not bear the appearance of probability. If the letters were known to Plutarch, he despised them as forgeries; but, were they genuine, they would confirm the concurrent testimony of all antiquity to the excellence of the character of Peisistratus, and his unblameable conduct in the administration of his country's affairs.

Plut. & Diog. Laert. vit. Solon.

We are not informed at what time the Athenians recovered Salamis

after its second revolt to the Megarians. That Solon retook it when he was a young man, and long before he was appointed legislator, seems agreed among historians, differing as they do about other circumstances of these times. But many attribute the retaking of it to Peisistratus with Solon. This could hardly have been when Solon was a young man, nor before his legislation. We have only conjecture for supposing that it might have been after the establishment of Peisistratus in what is called his tyranny,

Plutarch reports that Solon died at the age of eighty, about two years after the elevation of Peisistratus. That usurper, if he was such, fell soon after from his high situation; expelled by the united strength of Megacles and Lycurgus. This appears fresh proof in favor of Peisistratus. He florished and injoyed Solon's friendship while Solon lived: when he had lost that excellent man's support, his opponents acquired the superiority. But the confederate rivals could not long agree. Megacles sent proposals of reconciliation to Peisistratus; and, at the same time to evince his sincerity and to insure permanence of union, offered him his daughter in marriage. Peisistratus accepted the condition. But a majority in the Athenian assembly must be procured to favor their views, or all their private compacts would be vain. The account, given by Herodotus, of the manner in which this was effected is among the strangest in all history; yet that author lived so nearly within memory of the event, the story is so little flattering to any, and the circumstances were of so public a nature, that, tho party prejudice is likely enough to have disguised it, we scarcely can suppose it wholly unfounded. Indeed Herodotus himself calls it the simplest trick he ever heard of: yet it appears that many antient writers gave it credit, and, such as it is related to us, it might be not unaccommodated to the prejudices, the imagination, and the disposition of those on whom the united chiefs meant to work. They found, we are told, a woman of the Pæänian borough, named Phya, far exceeding common size; of low birth, and by occupation a garland-seller; but, with her extraordinary stature, well-proportioned and handsome. This woman they dressed in a complete suit of armour, with every ornament that could add grace and splendor to a fine natural figure; and seating her in a magnificent chariot,

Herod. l. 1. c. 60.

chariot, they drove into the city, heralds preceding, who proclaimed, 'O Athenians, with willing minds receive Peisistratus, whom Minerva, 'honoring above all men, herself conducts into your citadel.' The people, adds the historian, believed the woman to be the goddess, and worshipped her, and received Peisistratus, who thus recovered the tyranny.

It has been supposed by some that Strabo held the authority of Herodotus for nothing; and the treatise remains which Plutarch composed purposely to depreciate his credit. But Strabo's expression has been alledged to prove very much more than it meant: the geographer follows and confirms Herodotus in numberless instances; and Plutarch's treatise tends strongly to prove him impartial without proving him in any instance false. The whole tenor, indeed, of Herodotus's narration shows him a man of great curiosity, but great modesty, and perfect honesty. Doubtful of his own opinion, and scrupulously cautious of misleading others, he thinks it his duty to relate all reports, but with express and repeated warning to his readers to use their own judgement for determining their belief[21]. Hence indeed his authority is sometimes hazardous. But generally the simplicity of his manner detects itself, and, with the assistance of circumstances collateral to the story, sufficiently indicates where he deserves credit, and where neglect[22]. The public nature of the facts may be a degree of testimony to the strange story just related. Consonancy to the characters of persons concerned will form an additional test. Both are totally wanting to the account which Herodotus proceeds to give of a domestic quarrel said to have occasioned the second expulsion of Peisistratus. No more therefore seems ascertained upon sufficient historical evidence than that Peisis-

[21] Τοῖσι μέν νυν ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων λεγομένοισι χράσθω ὅτεῳ τὰ τοιαῦτα πιθανά ἐστι· ἐμοὶ δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὑπόκειται ὅτι τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπ' ἐκάστων ἀκοῇ γράφω. Herod. l. 2. c. 123.

Ἐγὼ δὲ ὀφείλω λέγειν τὰ λέγόμενα, πείθεσθαι μὲν οὐ παντάπασι ὀφείλω· καὶ μοι τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ἐχέτω ἐς πάντα τὸν λόγον. Herod. l. 7. c. 152.

[22] The historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire has characterized Herodotus with his usual liveliness of expression: 'Herodotus,' he says, 'sometimes 'writes for children, and sometimes for philosophers (1).' It is really the simplicity of Herodotus that makes him often unfit for children. He has few pages from which the philosopher may not profit.

(1) Chap. 34. note 52.

tratus

tratus did retire to Eretria in Eubœa; leaving the Alcmæonids, so the partizans of Megacles were called, masters of Athens.

But even in banishment the consideration and influence of Peisistratus were great. He received presents and loans to a large amount from the states with which he had formed an interest during his administration of Athens. He continued to strengthen these connections; and at length assembled a military force with which, in the eleventh year of this his second banishment, he returned into Attica. Immediately he made himself master of Marathon. Hither his remaining partizans in Athens flocked to his standard; together with many other Athenians who, according to Herodotus's expression, 'preferred tyranny to 'liberty[22];' that is, it should seem, those to whom that called, by the opposite faction, the tyranny of Peisistratus, would give freedom, whereas the administration of the Alcmæonids was real tyranny to them; for in no other acceptation does the expression appear intelligible. The Alcmæonids, after some imprudent delay, led an army from the city. But it was ill disciplined and ill commanded. Peisistratus attacked them by surprize. The rout was immediate. With his usual presence of mind, and with a humanity the more admirable as it was then uncommon, Peisistratus immediately stopped the slaughter; and sending some horse after the fugitives, proclaimed that, 'None need fear who 'would go quietly to their homes: Peisistratus promised safety to their 'persons and property.' The known clemency and honor of the chief procured general attention to the proclamation: the principal Alcmæonids fled; and Peisistratus entered Athens unopposed.

It does not appear that even now any fundamental change was made in the Athenian constitution, or any unwarrantable step taken to secure the leader's power. As head of the prevailing party he had of course the principal influence in the government. His abilities might have given him that preëminence in any free state. A particular interest with the ruling parties in several neighboring states, especially Thebes and Argos, and a wise and liberal use of a very great private property, were the resources in which he besides mostly confided. Some measures were necessary to insure peaceable demeanor from those partizans of

Herod. l. 1. c. 61.

[22] Ὅσιν ἡ τυραννὶς πρὸ ἐλευθερίης ἦν ἀσπαστότερον. Herod. l. 1. c. 62.

the Alcmæonids who had not fled. None, however, were injured in their persons; their children only were kept as hostages, and themselves sent to inhabit the iland of Naxus. This may appear arbitrary; but if compared with what we shall hereafter find usual in revolutions of Grecian cities, it was singularly mild: it was in short the resource of a party-chief, liberal and humane as experienced and clear-sighted, to insure political quiet with the least possible severity. Lygdamis, a Naxian, banished from his iland, one of the most populous and wealthy of the Ægean sea, had led a considerable body of the party banished with him, to assist Peisistratus in reëstablishing his party in Athens. Peisistratus requited the benefit by assisting Lygdamis to reëstablish himself in Naxus. The detention of the children of the Alcmæonid party then in Athens while the fathers were sent to Naxus, gave security for the quiet of both governments.

After these first measures for insuring public peace, the administration of Peisistratus was uniformly mild and beneficial[23]. Of his forein transactions the most important recorded was the establishment of an Athenian colony at Sigeium on the Hellespont, and a war which followed with the Mitylenæans of Lesbos, who claimed the territory. It was upon occasion of a victory gained by the Athenians in this war, that the poet Alcæus, a principal citizen and head of a faction at Mitylenë, incurred the disgrace of quitting his arms for quicker flight. These spoils were, by the conquering Athenians, suspended as a trophy in the temple of Minerva at Sigeium.

Herod. l. 5. c. 94, 95.

The domestic administration of Peisistratus is universally eulogized. Many anecdotes are preserved very highly to the advantage of his character. His mildness, patience, and forbearance, were not less remarkable than his ability, activity, and intrepidity. His kindness to the poor and distressed was not a dissembled virtue, assumed for the advancement of his ambitious views, but conspicuous through his life. Many of his laws and regulations, highly advantageous to his country, became a part of its constitution. Finding an increasing disposition in the Athenians to neglect rural employments and crowd into the

Plut. v. Solon. & Apophth. Diog. Laert. v. Solon. & al. ap. Jo. Meurf. in. Pisist.

[23] Even Plutarch reckons Peisistratus among those who, πονηρίᾳ κτησάμενοι τυραννίδας, ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς ἀρετὴν αὐλαῖς——μέτριοι καὶ δημωφελεῖς. De sera num. vind. p. 551.

city,

city, he took every method to discourage this, and promote agriculture; giving liberally from his private property; especially if by the same act he could reward merit or relieve distress. The laws against idleness, attributed by some to Solon, are also ascribed to Peisistratus. The law decreeing a public provision for the wounded in their country's service, is referred to him alone. He was eminent for love of learning and the fine arts. He is said to have founded the first public library known in the world; and the first complete collection and digestion of Homer's poems is by Cicero attributed to him. Cicero also speaks of his eloquence in the highest terms; as the first model of that sublime and polished rhetoric, in which, as in most other arts, Greece has been mistress of the world. Tho Peisistratus discouraged that increasing population of the capital which was hurtful to the country, yet he improved the town, and adorned it with splendid public buildings. He is said to have been the first who ever laid out a garden for public use. He continued to direct the administration of Athens with great wisdom, and with the esteem of all men, during life, and, at an advanced age, he died in peace.

De Orat. l. 3. c. 34. & Brutus.

Whatsoever the authority of Peisistratus was in the Athenian state, by whatsoever means supported, and in whatsoever way exerted, it appears certain that he never assumed the tone of royalty. On his death his influence descended to sons worthy of such a father: but so intirely was the administration of the republic still conducted according to the forms prescribed by the constitution, that, when afterward it became popular at Athens to call Peisistratus and his successors kings and tyrants, no one public act recorded who was his successor. Herodotus, who lived within memory of his cotemporaries, mentions Hippias and Hipparchus as sons of Peisistratus, without saying which was the elder or the superior. The accurate Thucydides, a few years only later, informs us that common report in his time made Hipparchus the successor; but erroneously, he says, for Hippias was the elder: yet Plato, shortly after, concurring with that common report which Thucydides had judged erroneous, reckoned Hipparchus the elder. However this might be, those brothers had certainly together the principal influence in the administration of Athens. Heads of the

Thucyd l. 1. c. 20. & l. 6. c. 54.

Plat. Hipparch.

prevailing party, their friends only could obtain the principal magistracies[24]. But that power, which the favor of their party gave them, they used very advantageously for the public, and without asperity toward their opponents. The character of Hipparchus is transmitted to us, on no less authority than that of Plato, as one of the most perfect in history. Such were his virtues, his abilities, and his diligence, that the philosopher does not scruple to say the period of his administration was like another golden age. He was in the highest degree a friend to learning and learned men. The collection and digestion of Homer's works, by others ascribed to his father, is by Plato attributed to him. Hipparchus, however, introduced them more generally to the knowlege of the Athenians, by directing that a public recital of them should always make a part of the entertainment at the Panathenæan festival. He invited the poets Anacreon of Teos, and Simonides of Ceos, to Athens, and liberally maintained them there. Desirous of diffusing instruction as widely as possible among his fellowcountrymen, while books were yet few, and copies not easily multiplied, he caused marble terms of Mercury, with short moral sentences ingraved on the sides, to be erected in the streets and principal highways throughout Attica. Such are the anecdotes remaining of Hipparchus. Hippias was at the same time beneficially active in public business. He improved the public revenue. Under his superintendancy the money of Attica was called in and recoined. He was author of a law allowing compositions in money for various burthensome offices, which before none could avoid. He prosecuted the improvements of the city begun by his father. Attic taste in every branch appears to have had its rise principally under the Peisistratids. The administration of the commonwealth was at the same time conducted, in peace, and in war, happily at home and honorably abroad; and, according to the remarkable expression of the able and impartial Thucydides, 'Those tyrants singularly cultivated 'wisdom and virtue[25].'

Plat. Hipparch. Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 8. c. 2.

Plat. Hipparch.

The circumstances which produced the death of Hipparchus, the expulsion of his family, and a number of great events, are, as common

[24] Τὰ δὲ ἄλλα αὐτὴ ἡ πόλις τοῖς κειμένοις ἐχρῆτο, πλὴν καθόσον ἀεί τινὰ ἐπεμέλοντο σφῶν ἀρετὴν καὶ ξύνεσιν. Thucyd. l. 4. c. 54.

[25] Ἐπετήδευσαν ἐπιπλεῖστον δὴ τύραννοι οὗτοι ἀνδῶν ἐν τῇσ ἀρχαῖς εἶναι. Thucyd. l. 4. c. 54.

in

in conspiracies, wrapt in inexplicable mystery. The account given by Thucydides, utterly abhorrent as it is from our manners, was, we must suppose, not inconsistent with those of Athens; yet did not satisfy Plato, who relates a different story. Succeeding writers have differed from both. But there is one circumstance, of principal historical consequence, in which all agree: it was private revenge, and not any political motive, that induced Aristogeiton and Harmodius, two Athenians of middle rank, to conspire the death of Hippias and Hipparchus. For the time of executing their intention they chose the festival of Panathenæa; because, part of the ceremony consisting in a procession of armed citizens, they could then go armed without exciting suspicion. They ingaged few in their plot: nothing remains from which to suppose they had any object beyond killing the two brothers; and even for this their measures appear to have been ill-concerted. Their first attempt was intended against Hippias, while he was directing the ceremony in the Cerameicus, a place in the suburbs: but, as they approached, they saw one of their fellow-conspirators familiarly conversing with him; for, says Thucydides, Hippias was easy of access to all[26]. This excited a suspicion that they were betrayed; upon which they suddenly resolved to go against Hipparchus, who was superintending in the Leocorion, within the city-walls. There they so far succeeded as to kill Hipparchus; but Harmodius was also killed on the spot. Aristogeiton escaped the guards who attended Hipparchus, but, being taken by the people, was not mildly treated. Such is Thucydides's expression[27].

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 54. & seq.

Plat. Hipparch. Aristot. Polit. l. 5. c. 10. Justin. l. 2. c. 9.

Ol. 64. 4. B. C. 512. Dodw. Ann. Thucyd.

Now it was, according to the testimony which Plato has delivered in very pointed terms, that the tyranny properly began[28]. Anger at so atrocious a deed, together with uncertainty from what quarter he might have next to fear, led Hippias immediately to severities. Many

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 59.

[26] Ἦν δὲ πᾶσιν ἐυπρόσοδος ὁ Ἱππίας. Thucyd. l. 6. c. 57.

[27] Οὐ ῥαδίως διετέθη. The stories told by later writers, Seneca, Polyænus, Justin, and others, both of Aristogeiton, and of his mistress Leæna, are totally destitute of that testimony which we might expect from authors nearly cotemporary. Indeed it seems not too much to assert that they are evidently fables. See Pausanias, b. 1. c. 23.

[28] Καὶ πάντων ἂν τῶν παλαιῶν ἠκούσας ὅτι τἆυτα μόνα τὰ (τρία) ἔτη τυραννὶς ἐγένετο ἐν Ἀθήναις· τον δ' ἄλλον χρόνον ἐγγὺς τι ἔζων Ἀθηναῖοι ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Κρόνυ βασιλένοντος. Plat. Hipparch. Herodotus and Thucydides had before borne nearly the same testimony, tho in less emphatical language.

Athenians

Athenians were put to death. And, this change of conduct once made, to revert to the former course was not a matter of option. Other support than the love of his fellowcountrymen became necessary, not meerly to the power, but even to the personal safety of Hippias. Looking around therefore, for means of improving his connections among forein states, he married his only daughter to Æantides, son of Hippocles tyrant of Lampsacus, who had intercourse with the Persian court, and considerable interest there. The epitaph on her monument in Lampsacus, recorded by Thucydides, and remarkable for an elegant simplicity of panegyric, not totally lost even in a literal prose translation, proves how little the title of tyrant was then a term of reproach: 'This dust,' it says, 'covers Archedicë, daughter of 'Hippias, in his time the first of the Greeks. Daughter, sister, wife, 'and mother of Tyrants, her mind was never elated to arrogance.'

Herod. l. 5. c. 62.

The Alcmæonids, ejected by Peisistratus, were numerous and wealthy. Under these generic names the Greek writers include, with the family, often all the partizans of the family. They had settled themselves at Lipsydrium above Pæonia[29], so Herodotus describes the place, and had fortified it. But their hopes did not rest there: they were unceasingly watchful for opportunities to recover Athens. With this object in view, they omitted no means of preserving and increasing their consideration among the Grecian states. It happened that the temple of Delphi was burnt. The Amphictyons, of course were to provide for the rebuilding of it. The Alcmæonids offered for a certain sum to undertake the work. A contract was in consequence made with them, by which they were bound to erect a temple, according to a plan agreed upon, of Porine stone. It was, undoubtedly, a very desirable circumstance for an exiled family, objects of persecution to the rulers of a powerful state, thus to become connected with so respectable a body as the Amphictyons. But they used the opportunity to make all Greece in a manner their debtors, and even to involve the divinity of the place in obligation to them, by exceeding their contract in the sumptuousness of the execution, particularly by building the whole

Herod. ut sup. Pindar. Pyth. 7.

[29] It seems probable enough that the learned and ingenious, but strangely arrogant and petulant critic Pauw, who disdains discussion and quotation, and scruples no assertion that he fancies, may be right in his conjecture, that for Pæonia should be red Pæania, which was the name of an Attic borough.

front of the temple of Parian marble. Another advantage, however, of still greater importance, they derived, as common report went in Herodotus's time, from ingaging in this business. They found means to corrupt the managers of the oracle: in consequence of which, whenever application, public or private, was made from Lacedæmon to the god of Delphi, the answer constantly concluded with an admonition to the Lacedæmonians to give liberty to Athens. Herod. l. 5. c. 63.

This artifice at length had the desired effect. Tho Lacedæmon was in particular alliance with the Peisistratids, and bound to them by the sacred ties of hospitality, it was determined to invade Attica. A small force only was first sent under Anchimolius, who was defeated, and slain. But the Alcmæonid party was gaining strength: the severities of Hippias drove numbers to join them; and the Lacedæmonians, irritated by their loss and disgrace, prepared earnestly for revenge. They sent a larger army into Attica under their king Cleomenes. It was joined by the Alcmæonids. A battle was fought at Pallenium, where the tyrants were defeated, and siege was laid to Athens. Little hope however was entertained of taking the city by force, but some expectation was founded on intrigue. This also Hippias and his principal partizans dreaded, and therefore sent their children out of the garrison to be conveyed to a place of safety. They fell into the enemy's hands; and the fathers, unable by any other means to save them, consented to surrender Athens and leave its territory in five days. Hippias retired to Sigeium on the Hellespont, which was under the government of Hegesistratus, his natural brother, who had been established there by Peisistratus. Andoc. de Myst. p. 53. Ol. 67. 3. B. C. 509. Ann. Thuc. Herod. l. 5. c. 65. & 94. Thucyd. l. 6. c. 58.

The Lacedæmonians were at this time by far the first people of Greece. Bound by their singular laws to a kind of monkish poverty, their ambition was unbounded. Masters of Messenia by conquest, allied from of old with Corinth, and, as the more powerful state, always taking the lead in the league, they in a great degree commanded Peloponnesus. Still they watched every opportunity to extend their power. Whenever the Grecian states had war with one another, or sedition within themselves, the Lacedæmonians were ready to interfere as mediators. Generally they conducted the business wisely, and with great Polyb. l. 6. p. 492. Isocr. Panathen. p. 454, &c. 490. t. 2. ed. Par. Auger.

great appearance of moderation; but always having in view to extend the authority, or at least the influence of their state. One measure which they constantly practised for this purpose was to favor aristocratical power; or rather, wherever they could, to establish an oligarchy: for in almost every Grecian city there was an aristocratical or oligarchal, and a democratical faction; and a few chiefs indebted to Lacedæmon for their situation, and generally unable to retain it without her assistance, would be the readiest instruments for holding their state in what, tho termed alliance, was always a degree of subjection.

Isocr. Panathen. p. 460. t. 2.

This policy it was proposed to follow at Athens; and the strife of factions, which quickly arose there, gave great opportunity. By the late revolution, Cleisthenes, son of Megacles, head of the Alcmæonids, was of course the first person of the commonwealth. But he was a man not of those superior abilities necessary to hold the sway in a turbulent democracy. A party was soon formed against him under Isagoras, with whom most of the principal Athenians sided. The resource of Cleisthenes was therefore among the lower people. These being all-powerful in the general assembly, by their means he made some alterations in the constitution, favorable to his own influence: particularly he divided anew the Athenian territory and people; instead of four, making the number of tribes ten, to which he gave intirely new names. It appears from Herodotus that Cleisthenes was at this time not less tyrant of Athens than Peisistratus had been. His power was equal, but his moderation was not equal[30]. In the contests of Grecian factions the alternative was commonly victory, or exile, and

Herod. l. 5. c. 66. 69.

[30] Ὡς γὰρ δὴ τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον, πρότερον ἀπωσμένον, τότε πάντα πρὸς τὴν ἑωϋτοῦ μοίρην προσεθήκατο, τὰς φυλὰς μετωνόμασε, καὶ ἐποίησε πλείονας ἐξ ἐλασσόνων, κ. τ. ε. ἦν τε τὸν δῆμον προσθέμενος πολλῷ κατύπερθε τῶν ἀντιστασιωτέων. Herod. l. 5. c. 69. This honest passage gives great insight into the state of party-politics at Athens at the time, and affords a material part of the clue necessary for tracing them through following times. It is remarkably to the credit of Herodotus, and extraordinary that it should have been so little noticed, or rather so totally unnoticed, by writers who have criticized him, that whatever he has said upon that delicate and difficult subject the domestic politics of Athens, and indeed of all Greece, is perfectly consonant to the unquestionable authority of Thucydides. The two writers mutually reflect light upon one another: Herodotus opens the scene; and whoever will take the pains to connect his desultory yet amusing narration, will find him no unworthy forerunner of Thucydides and Xenophon, who with more art and judgement lead us to the catastrophe.

sometimes

sometimes death. We must not wonder, therefore, if the inferior party sometimes resorted to very harsh expedients. Isagoras and his adherents applied to Lacedæmon. Cleomenes, violent in his temper, but of considerable abilities, had more influence in the administration of his country than its kings always possessed. Immediately entering into the interest of Isagoras, he sent a herald to Athens, by whom he imperiously decreed banishment against Cleisthenes and others of the Alcmæonids, on the old pretence of inherited criminality from the sacrilegious execution of the partizans of Cylon. Cleisthenes obeyed the decree. Incouraged by such proof of the respect or dread in which the Spartan power was held, Cleomenes thought the season favorable for making that change in the Athenian Constitution which would suit the views of Spartan ambition. He went to Athens, attended by a small military force, and at once banished seven hundred families. Such was at this time Athenian liberty. He was then proceeding to dissolve the council of five hundred, and to commit the whole power of the commonwealth to a new council consisting of three hundred, all partizans of Isagoras. But Athens was not so far prepared for subjection. The five hundred both refused themselves to submit, and excited the people to opposition. The people ran to arms. Cleomenes and Isagoras, taking refuge in the citadel, were besieged there two days. On the third they surrendered, upon condition that the Lacedæmonians might depart in safety. Isagoras went with them; but many Athenians of his party were executed. Cleisthenes and the exiled families immediately returned.

Herod. l. 5. c. 70.

Herod. l. 5. c. 72. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 126.

Herod. & Thucyd. ut sup. & Aristoph. Lysist. v. 273.

Those who now took the lead in the Athenian government, tho without opposition at home, were in extreme apprehension of the consequences of such a breach with Lacedæmon. At a loss for allies within Greece capable of giving them effectual support, they sent ambassadors to Sardis to endeavor to form a connexion with Artaphernes the Persian Satrap. Hitherto there had been scarcely any communication between any branch of the vast empire of Persia and the Europeän Greeks. The satrap received the deputies of a little unheard-of republic with that haughtiness which might be expected. Having admitted them to audience, he asked who they were, and from

Herod. l. 5. c. 73.

what part of the world they came, that they desired alliance with the Persians? Being informed, he answered them very shortly, 'That if 'they would give earth and water to king Darius,' the usual ceremony in acknowleging subjection, 'they might be received into alliance; 'otherwise they must depart.' The ambassadors, considering only the immediate danger of their country, consented to those humiliating terms. Such was the first public transaction between Greece and Persia.

CHAPTER VI.

View of the Eastern Nations politically connected with GREECE.

SECTION I.

Of Lydia: Asiatic Grecian Commonwealths: Scythia: Assyria: Persia. Reduction of the Asian Greeks under the Persian Dominion by Cyrus.

AS the affairs of Greece now become essentially connected with those of that powerful empire which, by rapid conquest, had united under one dominion almost the whole of the civilized world, it will be necessary to take a short survey of the state of things in the surrounding nations; and particularly in those of the vast continent of Asia, whose transactions with the little country of Greece furnish some of the most remarkable and important events in the political history of mankind.

We have already observed that riches and arts were earlier known in Asia Minor than in Greece. Before the Trojan war, that country whence Pelops came, by some called Phrygia, by others Lydia, was famed among the Greeks for wealth. In Lydia, the mountain Tmolus antiently abounded with gold, which the torrent-river Pactolus brought down from the craggy summits, so that a rude people might easily collect it. Hence, at the foot of Tmolus, on the banks of the Pactolus, the town of Sardis early rose to importance, and became the capital of Lydia. Gold, to which all nations of the old world, even in their rudest ages, seem almost instinctively to have attributed a mysterious value, while the original Americans, of any people known to have long possessed it, have alone given it an estimation nearly proportioned to its intrinsic worth; gold has not always those pernicious effects which speculative philosophers have been fond of attributing to it. Gold

Herod. l. 1. c. 93. Strab. l. 13. p. 265.

was, to the Lydians, the spring of industry, of knowlege, we may add of virtue, if it be truly said that virtue consists in action. Undoubtedly it was also the spring of vice; for so things are constituted in this world, that there almost only can be active virtue where is vice. The Lydians, as we have heretofore had occasion to remark, appear to have derived their origin from the same hords who peopled Greece. Their laws and manners, to the time of Herodotus, were almost the same with those of the Greeks; and that historian mentions some circumstances in the progress of society in which they preceded neighboring nations. They were the first people known to the Greeks to have exercised retail trades[1], and the first who struck coins of gold and silver. Coins are singularly adapted to convey to late ages and distant countries exact information of the progress of art and fine taste; and the extant coins of the Lydian kings, the oldest known to exist, exhibit remarkable proofs of the elegant taste and excellent workmanship of their early era.

Herod. l. 1. c. 35. 74 93, & 94.

In all countries the arts of peace and war have florished together. While the people of Lydia through industry were growing rich, the monarchs extended their dominion eastward as far as the river Halys. The small republics of the Grecian colonies could not be safe in the neighborhood of such a potentate. What accidental weakness of the Asiatic princes had allowed those adventurers, mostly driven by violence from their settlements in Greece, to appropriate a territory on the Asiatic shore, four hundred miles in length, eminent for richness of soil and beauty of climate, so little were letters known or practised and so deficient tradition, we are wholly without information. Those adventurers however were of the most polished Greeks of their age; Ionians from Athens, Æolians from Thebes and from the capitals of

[1] Πρῶτοι Κάπηλοι ἐγένοντο. Herod. l. 1. c. 94. We must not expect perfect correspondence, in terms of this kind, between different languages, in distant countries, and widely distant ages: but we find Κάπηλος very nearly defined, by Plato, a Shopkeeper (1). He is put in opposition to the Ἔμπορος, who travelled to deal, and who, according to the extent of his dealings, would be, in modern terms, either a merchant or a pedlar. In another place Plato distinguishes the Κάπηλος, as one who bought to sell, from the ἀνλοπωλὸς, who sold his own manufacture or produce (2).

(1) Plat. de Rep. t. 2. p. 371.

(2) Plat. Polit. t. 2. p. 260.

the

the Pelopid and Neleid kings. They knew how to profit from a rich settlement acquired. The improvements of Lydia would become theirs. Alone possessing ports and shipping, maritime commerce was exclusively theirs. Accordingly we find that, in science and the fine arts, Ionia became the mistress of Greece; and in extent of maritime communication, the colonies far exceeded the mother-country. But, while florishing each by itself, the Asiatic Grecian states, jealous of their separate independency, had scarcely any political connection with the mother-country, and little with one another; tho some of them maintained intimate friendly intercourse with the distant sister-colonies of Sicily and Italy. The several cities, indeed, of each people, Æolian, Ionian, and Dorian, maintained a union in religion: they had their common sacrifices. This would probably involve some political connection, and at least it would hold means always ready for forming political connection. The Ionians, with their Panionian sacrifice, had a meeting of deputies from their cities for common consultation concerning their political interests. But even the Panionian assembly, being but a congress of ministers from independent states, wanted authority to inforce its own resolutions, and the political connection produced by it remained very imperfect.

The first attempt of a Lydian monarch to reduce the Grecian states, of which we have any information, was under Gyges, supposed to have reigned soon after the age of Lycurgus. Deficient as their political connection was, he found among them probably a knowlege of war, as well as a republican spirit of bravery, which the Asiatics in general did not possess; for he failed in his attempts upon Miletus and Smyrna, but he took Colophon. The weight, however, of the Lydian kingdom, perseveringly exerted, was too great for any of those little commonwealths to resist: Ardyës, son of Gyges, took Miletus and Prienë. Herod. l. 1. c. 14.

There are some parts of the world whose inhabitants, from earliest history, have differed from all others in circumstances and manners, which they have preserved unaltered through hundreds of generations. Of these the people of that vast country called SCYTHIA by the Greeks, and by the moderns Tartary, are particularly remarkable. The description that Justin, after Trogus Pompeius, gives of the Scythians, is

equally

equally just, as far as our knowlege goes, for all former and for all following ages. They wander over, rather than possess, a country of immense extent. Exercising no tillage, they claim no property in land: they hold in abhorrence and scorn the confinement of a fixed habitation; roaming perpetually, with their families and herds, from pasture to pasture over their boundless wilderness. In this vagabond life, not to steal from one another is almost their only law. Their desires commonly go no farther than for food, which their herds supply, and for clothing, which the extreme cold of their climate makes peculiarly necessary. For the whole extent of their country being far removed from the balmy influence of the ocean; and, tho mostly plain, yet of extraordinary height above the level of the ocean; being bounded even on the south by mountains mostly covered with snow, while the tract northward is a continent of snow, their winters are of a severity unknown under the same latitude in other parts of the globe[2]. Nature has therefore supplied the brute animals of those regions with a peculiar warmth of covering. To man is only given ability to wrest such boons from the inferior creation. The ingenuity of the antient Scythians went thus far. Necessity drove them to the use of those furs for clothing which are become so extensively an article of useless, perhaps often pernicious luxury in milder climates[3]. Such a country,

Justin. l. 2. c. 2. Herod. l. 4. Strab. l. 8.

[2] Herodotus' exact acquaintance with the Scythian climate, and his lively description of it, both deserve notice: Δυσχείμερος δὲ αὕτη ἡ καταλειχθεῖσα πᾶσα χώρη οὕτω δή τί ἐστι· ἔνθα τοὺς μὲν ὀκτὼ τῶν μηνῶν ἀφόρητος δῖος γίνεται κρυμὸς, ἐν τοῖσι ὕδωρ ἐκχέας, πηλὸν οὐ ποιήσεις· πῦρ δὲ ἀνακαίων ποιήσεις πηλόν. Ἡ δὲ θάλασσα πήγνυται, καὶ βόσπορος πᾶς ὁ Κιμμέριος· καὶ ἐπὶ τῦ κρυσάλλου οἱ ἐντὸς τάφρου Σκύθαι κατοικημένοι στρατεύονται, καὶ τὰς ἁμάξας ἐπελάυνουσι πέρην ες τοὺς Σινδούς. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ τοὺς ὀκτὼ μῆνας διατελέει χειμὼν ἐὼν· τοὺς δ' ἐπιλοίπους τέσσερας ψύχεα αὐτόθι ἐστὶ. κ. τ. ε. Herodot. l. 4. c. 28. See also Strabo, b. 7. p. 307. In the mild climate of our own iland we do not readily learn to conceive the severity of continental winters, even in the most desirable latitudes, where the surface is elevated and the ocean distant. All modern accounts of the countries around the Euxine testify to the justness of Herodotus' description of the Scythian winter.

[3] England is perhaps, of all countries in the northern temperate zone, that in which furs are least used. In few parts of the world indeed is precaution of any kind against changes in the atmosphere less known, because in few less necessary; tho nowhere are those changes more the subject of conversation and complaint; which seems to arise from a peculiar fondness for exercise in the air and a consequent impatience under confinement within-doors, which the people of some other parts of Europe not only bear but like.

with such inhabitants, would little invite the ambition of others. But the Scythians, instinctively fond of wandering, were likely to be inspired with a desire to wander among the possessions of their more settled neighbours. And tho their manner of life is little above that of brutes, yet it has always been that of gregarious brutes: they migrate in such multitudes that their progression is scarcely resistible. War was moreover singularly their delight; and mercy and human kindness were totally alien to their warfare. Scalping was practised by them nearly as by the American Indians: none could claim his share of plunder who had not an enemy's head to present to his chief. The scalp then became the warrior's favorite ornament for his own person, and that of his horse: the number he possessed decided his reputation and his rank. Without this testimonial of military merit none could be admitted to their principal feasts; where, as among our Scandinavian ancestors, probably their descendants, the skulls of slain enemies were the drinking-cups. It is perhaps well for the historian's credit that we are assured, by unquestionable testimony, of the existence of such practices among later people *.

Herod. l. 4. c. 64, 65.

Thrice, in very early times, these ferocious vagabonds are said to have overrun Asia. But their irruptions had more the effect of a swarm of locusts, an inundation, or a hurricane, than of an expedition devised and conducted by the reason of men. While Ardyës reigned in Lydia there happened a migration from those rugged climates. A Scythian

Herod. l. 1. c. 15. & l. 4. c. 1.

* This sketch, of so singular a portion of mankind, was penned before the author had seen the finished picture of the same people, by the masterly hand of the historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. It has been observed by more than one great historian, that every book should be as complete as possible within itself, and should never refer for anything material to other books (1). Sensible of the truth of this remark, the author has found himself under peculiar difficulty in the necessity of giving some account of the Scythians. He scrupled the transcription of a long passage from a history not only in the hands, but fresh in the memory of all Europe. The whole would indeed have been beyond his purpose; the selection of parts hazardous; and any appearance of a competition preposterous. He has therefore risked his original sketch, principally translated from Justin and Herodotus, which he hopes will be found not absolutely incompetent for its purpose; and it will certainly be imputed as credit to those two writers, that this sketch, as far as it goes, accords very completely with the elaborate account of the historian first mentioned, who so singularly unites the liveliest manner with the most laborious diligence.

(1) Hume's Hist. of England, Appendix II. and Padre de Paolo. Hist. Conc. Trid.

hord

Ol. 36. 2. B. C. 635. *N.* hord drove before them a Cimmerian hord, apparently of not very dissimilar manners. The conquerors, pursuing eastward, entered Media, and overwhelmed that rich and powerful kingdom. The Cimmerians had avoided them by taking a more westerly course; and, in their flight, little less terrible to the nations among whom they came, than the Scythians had been to themselves, they overran Asia Minor. Sardis fell their prey; the citadel only withstanding them. Most of the Grecian cities suffered. But the plague was transitory. It came, it destroyed, it vanished; and things resumed nearly their former situation.

Ol. 39. 1. B. C. 624. *B.*

The power of the Lydian monarchy was however shaken. Some of the Grecian states, Miletus particularly, appear to have recovered independency; for we find Sadyattes, son of Ardyës, toward the end of his reign, ingaged in war with the Milesians. It was continued or renewed by his son Halyattes. Miletus was then the richest and most populous of the Asiatic Grecian cities. None of the greater powers having directed their attention to maritime affairs, the naval force of the little Grecian states gave them consequence; and that of Miletus was superior to any other. The Lydian monarch had none to oppose to it, except what he might command from his subject Greeks. The Milesians therefore commanding the sea, a blockade by land was little efficacious; and any other mode of siege was at that time little known. The manner therefore in which the Lydian monarch carried on the war was thus. Marching into the Milesian territory a little before harvest, with all military pomp, to the sound of various musical instruments, he cut down all the corn, and destroyed all the vines, olives, and other valuable trees; sparing the buildings, that the people might have the better means of cultivating fresh harvests for him to carry off or destroy. The Milesians, venturing to take the field for the protection of their property, suffered two considerable defeats. The war however continued eleven years, from its commencement under Sadyattes, and the Milesians still obstinately defended themselves. In the twelfth year, Halyattes, being

Ol. 50.[5] B. C. 580. *N.*

Ol. 39. 4. B. C. 621. *B.*

Herod. l. 1. c. 17.

[5] The space of only three years, allowed by Blair, between the Scythian irruption and the Milesian war, is inconsistent with the narration of Herodotus. Newton has not marked the date of the Milesian war; but according to other circumstances which he has marked, it might have begun about the fiftieth Olympiad, where Herodotus's account would nearly bring it.

seized

seized with a dangerous illness, was agitated with superstitious fear on account of the accidental burning of a temple of Minerva by his ravaging troops; and the Milesians, making advantage of this circumstance, procured a peace.

Crœsus son of Halyattes still advanced the power of the Lydian monarchy. He made all the Asian Greeks tributary; and, excepting Lycia and Cilicia, was master of the whole of Asia Minor, as far as the Halys. He was an able and virtuous prince, not less generally beloved than feared; so that the Asian Greeks, finding their condition far from worse for their subjection to such a monarch, who allowed them the injoyment of their own laws and constitution, with the whole internal regulation of their little commonwealths, became attached to him as subjects to their legal hereditary soverein[6]. There had long been intercourse

Herod. l. 1. c. 26. & seq.

[6] This appears from the tenor of Herodotus' narration, and receives confirmation from Thucydides, who says that the Ionians florished greatly and were very powerful till they were reduced by Cyrus, after he had conquered Crœsus (1). Pindar's concise but emphatical eulogy speaks also strongly to the same purpose. The passage is remarkable:

——— Ὀπισθόμβροτον ἀύχημα δόξας
Οἷον ἀποιχομένων ἀνδρῶν δίαιταν μανύει,
Καὶ λογίοις καὶ ἀοιδοῖς·
ΟΥ ΦΘΙΝΕΙ ΚΡΟΙΣΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΦΡΩΝ ΑΡΕΤΑ.
Τὸν δὲ τάυρῳ χαλχέῳ καυτῆρα, νηλέα νόον,
Ἐχθρὰ Φάλαριν κατέχει παντᾶ φάτις·
Οὐδέ μιν φόρμιγγες ὑπαρόφιαι κοινωνίαν
Μαλθακὰν παίδων ὐάροισι δέχονται.
Εὖ δὲ παθεῖν τὸ πρῶτον ἄθλων·
Εὖ δ' ἀκόυειν δευτέρα μοῖρ'.
Ἀμφοτέροισι δ' ἀνὴρ
Ὃς' ἂν ἐγκύρσῃ καὶ ἕλῃ,
Στέφανον ὕψιστον δέδεκται. Pindar. Pyth. I.

When in the mouldring urn the monarch lies,
His fame in lively characters remains;
Or graved in monumental histories,
Or deck'd and painted in Aonian strains.

Thus fresh and fragrant and immortal blooms
The virtue, CRŒSUS, of thy gentle mind:
While fate to infamy and hatred dooms
Sicilia's tyrant, scorn of human kind;
Whose ruthless bosom swell'd with cruel pride,
When, in his brazen bull, the broiling wretches died.

(1) Thucyd. l. 1. c. 16.

tercourse between Lydia and the continent of Greece. Sardis, as a mart, was an object for all nations within reach. Superstition chiefly led the Lydians to Greece: the reputation of the Delphian oracle was high among them, and many presents from Lydian monarchs were, in the time of Herodotus, principal ornaments of its shrine. Gyges king of Lydia, that writer says, was the first foreiner, excepting only Midas, son of Gordias king of Phrygia, who ever sent a present thither. But it has been already mentioned as matter, at least, for doubt, whether the treasures sent to be placed under the protection of the god, at Delphi and other temples, were intended as gifts. In aftertimes we shall find that the most respected shrines were resorted to as banks, where the reputed sanctity of the place afforded security for treasures deposited, which could not be found elsewhere, and whence those treasures might be drawn at the depositor's pleasure, tho probably paying largely for the benefit. The wealth that Crœsus sent to Delphi consisted in large part of what are called bricks, or tiles, in modern phrase ingots of gold. Crœsus appears to have been partial to the Greeks, and he incouraged men of genius and learning of that nation in his court[7]. But he was not without a considerable share of ambition. Being master of the whole western coast of Asia Minor, with all its shipping, he had the means of becoming a more formidable naval power

Herod. l. c.
Pausan. l. c.
Herod. l. 1. c. 29.

Him therefore nor in sweet society
The generous youth conversing ever name,
Nor with the harp's delightful melody
Mingle his odious inharmonious fame.

The first, the greatest bliss on man conferr'd,
Is in the acts of virtue to excel;
The second to obtain their high reward,
The soul-exalting praise of doing well.
Who both these lots attains is blest indeed,
Since fortune here below can give no richer meed.

WEST'S TRANSLATION.

In Pindar's youth the fame of Crœsus was recent. The selection of him therefore as an example of a virtuous and beneficent prince, fittest to be named in opposition to a detested tyrant, is strong testimony.

[7] The first three lines of the quotation from Pindar in the foregoing note, being introductory to the mention of Crœsus, appear to indicate that the Grecian poets, as well as the sophists mentioned by Herodotus, were not without a due share of that prince's favor; if indeed the historian did not mean to include poets under the term sophist. It should follow that, if pure Greek was not the common language of Sardis, it was however familiarly understood in Crœsus's court.

than

than had yet been known in the world. Already the ilands trembled for their independency; and Greece itself was not without apprehension, when events in another quarter called all the attention of the Lydian monarch. Herod. l. 1. c. 27.

Tho accounts of the countries about the river Euphrates go farther into antiquity than those of any other upon earth, yet we scarcely know when there was not a large and polished empire there. Of other countries which have possessed science, arts, and letters, we learn whence science, arts, and particularly whence letters have come to them; but no trace appears of their existence in any other country prior to their florishing in CHALDÆA. However also the wonders of BABYLON may have been exaggerated by some writers, we have yet sufficient testimony to its having been a city of extraordinary magnitude, population, wealth, and magnificence, when scarcely elsewhere in the world a city existed. The ASSYRIAN EMPIRE, of which it was the metropolis, by a revolt of the northern provinces became divided. Babylon remained the capital of the southern part, still called Assyria: the northern formed an extensive kingdom under the name of MEDIA. To the south of Media, and east of Assyria, was a mountainous tract called PERSIA; so inferior to the surrounding countries in riches and populousness, that hitherto it had been of little weight or consideration. But, during the reign of Crœsus in Lydia, a prince of extraordinary abilities, named Cyrus, arose among the Persians. Those hardy mountaineers had the same superiority over the enervated inhabitants of the rich Asiatic plains, which is still observed in the sultry climates of the east; tho, in Europe, the difference, in strength and courage, between the inhabitants of mountains and of plains, is only to be found in the imagination of speculative writers. Cyrus became master of Media, according to some accounts by inheritance from his mother, according to others by arms. He was successful in war against Assyria, and threatened the intire conquest of that empire. Crœsus was alarmed at his growing power and fame. It was obvious policy to support the Assyrian monarch, and endeavor to hold the balance between him and the Persian. Yet either the attempt or the neglect might be fatal; and human wisdom could only decide upon the probability. Anxious for surer grounds, and full of the superstition of his age, he tried all the more celebrated oracles Orme's Hist. of Indostan.

known to the Greeks for advice and information. He was so liberal in presents to Delphi, that the Delphians passed a decree granting to the king and people of Lydia precedency in the consultation of the oracle [8], with privilege for any Lydian to become at pleasure a Delphian citizen. Such preference to a foreiner, in a business which must have been under the controul of the Amphictyonic council, proves strongly the respect of the Greeks for Crœsus, and perhaps their fear of him. Yet the managers of the oracle, always provident of its reputation, could by no means be induced to prophesy any success to him in a war with Persia. To all his interrogatories on the subject they gave answers so dubious and elusive, that whatsoever part he might take, and whatsoever might be the event, the credit of the oracle would be safe. The unhappy prince, after much hesitation, at length determined upon war. He led his army into those provinces beyond the river Halys which had formed part of the Median monarchy. Cyrus immediately quitted his Assyrian foes to march against Crœsus. One great battle decided the fate of Lydia. Cyrus was victorious, and marching to Sardis, made Crœsus prisoner, and his kingdom a province of the Persian empire.

Ol. 57. 1. B. C. 554. *N.*

Ol. 58. 1. B. C. 548. *B.*

Herod. l. 1. c. 141.

While the issue of the war remained yet uncertain, Cyrus had endeavored to gain the Grecian cities in Asia Minor; but they adhered to their ingagements with the Lydian king. The full success therefore of the Persian arms could not but be highly alarming to them. Immediately the Ionians sent to offer submission, upon the same terms on which they had been subject to Crœsus. The Milesians alone were admitted to so much favor. The others were told that, having refused those terms when offered, they must abide the consequences. Such a reply from such a potentate was indeed dreadful. Each city set to repair and improve its fortifications, and the Panionian assembly was summoned. But a comparison of their own force with that of the Persian monarchy affording no reasonable hope that they should of themselves be able to withstand the threatened danger, in this extremity they turned their thoughts to their parent country; tho with little expectation of finding there either disposition or ability to protect them. An embassy was sent

[8] Προμαντηίην καὶ ἀγγελίην καὶ προεδρίην. Herod. l. 1. c. 54. What precisely these privileges and honors were, may be difficult to determine.

to

to Lacedæmon, as the leading state of Greece. But it was never the character of the Spartan government to be forward in hazardous enterprize. The Ionians could obtain no promise of assistance; but some Spartans were appointed to accompany them in their return, to inquire into the truth of the alarming accounts given of the Persian power, and endeavor to learn the farther designs of the conquering monarch. The Spartan ministers went to the Persian court at Sardis; and the account given, with his usual simplicity, by Herodotus, of what passed at an audience to which Cyrus admitted them, marks just the contempt which might be expected, in the conqueror of Asia, for the little republics of Greece. A republic, indeed, was probably a new ideä to him. He told the Spartans, 'That he could not be afraid of people who had squares in 'the middle of their towns, in which they met to swear and deceive one 'another;' alluding to the agora, which was, in most of the Grecian cities, the place equally for the common market and the general assembly: and he concluded with a threat, 'That it might come to their turn to 'lament their own subjection, and they had better not interfere in his 'concerns with the Ionians.' The war with Assyria was an object of other importance. Marching therefore himself eastward, he left the Greeks to his lieutenants.

Herod. l. 1. c. 152, 153.

It was a practice of this great prince to leave a considerable share in the administration of conquered countries in the hands of natives. He committed a high office at Sardis to Pactyas, a Lydian, who took a very early opportunity to show himself unworthy of the trust reposed in him. Cyrus was scarcely gone, when he managed a revolt, became master of the town of Sardis, and besieged the Persian governor in the citadel. Cyrus did not think even this a circumstance to require the intermission of his march against Assyria. He detached a part only of his army against the rebel, who appears to have been very unequal to the greatness of his attempt; for, according to Herodotus, without any farther effort, he fled to the Grecian town of Cuma, where probably he had claims of hospitality. The Persian general sent to demand him. The Cumæans, between fear of the vengeance of so mighty a potentate, and unwillingness to incur the disgrace of betraying a received suppliant, which they expected would also draw on them the anger of the gods,

Herod. l. 3. c. 15.

Herod. l. 1. c. 153.

Herod. l. 1. c. 156. & seq.

gods, were greatly at a loss. The neighboring oracle of Apollo at Branchidæ, then in high repute among the Asian Greeks, was their resource. This story, also related by Herodotus with a simplicity evincing truth, while it characterizes both the religion and the politics of the times, affords a remarkable specimen of the subjects upon which oracles were consulted, and of the subterfuges of the managers to preserve their credit. The question of the Cumæans was not a little distressing. To advise any opposition to the Persian power would have put the credit of the oracle to the highest risk. But to betray an admitted suppliant was held among the Greeks, in no less a measure, offensive to the gods and infamous among men. This, however, the oracle unwarily directed. Aristodicus, a man eminent among the citizens of Cuma, whether influenced by party-views, or by friendship for Pactyas, or by honest indignation at the unworthy deed intended by his fellowcitizens, publicly declared his doubt of the answer reported from the oracle, and insisted that the prayer should be repeated to the god, and persons of unquestionable credit commissioned to bring the response. He prevailed, and was himself appointed of the number. The answer was still as before, That the Cumæans should deliver up Pactyas. Aristodicus, not thus satisfied, searching around the temple, purposely disturbed some nests of sparrows and other birds, which in that situation, according to the tenets of Grecian superstition, were under the particular protection of the deity of the place. A voice was presently heard from the inmost recess of the building, 'O most unholy of men! how darest thou thus violate my suppliants!' Aristodicus replied, 'O soverein power! dost thou thus protect thy suppliants, 'yet commandest the Cumæans to give up their suppliant?' 'Yes,' returned the voice, 'I command it: that so you, the sooner perishing, 'may no more consult oracles about betraying suppliants.' This reply answered the purpose both of the oracle and of Aristodicus; but not so of the Cumæans. The credit of the oracle, not only for truth, but in some measure for justice also, was saved; but the Cumæans, fearing equal destruction whether they betrayed Pactyas or attempted his protection, sought to avoid the danger by a middle course, and furnished him with means of escaping to Mitylenë in Lesbos. There it was hoped

he might be safe: for as the Persians were utterly unconversant in marine affairs, and no maritime state was yet added to their dominion, the Grecian ilands were thought in no immediate danger. But the Mitylenæans, equally regardless of their honor, and fearless of divine vengeance, only considered how they might most profit by the conjuncture. They entered into a negotiation to deliver up Pactyas for a stipulated price. His Cumæan friends, informed of this, farther assisted him with means of escaping to Chios. But the Chians, no less infamously mercenary than the Mitylenæans, for a small tract of land on the continent overagainst their iland, sold him to the Persian; and, to execute their agreement, scrupled not to violate the sanctuary of Minerva, the tutelary goddess of their state, whither he had fled as a sure asylum.

The Persian general, meanwhile, overran the rich vales of the Mæander and of Magnesia, and gave the plunder to his soldiers. He took the town of Prienë, and sold all the inhabitants for slaves. He was proceeding thus violently to execute his commission for subduing the Grecian possessions, when sickness stopped his course, and death soon followed. Harpagus, his successor in command, began his administration with the siege of Phocæa. The Phocæans had been remarkable for their early and successful application to maritime affairs. They, first of the Greeks, undertook long voyages, and made known to their fellowcountrymen the shores of the Adriatic, and the coasts of Tuscany and Spain. Becoming rich by commerce, they had fortified their town, which was large, in a manner superior to what was then common. But the Persian force, directed by the skill of Harpagus, was too great for them to resist. This general made his approaches in a method analogous to that now in use; with just the difference which the fortification and arms of his age required. No weapons of that time could prevent him from breaking ground near the town ditch: to his trenches he added a lofty rampart; and, as he approached, he filled the ditch, and then formed a mound against the town wall, upon which his people might mount for storming. The Phocæans, hard pressed, obtained a truce for a day, upon pretence of considering about a capitulation. They made use of it for flight: putting their families and most

Herod. l. 1. c. 161.

Herod. l. 1. c. 163.

Ol. 60. 2. B. C. 539.

B.

most valuable effects aboard their vessels, they escaped to Chios. The Persian took possession of the empty town.

All that the Phocæans wanted was a seaport and security: the rest their activity would supply. They desired, therefore, to buy the little ilands called Œnussæ, lying between Chios and the main; but the Chians, jealous of an interference in trade, refused to sell them. About twenty years before, the Phocæans had founded the town of Alalia, in Corsica, and thither they determined to direct their course. But, in their way, actuated by that spirit of revenge which naturally imbittered war, when death, slavery, or expatriation were the only alternatives to the vanquished, they suddenly turned upon Phocæa; and probably finding the Persian garrison both weak and unprepared, they put the whole to the sword, tho without any hope or thought of holding the place. After this useless massacre, imprecating solemn curses on any of their number who should desert their expedition, and all taking an oath never to return to Phocæa, they steered for Corsica. More than half, notwithstanding, stimulated by regret for their native country, and dread of their new undertaking, returned. How they made their peace with the Persian we are not informed. Of the rest, after various chances, a part settled the town of Hyela, afterward called Helea, and Velia, in Italy. But the fairer fortune of the larger part seems not to have been known in Greece in Herodotus's time: they founded Massilia, now Marseille, in Gaul. A barren territory there gave small temptation for the rapine of neighboring barbarians. A port singularly commodious for vessels adapted to the navigation of the Mediterranean, afforded that opportunity, which the Greeks desired, for communication with all the world, beyond the ability of barbarians to interrupt. Thus Massilia became a rich and powerful maritime commonwealth. Its naval victory over the Carthaginians, reported by Thucydides, proves its early strength. The Grecian names Antipolis, Nicæa, Monœcus (now Antibes, Nizza or Nice, and Monaco), eastward, and Agatha (now Agde), westward in Gaul, and Rhodus, Aphrodision, Emporeion, Hemeroscopeion in Spain, mark the extent of its maritime dependencies. Rhodus, now Roses in Catalonia, founded by Rhodians, was brought under the dominion of the Massilians. Hemeroscopeion

Herod. l. 1. c. 163. & Strab. l. 6. p. 532. Pausan. l. 10. c. 8. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 13. Isocr. Archid. p. 68. t. 2. Strab. l. 4. p. 179.

Thucyd. ubi sup. Strab. l. 4. p. 180. 184.

Strab. l. 3. p. 159. Strab. l. 14. p. 654.

roscopeion received afterward from the Romans the name of Dianium. The neglect of the admirable harbor of Toulon, with the labors afterward of the Romans to make Forum Julii, now Frejus, a naval arsenal, mark the difference between antient and modern navigation.

The Teians, next attacked by Harpagus, followed the example of Phocæa. Sailing to Thrace, they founded the town of Abdera. The other Asian Greeks, finding their walls would not inable them singly to resist the Persian power, resolved together to try the event of a battle. Being defeated, they submitted to the conqueror on his own terms, which seem to have been milder than might have been expected from the former Persian general. Harpagus proceeded from Ionia through Lycia into Caria, and brought the whole of Asia Minor under the Persian dominion.

Cyrus, meanwhile, was no less successful in greater enterprize in Upper Asia. By that siege of Babylon, famous equally in profane and sacred history, he became master of Assyria. Having thus acquired a dominion far more extensive than had before been known in the world, the wisdom of his remaining years was employed to model the many nations which owned subjection to him into one regular empire. We are, however, far from having that certain and complete information concerning the transactions of this great prince, either in war or peace, that we might wish; but upon the whole it appears that his laws and political institutions were directed by a superiority of genius equal to that which guided him to conquest; and, what principally makes the want of an authentic history of him to be regretted, he stands singular among the many conquerors by whom it has been the fate of that large and rich portion of the world to be overrun, as a benefactor to mankind; as a father to all his people, to the conquered scarcely less than to his fellowconquerors [9].

Ol. 60. 3.
B. C. 538.
N. and *B.*

[9] Æschylus, in his tragedy of the Persians, has borne testimony to the virtues of Cyrus in a short but emphatical panegyric:

——Κῦρος, εὐδάιμων ἀνὴρ,
Ἄρξας ἔθηκε πᾶσιν εἰρήνην φίλοις·
Λυδῶν δὲ λαὸν καὶ Φρυγῶν ἐκτήσατο,
Ἰωνίαν τε πᾶσαν ἤλασεν βία.
Θεὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἤκθηρεν, ὡς εὔφρων ἔφυ.
p. 262. edit. H. Steph.

This passage strongly indicates that the strange story told by Herodotus of the death of Cyrus, if ever heard of, was not commonly received in Greece in the poet's time; and tho, as far as I have observed, unnoticed by modern writers, should add considerable weight to the opinions which give the preference to Xenophon's more probable account. Herodotus indeed prefaces

SECTION II.

Accession of Cambyses to the Throne of Persia. Acquisition of Tyre and Conquest of Egypt by the Persians. Accession of Darius. Constitution of the Persian Empire: Persian Religion.

Ol. 62. 4. B. C. 529. *N.* and *B.* CYRUS was succeeded in this great empire by his son Cambyses; whose temper, which led him to emulate his father rather in military than in civil virtues, gave occasion to all neighboring nations to dread the force of which he was become absolute disposer. His first object was the conquest of EGYPT. That country, as we have before observed, had been, from times of highest antiquity, a populous, well-regulated, wealthy, and polished kingdom. Divided from all surrounding nations by natural boundaries of singular strength, it had been little exposed to forein invasion. Yet the Egyptian monarchs had always been of great political consequence. They interfered frequently in the affairs of Arabia and Palestine. This led to transactions, in war and in peace, with Assyria. But a vast desert divided the two monarchies; and the countries disputed by their arms were mostly far distant from the seat of government of either. Egypt itself, therefore, in a peace seldom interrupted, cultivated science and arts; and under Amasis, cotemporary with Cyrus, so florished in riches and population that, according to Herodotus, it contained twenty thousand towns. We have sufficient assurance that some of those towns were of extraordinary size and magnificence. Even in its miserable state, in modern times, suffering, as it has been for centuries, under a kind of constitutional anarchy,

Strab. l. 17. p. 819.

Herod. l. 2. c. 177.

faces his narrative with a confession that it was dubious, and that he had only selected it from among various contradictory reports. The mention of Cyrus, in Isocrates's encomium of Evagoras, may also seem to indicate that it did not gain any very extensive credit. The testimony of Isocrates corresponds with that of Æschylus: Ἀλλὰ μὴν τῶν γε ἔπειτα γεγενημένων, ἴσως δὲ τῶν ἀπώλων, Κύρον, τὸν Μήδων μὲν ἀφελόμενον τὴν ἀρχὴν, Πέρσαις δὲ κλησάμενον, ὃς πλείστοι καὶ μάλιστα θαυμάζουσιν. κ. τ. ε. Isocrates's subject could hardly have failed to lead him to notice the final failure of the fortune of Cyrus, had it in his time had any general credit. Isocr. Evag. laud. p. 292. t. 2. ed. Auger.

Egypt

Egypt remained wonderfully populous, abounding in towns and villages; and Cairo, not a century ago, was said to have above seven hundred thousand inhabitants. Antiently Egypt was the school of Greece: those who desired to improve themselves in knowlege went to Egypt; and a Greek derived reputation from the meer circumstance of having been in that polished country.

About a century before the reign of Amasis, a civil war in Egypt had given occasion to the establishment of a Grecian colony there. Herod. l. 2. c. 152. On a failure of the antient royal line, twelve chiefs had divided the sovereinty. One of them, Psammitichus, pressed by the rest, ingaged in his service some piratical Grecian adventurers from Ionia and Caria; and with their assistance became monarch of Egypt. This is the first instance recorded of that practice, not less common afterward among the Greeks than since among the Swiss, of letting their valor and skill in arms for hire. Psammitichus thought it prudent to retain for his support those by whom he had acquired his throne. He settled his c. 154. auxiliary Greeks on some lands which he gave them, near the sea, on each side of the Pelusian, or eastermost branch of the Nile, and he incouraged their commerce with their mother-country. Hence the communication between Egypt and Greece became familiar, and thus first any accurate knowlege of Egypt came to the Greeks. Probably the antient constitution of the country suffered by this revolution. The power of the great families would be reduced; some of them perhaps extinguished: and a monarch who reigned by an army of forein mercenaries, could scarcely exist but through the maintenance of absolute dominion. The scepter of Psammitichus, thus supported, descended to his posterity. But Apries, his great-grandson, was de- c. 162. throned, and Amasis, a private Egyptian, acquired the sovereinty.

In Egypt, all persons being strictly confined by law to the profession of their ancestors, all the descendants of the Grecian mercenaries were born soldiers. Amasis imitated and extended the policy of Psam- c. 170. mitichus. He removed the Grecian families to Memphis, his capital, and formed from them his body-guard. Incouraging thus the farther resort of Greeks to Egypt, he allotted for their residence and possession the town and territory of Naucratis, near the mouth of the Canobian,

the westermost branch of the Nile, now called Albekeer [10], and recently become illustrious through the singularly glorious victory obtained there by the British fleet over the French. Amasis indulged the Greeks so far as to allow them to build temples, and have their processions and other religious ceremonies after the manner of their own country. Most of the Asian Greeks had accordingly temples there: of the people of old Greece, the Æginetans only are mentioned. But farther to cultivate a general interest through the Greek nation, when the temple of Delphi was burnt, Amasis made a large present to the Amphictyons, toward its restoration.

This able prince died at a very advanced age, during the preparations in Persia for the invasion of his country. He was succeeded by his son Psammenitus, who seems to have suffered for want of his father's advantage of having been bred in a private station. Through some mismanagement, apparently, in those who guided his councils, Phanes, a Halicarnassian, of considerable abilities and high in command in the Grecian troops, took disgust at the Egyptian service, and went over to the Persian. The approach to Egypt from Asia with a large army, from the nature of the intervening country, even no enemy opposing, is difficult. The Persians were utterly unversed in marine affairs; but they had absolute command of whatever the Asian Greeks could supply. Tyre, moreover, originally a colony from Sidon, but risen to a superiority, both in commerce and political consequence, above the parent-city, so as to become the first maritime power in the world, was under his dominion. It had been subdued, about fifty years before, by Nabuchodonosor king of Assyria. The Tyrians therefore gladly passed under the sovereinty of Persia, and seem to have obtained favorable terms. The Cyprian Greeks had also sought safety by voluntary submission; and all these people contributed to form the fleet and army which were to go against Egypt. Yet all the formidable force that the Persian monarch could raise might have failed, but for the exact knowlege of the country, and the

Herod. l. 3. c. 4.

Herod. l. 2. c. 1.

Herod. l. 3. c. 19.

[10] The French corruption and orthography of this Arabic name has been adopted by our government, whence, against the better practice of our most learned and respectable travel-writers, it is now commonly written 'Aboukir.'

approaches to it, which Phanes brought to him. The army must pass through a part of the Desert Arabia. Under the direction of Phanes, the friendship of an independent Arabian chief, such as yet hold that country in defiance of all the power of Turkey, was purchased; and through his assistance the troops were supplied with provisions, and, what was still more difficult, with water [11]. Thus a most formidable obstacle was overcome without loss, and the army met the fleet before Pelusium, on the eastermost branch of the Nile, which, in the greatest part of its course, washes the edge of the desert. That key of Egypt was taken after a short siege: Psammenitus was defeated in a great battle; and the whole country quickly submitted to the conqueror. The neighboring Africans, and among the rest the Greeks of Cyrenë and Barca, sent offers of submission and tribute, which were accepted.

Herod. l. 3. c. 4. & seq.

Ol. 63. 4. B. C. 525.

Herod. l. 3. c. 13.

Cambyses, flushed with success beyond expectation, would immediately proceed to farther conquest. Herodotus says that he proposed at the same time to make war upon the Ethiopians, Ammonians, and Carthaginians. Carthage, a colony from Tyre, emulating the mother-country in commerce, was become equal, or superior, in naval power. But the Tyrians showed such extreme aversion to assist in a war against those whom they termed their children, that Cambyses was persuaded to desist from that enterprize. He chose to go in person against Ethiopia. Without seeing an enemy, he lost more than half his army in the desert, and returned. His conduct, ever since the conquest of Egypt, had been that of a merciless and frantic tyrant, his wildness often approaching madness. He is said to have died, in the eighth year of his reign, of an accidental wound from his own sword. The Grecian accounts however of these distant transactions, especially of those not by their nature of very public notoriety, are probably not very exact. A Magian, we are told, usurped the Persian throne, pretending to be the younger son of Cyrus, escaped from assassination, by which, at the command of Cambyses, the real prince had

c. 17.

c. 17.

[11] In describing this country and its people, little known to the Greeks in general, who from all their settlements made the passage to Egypt by sea, Herodotus gives one strong instance, among many, of the accuracy as well as the extent of his information, and of his fidelity in reporting it. To the correctness of his account of Egypt, one of the most intelligent and accurate of modern travellers, Volney, who investigated that country as far as its modern state would permit, has given repeated testimony.

perished.

perished. It will not be necessary to repeat here the well-known story of the conspiracy of the seven chiefs, the death of the usurper, and the elevation of Darius to the throne by the neighing of his horse. It suffices for our purpose that Darius, said to be of the royal family of Persia, but not descended from Cyrus, became soverein of the empire [12].

This prince was a successor not unworthy of that great monarch. His principal object seems to have been to complete and improve the plan traced by Cyrus for the administration of his vast dominion. What we ought to attribute to one, and what to the other, we cannot now tell; nor do we learn with the accuracy that we might wish, the particulars of the system finally established. But many circumstances contribute to show that, upon the whole, it was directed with admirable wisdom; insomuch that those nations, to whom despotic government seems congenial, have perhaps never since been so happy as under Persian rule. The original Persian constitution, according to Plato, was a mixed monarchy [13]. The Median was probably more despotic. The conquered were however of course to obey the conqueror. To provide for due obedience, the whole empire was divided into large provinces, called satrapies, each under the superintendancy of a great officer intitled satrap, to whom all governors of towns and smaller districts were responsible; but without being dependent on him for their appointment or removal, which were immediate from the monarch. Thus the superior and inferior governors were each a check upon the other. That the affairs of the empire might be administered with regularity and certain dispatch, and that information might constantly and speedily pass between the capital and the remotest provinces, an establishment was made, imperfectly resembling the modern post:

Æschyl. Pers. Plat. de Leg. l. 3. p. 694. t. 2.

Ut sup.

[12] Æschylus, in his tragedy of the Persians, gives a more numerous catalogue of kings, reigning between Cambyses and Cyrus, than Herodotus, whose account has been generally followed. Possibly among the names are those of pretenders who never were acknowleged sovereins of the empire (1). Thucydides, on the contrary, and Plato, omitting all mention of the usurpation, speaks of Darius as reigning next after Cambyses (2).

[13] Πέρσαι γὰρ ὅτε μὲν τὸ μέτριον μᾶλλον δουλείας τε καὶ ἐλευθερίας ἦγον ἐπὶ Κύρου, πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοὶ ἐλεύθεροι ἐγένοντο, ἔπειτα δὲ ἄλλων πολλῶν δεσπόται. Ἐλευθερίας γὰρ ἄρχοντες, μεταδιδόντες ἀρχομένοις, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἴσον ἄγοντες, μᾶλλον φίλοι τε ἦσαν στρατιῶται στρατηγοῖς. κ. τ. ε. Plat. de Leg. l. 3. p. 694.

(1) Plat. on Legisl. b. 3. p. 695. v. ii. (2) Thucyd. l. 1. c. 14. Plat. Menex. p. 239. t. 2.

the

the business of government alone was its object, without any regard to commercial intercourse, or the convenience of individuals. This appears, however, to have been the first model of that institution which now, through the liberal system of European politics, and the ascendant which Europe has acquired in the affairs of the world, extends communication so wonderfully over the globe. Judging from what we learn of the Grecian cities under the Persian dominion, and Plato in a great degree confirms it, the provinces generally were allowed, for their interior administration, each to retain its own municipal law. The Persian laws, pervading the empire, were probably few and simple; more in the nature of fundamental maxims than of a finished system of jurisprudence. Thus that inflexible rule, that the Persian law was never in any point to be altered, might be a salutary restraint upon despotism, upon the caprice of the prince, and upon the tyranny or avarice of his officers, without preventing intirely the adapting of practice to changes of times and circumstances. Darius regulated the revenue of his empire, composed of the richest kingdoms in the world. In apportioning the imposts and directing their collection, he is said to have shown great ability and great moderation; yet so difficult is it for rulers to avoid censure whenever private convenience must yield in the least to public necessity, the Persians, forming a comparison of their three first emperors, called Cyrus the father, Cambyses the master, Darius the broker of the empire. Master, it must be observed, among the antients implied the relation, not, as with us, to hired servants, but to slaves [14].

Herod. l. 3. c. 89. Plutarch. Apophth.

The

[14] Æschylus, throughout his tragedy of the Persians, bears most honorable testimony to the character and administration of Darius, particularly in the chorus, p. 166.

Ω πόποι, ἦ μεγάλας
Ἀγαθᾶς τε πολισσονόμου βιοτᾶς
Ἐπεκύρσαμεν ἐὐθ' ὁ γεραιὸς
Πανταρκὴς, ἀκάκης,
Ἄμαχος βασιλεὺς ἰσόθεος
Δαρεῖος ἄρχε χώρας.
Πρῶτα μὲν ἐυδοκίμου
Στρατιᾶς ἀπεφαινόμεθ', ἠδὲ νόμιμα τὰ πύργινα πάντ' ἐπεύθυνον. κ. τ. λ.

and Plato speaks of him in nearly corresponding terms, in Menexenus, p. 239, t. 2. and the third Dialogue on Legislation, p. 695.

Herodotus has undertaken to give an account, in some detail, of the produce of the Persian taxes: on what authority we are not informed. But we know that it is even now, with all the freedom of communication through modern Europe, extremely difficult to acquire information, at all approaching to exactness, of the revenue, and, still more, of the resources of neighboring

The Persians were by nothing more remarkably or more honorably distinguished from surrounding nations, and particularly from the Greeks, than by their Religion. It were beyond the purpose of a Grecian history to inlarge upon the theology of Zoroäster, which, as a most ingenious and indefatigable inquirer has observed, 'was darkly 'comprehended by foreiners, and even by the far greater number of 'his disciples.' It were equally beyond our object here to discuss the much disputed questions, When Zoroäster lived, and whether he was really the founder of the religion, the author of its sublime precepts and inlarged view of the divine nature, or only the regulator of the Magian worship, and institutor of the innumerable ceremonies with which it became incumbered and disgraced. It may however be proper to advert briefly to the strong contrast between the Persian religion and the Greek, which, as the same able writer remarks, was such that it could not escape the most careless observer. It appears to have struck forcibly the inquisitive mind of Herodotus, who, with all the prejudices of polytheism about him, has in a few words marked it so accurately that, after every subsequent account of antient authors, and every discussion of modern, very nice distinction is necessary to convict him of any error. 'These,' says Herodotus, 'I have found to be 'the tenets of the Persians. They hold it unlawful to erect images, 'temples, and altars, and impute to folly such practices in others: 'because, as it appears to me, they do not, like the Greeks, think the 'gods of the same nature or from the same origin with men. The 'summits of mountains they esteem the places most proper for sacri-'fice to the supreme Deity; and the whole circle of the heavens they 'call God. They sacrifice besides to the sun, the moon, the earth, fire,

Gibbon's Hist. of the Roman Empire, vol. 1. c. 8.

Herod. l. 1. c. 131, 132.

boring states. Mr. Richardson, in his Dissertation on the Languages, &c. of the East, has observed that the revenue of Persia, according to Herodotus's account, was very unequal to the expences of such an expedition as that attributed to Xerxes; and therefore, he says, Herodotus must stand convicted of falsehood in one case or the other. Unprejudiced persons will have little difficulty to chuse their belief. The principal circumstances of the expedition fell necessarily under the eyes of thousands. The revenue could be known to very few, and the resources probably to none. Yet a very acute inquirer into antient politics has observed, that valuable information is derived from Herodotus's account of the Persian revenue. See Gibbon's History of the Roman Empire, v. 1. c. 8. note 1. & v. 2. c. 24.

'water,

'water, and the winds. In addressing the deity it is forbidden to 'petition for blessings to themselves individually; the prayer must 'extend to the whole Persian nation.' Such are the religious tenets which have always been attributed to the Persians. But the Persians themselves, of every age, as the historian of the Roman empire proceeds to observe, have denied that they extend divine honors beyond the One Supreme Being, and have explained the equivocal conduct which has given occasion to strangers continually to charge them with polytheism: 'The elements, and more particularly Fire, Light, and the Sun, were 'the objects of their religious reverence, because they considered them 'as the purest symbols, the noblest productions, and the most powerful 'agents of the Divine Power and Nature.' Gibbon's Hist. vol. 1. c. 8.

SECTION III.

Conquest of Thrace, and Invasion of European Scythia by Darius. Submission of Macedonia to the Persian Empire. State of the Ægean Islands, and History of Polycrates tyrant of Samos. Situation of the Grecian People under the Persian Dominion.

THE great states which had hitherto swayed the politics of the civilized world, and balanced one another, were Assyria, Media, Lydia, Egypt. Armenia had also sometimes been of consequence; and Tyre, with a territory of small extent, yet respectable through wealth acquired by commerce, and naval strength, the consequence of commerce, like Holland in modern times, had been usually courted by the greatest monarchs. Carthage was already a rising power, but distant. Greece was yet of little political consideration. Separated into so many small independent states, often hostile to each other, and never united by any effectual and lasting tie, each by itself, among the transactions of great nations, appeared utterly insignificant. Assyria, Media, Lydia, Armenia, Egypt, Tyre, with all their dependencies, were now united under one vast empire. There appeared thus in the world scarcely an

object for the Persian arms; and it might be expected that a prince, wise like Darius, yet not particularly indowed with the genius of a conqueror, would remain satisfied with such dominions, without desiring more, or fearing that any forein power could make them less.

But such is the nature of man, that prosperity itself creates disquiet. Peace, internal and external, is not always within the power of the wisest prince; the choice of evils only is left to him; and, tho despotic chief of a state the most dreaded by neighboring nations, he may be under a necessity to make war. Thus it seems to have been with Darius. The Persians had been accustomed to respect, in their sovereins, first their right of inheritance, then their character as conquerors. Ambitious spirits, long used to military activity, could ill bear rest: and the gains of conquest would not soon be forgotten by the greedy. All circumstances therefore considered, it may have been much more a matter of necessity than of choice for Darius to seek for a war to wage.

Thucyd. l. 2. c. 97. Of all the nations surrounding the Persian empire, the wild people of the frozen regions of Scythia could alone be esteemed formidable to it. Darius resolved to lead an army against them by the western side of the Euxine sea. The pretence for the war was the invasion of Asia by that people, above a hundred years before, when they overran Media. But if we may guess at the real inducement to undertake this expensive and hazardous expedition, seemingly without necessity as without allurement, it was to lead as far from home as possible the restless spirits of the nation; and by a rough and unprofitable warfare, to make their wishes and desires revert, and become fixed on the peaceable injoyment of those rich homes which the valor and fortune of their fathers had acquired for them. An immense army was collected. The Herod. l. 4. c. 1. & seq. Asian Greeks formed a naval force to attend it. They were ordered to the mouth of the Danube. All the nations as far as that river submitted without resistance. Darius crossed it: but when ingaged in the vast wilderness beyond, tho no enemy appeared capable of opposing his force, want of subsistence soon obliged him to retire toward more cultivated regions. Then the Scythians, collecting their strength, pressed upon his rear. Like the modern Tartars they fought mostly on horse-

back: like them also, daring and skilful skirmishers, but incapable of order, they defeated an enemy in detail, continually harrassing and cutting off detached parties, without ever coming to a general ingagement; to which, on account of their quick motion, and total disincumbrance from baggage and magazines, it was impossible to force them. Herodotus's account of this expedition exactly resembles what has been experienced in the same part of the world several times within the last century. The Persian cavalry, he tells us, shrunk from the impetuosity of the Scythian charge; yet the Scythians could make no impression upon the compact body of the Persian foot. A retreat, however, through such a country, in presence of a superior cavalry, was highly difficult and hazardous. After great sufferings and much loss, the Persians reached the Danube. Having put that river between themselves and the enemy, the march was continued quietly to the Hellespont. Leaving a large force there under Megabazus, Darius proceeded to Sardis [15].

It

[15] Herodotus's account of this expedition affords remarkable proof both of his propensity to relate wonderful stories which he had heard, and of his honest scruple to invent what he had not heard, and at the same time it adds powerfully to the instances before occurring, of his having information of distant countries and distant transactions beyond what, for his age and circumstances, might be expected. Nothing can be more improbable and inconsistent, not to say impossible, than his story of the Persian monarch's cruelty to Œobazus and his sons. All the most authenticated circumstances of the life of Darius mark him as a politic prince, yet of singular humanity. But that execution, as it stands reported by Herodotus, appears scarcely less absurd in its impolicy than abominable for its cruelty. Yet that about the time of Darius's march for Scythia, there may have been executions in Persia in a family of rank, is by no means impossible: and while the policy of a despotic government would conceal the real circumstances of the crime, perhaps also forbidding conversation upon it, the absurd tale, which Herodotus has transmitted to posterity, might pass in whispers as far as Asia Minor. The closet conversations between the Persian monarch and his brother, together with other circumstances of private communication, which the historian has undertaken to detail, must be otherwise considered. A propensity to the dramatic manner appears strong in all very antient history, and particularly in the oriental. It is indeed still observable in the narration of uneducated people in the most polished countries. This was not so far obsolete among the Greeks, after the age of Herodotus, but that the judicious and exact Thucydides thought it necessary to diversify his narrative by the frequent introduction of speeches; which he has used as a vehicle of political discussion of highest advantage to his history. But tho he bears with the critics the principal credit of this management, it appears that the design was not

It has been common, among later historians, to speak of the event of this expedition as highly disgraceful to Darius; seemingly with as little reason as the virtues, and even the wisdom of the savage Scythians have been extolled; whose virtues and whose wisdom seem to have been more nearly the same, from the age of Darius to the present day, than those of perhaps any other people. Certainly his reputation and consequence among nations were not sunk by it [16]. On his return, the Ionian and Æolian Greeks vied in paying court to him. The force left under Megabazus sufficed to extend the Persian dominion westward. All was subdued as far as Macedonia; and Amyntas, king of that country, acknowledged subjection to the Persian monarch by the delivery of earth and water. The Grecian ilands also began to feel the overbearing influence of the Persian power. The history of Samos, which had been acquired in the reign of Cambyses, as it tends to explain the state of those ilands and seas, may deserve some detail.

Herod. l. 5. c. 18. Plat. Menex. p. 239. t. 2.

Polycrates, a private citizen of Samos, had, in conjunction with his two brothers, made himself master of the government. Procuring then the death of one, and the banishment of the other, he remained monarch of the iland. He seems to have been the Machiavel of his time, with the advantage of possessing the means to prove the merit of

Herod. l. 3. c. 39 & seq. Strab. l. 14. p. 637, 638.

original with him: he found the example already set by Herodotus; of which a very valuable specimen occurs in the debate of the Persian chiefs concerning the form of government to be established after the death of the Magian usurper: certainly not the less valuable from the circumstance that, evidently not the sentiments of Persians confined to a despotic court, but the result of extensive observation by a Greek among various governments, is there related. The pretended debate in the cabinet of Xerxes concerning the expedition into Greece, considered as an exposition of the state of Greece at the time, is also well worthy attention. But the account which Herodotus has left us of so singular a people as the Scythians, so little generally known to the Greeks, when we find it confirmed by all subsequent testimony, and at length by the deep and acute researches of the historian of the Roman empire, cannot but do him great credit. It has been a kind of fashion, to which Plutarch principally has given vogue, to sneer at his authority. An attentive examination of his narrative, and a careful comparison of it with all the antient writers nearest to him in age, convinced me of its merit. His place in antient history can be supplied by no other author; and it has therefore been highly satisfactory to me to find him so well stand the test of Mr. Gibbon's very extensive and very trying inquiries.

[16] The testimonies of Æschylus and Plato to this point are still stronger than that of Herodotus. See the chorus quoted in note [12], p. 32, of this volume, and Plato's third Dialogue on Legislation, p. 695. t. 2.

his

his theory by practice. It is said to have been his favorite maxim, that by avoiding to injure he gained nothing, but by repairing injuries he conciliated friends. With a hundred trireme galleys in constant pay, he exercised universal piracy in the Grecian seas. But he cultivated the friendship of Amasis king of Egypt; who being, like himself, both a man of abilities and an usurper, would naturally incline to the connection. He acquired possession of many of the smaller islands of the Ægean, and of several towns on the continent of Asia Minor. In a war with the Milesians, defeating their allies the Lesbians in a sea-fight, he destroyed or took the whole fleet; and so little consideration had he for the Grecian name, the prisoners were made slaves, and the ditch surrounding the walls of Samos in Herodotus's time was formed by their labor. Little, however, as he cared for justice or humanity, he studied elegance in luxury. He incouraged arts and learning, which were already beginning to florish among the Asian Greeks, and the poet Anacreon was his constant guest. But the philosopher Pythagoras is said to have avoided such patronage, and after passing some time in Egypt and Babylon, to have settled at Crotona in Italy. Herod. l. 3. c. 121. Isocr. Busir. encom.

Polycrates at length began to be remarked for a prosperity which, among many trying circumstances, in no one instance had ever failed him. This very prosperity is said to have lost him the friendship of the king of Egypt. The anecdote, considered relatively to the history of the human mind, is remarkable. Amasis thought it in the nature of things that the tide of human affairs must unfailingly, sooner or later, bring a violent reverse of fortune; and in this belief he advised Polycrates to seek some loss, which might appease that disposition, apparent in the gods, disposers of worldly things, to envy human happiness[17]. Polycrates, whether believing with his royal friend, or meerly humoring popular prejudice, determined to follow the advice. He had a remarkable seal, highly valued, an emerald cut by Theodorus a celebrated Samian artist. This seal he threw into the sea. A few days after, a fish of uncommon size being brought to him for a present, the seal was found in its belly. Polycrates, supposing this must be esteemed a manifest Strab. l. 14. p. 638. Herod. l. 3. c. 40, 41. Strab. l. 14. p. 637, 638. Herod. & Strab. ut sup.

[17] Εμοὶ δὲ αἱ σαὶ μεγάλαι ἐυτυχίαι οὐκ ἀρέσκουσι, το θεῖον ἐπιζαμένῳ ὡς ἔζι φθονερόν. Epistle from Amasis to Polycrates in Herodot. l. 3. c. 40.

nifest declaration of divine favor, wrote a particular account of it to Amasis; whose superstition however led him to so different a theory, that he sent a herald formally to renounce friendship and hospitality with one whom he thought marked for peculiar vengeance by the gods. Whether the circumstances of this story be simply true, or whether so deep a politician as Polycrates might think it worth while to impose the belief of the more extraordinary of them on a superstitious people, for the purpose of confirming the idea that he was peculiarly favored by the deity (an idea then of high political importance), or whether we suppose the whole a fiction, which is not likely, it assists at least to characterize the age in which it was written, and many following ages, in which it was thought worth repeating and animadverting upon.

A deep stroke of policy, which occurs next in the history of Polycrates, perfectly accords with his general character. He feared sedition among the Samians. Cambyses was then collecting a naval force from the Asian Greeks for his Egyptian expedition. Polycrates sent privately to desire that the Persian monarch would require, from him also, a contribution of force to the armament. Such a request was not likely to be denied: the requisition was made; and Polycrates in consequence manned forty trireme galleys with those whom he thought most inclined and most able to give him disturbance. He had determined that they should never return to Samos; but, after the conquest of Egypt, failing in intrigue to procure their detention by the Persians, he opposed them with open hostility. Thus excluded from their country, they applied to Lacedæmon for assistance. The Spartan government, always disposed to interfere in the internal quarrels of neighboring states, received them favorably. Some old piracies of the Samians were a farther pretence for war, and induced the Corinthians to join in it. The united force of Lacedæmon and Corinth besieged Samos forty days without making any progress, and then returned to Peloponnesus. The expelled Samians had now again their fortune to seek; and piracy was the resource on which they determined. The iland of Siphnus, small and otherwise of little value, had gold and silver mines, by which its inhabitants became remarkable among the Greeks for riches. The

Herod. l. 3. c. 44, & seq.

Samians

Samians went thither and desired to borrow ten talents, about two thousand five hundred pounds sterling. Being refused, they landed, and began to plunder the country. The Siphnians, giving them battle, were defeated; and, in retreating to their town, a large body was cut off. A treaty was then proposed, and the Siphnians bought the departure of the Samians at the price of a hundred talents, nearly twenty-five thousand pounds. These freebooters then sailed to Crete, and seizing a territory, founded the town of Cydonia, where they prospered greatly for five years; but in the sixth, quarrelling with the Æginetans, more powerful pirates than themselves, they were defeated in a sea-fight. The Æginetans then landed in Crete; and, being joined by the Cretans in attacking the Samian town, they took it, and reduced all the inhabitants to slavery.

Such being the state of the Grecian ilands and Grecian seas, and such the mutual treatment of the Greeks among one another, we shall the less wonder at what they experienced from the Persians. The ambition of Polycrates was not inferior to his abilities. He is supposed to have aimed at no less than the command of all the ilands of the Ægean, together with all Æolia and Ionia. His power, particularly his naval power, his known talents, and his suspected views, probably all gave umbrage to Orœtes satrap of Sardis. What other cause of offence there was, Herodotus confesses that he could not certainly learn. The Persian invited him to his court. Polycrates went with a large retinue. He was immediately arrested, and put to death by a public crucifixion; esteemed the most ignominious, as it was the most cruel of all usual modes of execution. His subjects appear to have submitted without resistance to the satrap's authority,

Herod. l. 3. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 13. Strab. l. 14. p. 637, 638.

Ol. 64. 3. B. C. 522

Samos thus was, except Cyprus, the first Grecian iland brought under the Persian dominion. But, after the return of Darius from Scythia, Lesbos, Chios, and other ilands on the Asiatic coast were, some voluntarily, others by compulsion, added to his vast empire. Tyrants in general, and all who aimed at tyranny, not unwillingly submitted to a supremacy which either placed them above their fellow-citizens, or secured the superiority obtained. It was a common policy of the Persians, which we find practised by the great Cyrus, and perhaps

Herod. l. 1. c. 154. l. 3. c. 15.

haps not less advantageous than liberal, to appoint the son of the conquered prince, or some other principal person of the country itself, to be governor of the conquered country; always however under the superintending controul of a Persian satrap. Most of the Grecian towns were therefore left to their own magistrates and laws; some citizen presiding as governor, whom, in that elevated situation, the Greeks always intitled Tyrant. Thus Coës the Mitylenæan, for services in the Scythian expedition, was raised to the tyranny of Mitylenë. Darius, having settled the administration of Asia Minor, and of his new acquisitions in Europe, committed the superintendancy of the whole to his brother Artaphernes, and returned to Susa his capital.

Herod. l. 5. c. 2.

Probably the principal purposes of the Scythian expedition were accomplished [18]. The ambitious spirits among the Persians had been diverted from domestic disturbance. If the army suffered in the Scythian wilds, yet a large extent of valuable country, inhabited by different nations, was nevertheless added to the empire. New honors and new employments were thus brought within the monarch's disposal. And the acquisition was perhaps not the less valuable from the circumstance that both the people of the newly acquired territory, and the people still unsubdued bordering on it, were in disposition restless and fierce; and therefore likely to furnish employment for those whom the prince, himself safe in his distant capital, might wish to employ.

[18] This seems a conclusion warranted by the whole narrative of Herodotus. The testimonies last referred to of Æschylus and Plato speak still more strongly to the same purpose.

CHAPTER VII.

Continuation of the History of GREECE during the Reign of DARIUS King of PERSIA.

SECTION I.

Immediate Causes of the Wars between Greece and Persia. Persian Expedition against Naxos. Revolt of the Asian Greeks against the Persian Government.

THE Persian dominion now extended over a large portion of the Grecian people, and bordered on Greece itself. The Asiatic colonies indeed, natural and almost necessary objects for Persian ambition, could hardly anyhow have avoided falling under its overwhelming power: but Greece, separated from all the world by lofty mountains and dangerous seas, had little to attract the notice of the mighty monarch who lived at Susa; while the nearer provinces of India presented a far more tempting field for his arms; and the Scythians, who ranged the long extent of his northern frontier, from the borders of China to the borders of Germany, might still be deemed formidable neighbors. Had therefore inactivity been in the temper of its people, Greece might have lain long in obscurity, peaceful, free, and unregarded. But inactivity was in the temper neither of the people nor of the governments of Greece. Touching upon the Persian provinces, to clash was scarcely avoidable; and some transactions, at first seemingly insignificant among the concerns of a vast empire, led shortly to those wars, which, by events contrary to all human expectation and foresight, raised the Grecian name to the summit of military glory; and giving thus a new and powerful spring to the temper and genius of the people, contributed greatly to those astonishing exertions

Thucyd. l. 2. c. 97.

of the mind in every path of science and of art, which have made the Greeks of this and the next age the principal ornaments of the history of mankind. To borrow therefore the words of a great man, who has treated Grecian history, tho briefly, yet with superior penetration and judgement, 'I shall not hold it any impertinency to be large in unfolding every circumstance of so great a business as gave fire to those wars, which never could be thoroughly quenched until in the ruin of this great Persian monarchy'.[1]

Herod. l. 5. c. 11. & seq.

Among the Grecian governors under the Persian dominion, Histiæus tyrant of Miletus was eminent for abilities, and for favor with the Persian king. He had rendered considerable services in the Scythian expedition; and, as a reward, had obtained a grant of a territory on the river Strymon in Thrace, where he proposed to plant a colony. The mines of gold and silver in that country, and the shiptimber, with which it abounded, made it a great object for the Greeks; while, in the extent of the Persian empire, to give away a corner of a newly acquired province, was a trifle for the prince's bounty; nor would the circumstances of the spot, in themselves, be thought worth inquiry. But the busy temper of the Greeks, their forms of government, so new to the Persians, and particularly their skill in naval affairs, which gave them importance with their conquerors, were likely to excite jealousy. The settlement therefore was scarcely begun, when it was suggested that Histiæus, by means of his colony, so favorably situated both for acquisition of wealth and increase of naval power, might raise himself into a situation to assert independency. Miletus, where he governed, was in riches and population the first of the Asiatic Grecian cities: his influence was extensive among the others; and should he acquire the command of the whole maritime force of the Asian Greeks, it might not be easy to reduce them. Quietly, therefore, and without

[1] Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World, book 3. c. 5. sect. 7. It is to be regretted that this extraordinary man, who by that union of characters, common among the antients, but almost singular in modern ages, soldier, seaman, statesman, scholar, poet, and philosopher, was so peculiarly qualified to unfold antient history to modern apprehension, should have allowed himself so little scope for the affairs of Greece and Rome. Hume has noticed his superior manner of treating them, in his History of England, in the Appendix to the reign of James the First.

apparent

apparent injury, to obviate any such project, it was pretended that Darius greatly desired his advice and assistance at Susa. There any honors might be paid him, without risk of his acquiring means to assume more than it was thought proper to give. Histiæus, flattered by the distinction, gladly consented to attend the king. His Thracian settlement meanwhile remained to him; and completely to prove that only favor was intended, the government of Miletus, during his absence, was committed to his kinsman Aristagoras.

About the time of this arrangement, a contest of factions in Naxos, one of the most populous and florishing ilands of the Ægean, came to extremity; and, the democratical party prevailing, all the men of principal rank and property were expelled. In these untoward circumstances they applied to the new governor of Miletus, as the person of greatest power and influence among the Asian Greeks; and Aristagoras, thinking the opportunity commodious for adding Naxos to his own command, received them favorably. He told them, that indeed the force under his immediate authority was unequal to the reduction of those who now held their iland; for he was informed they were eight thousand strong in regular heavy-armed foot, and had many galleys: but that his interest was good with Artaphernes the Persian satrap, brother of the great king; and with his assistance, who commanded so great a force by sea and land, what they desired might easily be effected. The expelled Naxians, for the sake of recovering their own possessions, and revenging themselves on their opponents, readily consented to guide a Persian army against a Grecian iland. Artaphernes then approving the proposal for the expedition, the winter was consumed in preparing two hundred trireme galleys, with a competent landforce, and Megabates, of the blood royal of Persia, was, in conjunction with Aristagoras, appointed to the command. To deceive the Naxians, it was reported that the armament was intended for the Hellespont; and accordingly, when the fleet sailed in the spring, its course was first directed that way; but it stopped at Chios, to wait for a northerly wind, which would carry it in one day and a night to Naxos. Herod. l. 5. c. 28. & seq.

For the antient galleys of war, as we have before observed, an open beach, upon which they might be hauled, served as a port; and as

their scanty width and depth afforded little convenient shelter for the numerous complement, which the antient mode both of navigation and of naval action required, the crews, for health as well as for convenience, were at every opportunity incamped or quartered ashore[2]; a guard only, proportioned to the exigency of the situation, being mounted on every ship. It happened that Megabates, visiting the fleet, found a Grecian galley without its guard. Incensed at such dangerous neglect of discipline, he sent for the captain; and with the haughty and undistinguishing imperiousness of a modern Turkish bashaw, immediately ordered him to be tied in his own cabin, with his head out of the window[3]. Information was presently carried to Aristagoras; who hastened to Megabates, and begged that a man in such a command, and his friend, might not be so opprobriously treated. The Persian refused to relax; upon which Aristagoras went himself and set the captain free. Megabates was of course violently offended. Aristagoras, far from making any submission, insisted that the whole business of the expedition was committed to his direction. With such dissention between the leaders, affairs were not likely to be well conducted. Megabates, according to Herodotus, as soon as night came on, sent a vessel to Naxos to give information of the object of the armament. The Naxians, in consequence, who had apprehended nothing from a force professedly designed for the Hellespont, and known to have begun its course northward, immediately drove their cattle, brought all their moveables into the city, and made every preparation for vigorous defence. The fleet at length arrived. The disappointment was great on finding the inhabitants prepared; yet siege was laid to the city of the same name with the iland. The defence was however so well maintained that, after four months, little progress was made. The sums allowed by Artaphernes being then consumed, and much besides from the private fortune of Aristagoras, it became

[2] This we learn not only from Herodotus, but from many very explicit passages of Thucydides, which will occur to notice in the sequel.

[3] Διὰ θαλαμίης διελόβλας τῆς νεος. Herod. l. v. c. 33. 'Vincire trajectum per thalamium navis, id est foramen per quod infimi remi extant.' Wesseling. Unsatisfied with this, I do not know that I can support the different interpretation which I have given; but it is here of little consequence.

necessary.

necessary to abandon the enterprize. Fortifying therefore a post within the iland, in which the Naxian refugees might maintain themselves, the armament, which had suffered considerably, returned to the continent.

Aristagoras now found himself very critically situated. Sure of the enmity of Megabates, and reasonably fearing the displeasure of Artaphernes, he expected deprivation of his command at Miletus as the least evil that could insue. The distress in his private affairs therefore, from his great expences on the expedition, added to the loss of his credit at the satrap's court, the disappointment of all his former hopes, and apprehension of still worse consequences, made him desperate. His credit was yet high, not only in Miletus but through all the Asiatic Grecian cities, and the idea rose of exciting a general revolt of them against the Persian government. In this crisis a messenger came to him from Histiæus at Susa. That chief, highly uneasy under all the honors he received at the Persian court, while he found himself really an exile and a slave, began to see it was intended that his banishment from his native country should be perpetual. In revolving therefore the circumstances which might possibly obtain him the means of returning, none appeared so likely to be efficacious as a revolt in Ionia; and he determined upon the dangerous measure of endeavoring to excite one, hoping that he should infallibly be among those who would be employed to quell it. To convey to Aristagoras his wishes on a subject so hazardous to communicate upon, he is said to have written with an indelible stain on the shaven head of a trusty slave, and waiting till the hair was sufficiently grown again to hide the letters, he dispatched the slave to Miletus. The wavering resolution of Aristagoras was thus determined. He sounded the Milesians, and found many well disposed to his purpose. He then called them together, and made his proposal in form. The restoration of democracy was the lure: Aristagoras offered to resign the tyranny. Of the persons whom he had assembled, Hecatæus the historian, remarkable as one of the earliest Grecian prose-writers whose works had any reputation with posterity, but from whom nothing remains to us, is said alone to have dissuaded the revolt; arguing

Herod. l. 5. c. 35.

Herod. l. 5. c. 36.

arguing from the extreme disproportion of any force they could possibly collect and maintain, to that of the Persian empire. Not prevailing, he then recommended particular attention to their marine; for the command of the sea, he said, alone could give them a chance for success. But their public revenue, he observed, was very unequal to such an object; and he therefore advised the application of the treasures which had been deposited by Crœsus in the temple of Apollo at Branchidæ, otherwise a ready prey for the enemy, to that important purpose. This was disapproved, but the resolution to revolt nevertheless prevailed, and measures decisive and vigorous were immediately taken in prosecution of it. Aristagoras immediately resigned the supreme command, and republican government was reëstablished in Miletus. The Grecian forces, returned from Naxos, lay still incamped at Myus, under the command mostly of the tyrants of the several cities. Iatragoras, a man of influence, under commission from the new Milesian government, hastening thither, arrested most of those commanders, and sending them to their several cities, delivered them to the party adverse to the existing government. In general they were banished, but Coës, who had been raised by Darius to the tyranny of Mitylenë, was put to death. Thus, through a general restoration of democratical government, all Ionia and Æolia were presently ingaged in the revolt.

Herod. l. 5. c. 38.

Aristagoras left nothing unattempted which might contribute to the success of the very hazardous enterprize in which he had ingaged himself and his country. He undertook an embassy to Greece, with the hope of gaining the parent states to the cause of the colonies. Going first to Lacedæmon, he endeavored to rouze the Spartans by urging the shame which redounded to all Greece, and especially to the leading state, from the miserable subjection of a Grecian people. He magnified the wealth, and made light of the military force of the Persian empire. He animadverted upon the inferiority of Asiatic courage, of Asiatic arms, and of the Asiatic manner of fighting. He drew an alluring picture of the great and glorious field which Asia offered for the exercise of that military virtue, in which the Spartans so greatly excelled all other people; and he observed how much more

worthy it was of their ambition than the scanty frontier, for which they had been so long contending with their neighbors, the Messenians, Arcadians, and Argians, whose nearer approach to them in valor and discipline yet made success more doubtful. He concluded with mentioning no less than the conquest of Asia, and the plunder of Susa itself, as attainable objects for the Lacedæmonian arms. But the cautious government, wholly directed by a few aged men, was not yet ripe for such allurement. Aristagoras was asked how far it was from Miletus to Susa? He answered, incautiously, 'A three months journey.' Nothing more was wanting to procure him a firm denial. It was replied, that he could not seriously call himself a friend to the Lacedæmonians, who wanted to lead them on a military expedition to the distance of a three months journey; and he was commanded to leave Sparta. Finding he could avail nothing publicly, he is said to have attempted to gain king Cleomenes by bribes; but failing in this also, he passed to Athens.

SECTION II.

Affairs of Athens. Invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesians, Bœotians, and Eubœans. Assistance from Athens to the Ionians against Persia. Reduction of the Asiatic Grecian States again under the Persian dominion. History of the Athenian Colony in the Thracian Chersonese. Liberal Administration of the conquered Provinces under the Persian Dominion.

WE left the Athenians just restored to nominal liberty, but in no florishing circumstances. By turns distracted with domestic faction, pressed by the tyranny of Lacedæmon, and urged by the apprehension of a most formidable attack with which Cleomenes threatened them, they had, by their ambassadors at Sardis, submitted to the humiliation of acknowleging subjection to the Persian king, in hope of obtaining his powerful protection. The conduct of those ambassadors, we are told, was strongly reprobated on their return; and it does not appear that any Persian assistance was either given, or farther desired. Yet the

Herod. l. 5. p. 73.

the danger which hung over Athens might have justified a treaty for protection upon almost any terms. Cleomenes was bent upon revenge. He collected forces from all Peloponnesus, not informing the allies what was his object. At the head of a large army he landed at Eleusis. At the same time, according to previous agreement, the Thebans, by a sudden attack, took Œnoë and Hysiæ, Attic boroughs bordering on Bœotia, while the Chalcidians of Eubœa also invaded Attica on their side. It is the common effect of public danger and public misfortune to bring forward great characters, and to excite even ordinary men to great exertion. No individual among the Athenians is particularly noticed by history upon this occasion; but the administration of the commonwealth appears to have been wise and spirited. Neglecting, for the present, the Thebans and Eubœans, the Athenian leaders directed their whole force against the Peloponnesians, the more formidable enemy. A battle, upon which the fate of Athens depended, was on the point of being fought, when the Corinthians, angry that they had not been previously consulted concerning the object of the armament, ashamed to be made the tools of the revenge of Cleomenes and the ambition of Sparta, and otherwise little desirous to ruin Athens, withdrew their forces. Demaratus, king of Sparta, dissatisfied with his collegue, and willing to preserve his interest with the Corinthians, retreated with them. These examples sufficed for the other Peloponnesian allies: all withdrew: and Cleomenes was thus reduced to the necessity of hastily, and not without shame, retiring with the small force remaining under his command. The Athenians immediately turned against their other enemies. They overtook the Bœotian army at the Euripus, retreating to join the Chalcidians, who had withdrawn into Eubœa. They defeated it; took seven hundred prisoners; and, crossing the Euripus the same day, gained a second victory over the Chalcidians, so complete that they became masters of a tract in Eubœa sufficient to divide among four thousand families of their fellowcountrymen, whom they established as a colony there. The Athenian treasury was inriched by the ransom of the prisoners, at two minæ, about eight pounds sterling, a head.

Herod. l. 5. c. 74, & seq.

Overagainst Athens, on the southern side of the Saronic gulph, lies the

the little barren iland of Ægina, formerly subject to the neighboring little state of Epidaurus in Peloponnesus, which was itself originally but a member of the Argian commonwealth. This iland, or rather rock, was a convenient resort for seafaring people, whether merchants or pirates; and, between the two, growing populous and wealthy, had not only shaken off its dependency upon Epidaurus, but was become one of the principal naval powers of Greece*. Some old causes of enmity subsisted between Ægina and Athens. The Thebans, therefore, anxious for revenge against the Athenians, but unable, since the defection of their allies, to prosecute it by their own arms, endeavored to ingage the Æginetans in their confederacy; and, with the help of an unintelligible response from the Delphian oracle, they succeeded. Those ilanders surprized and plundered the port of Phalerum, and extended their ravages along a considerable tract of the Attic coast. The Athenians, who had hitherto applied themselves little to naval war, were without means for immediate revenge, and weightier matters soon required their attention.

Herod. l. 5. c. 83. Chandler's Travels in Greece, c. 3 & 4.

Cleomenes was not of a temper to rest under the disappointment and disgrace of his late miscarriage. He left nothing untried to excite a fresh league against Athens. In the Spartan senate he asserted, that when he was besieged in the Athenian citadel, the archives of the republic being then open to him, he had discovered the collusion of the Delphian priests with the Alcmæonids, in regard to the pretended responses of the god, commanding the Lacedæmonians to give liberty to Athens. He urged that the Spartan government had therefore acted not less unjustly and irreligiously than imprudently in expelling Hippias; to whom they were bound equally by the sacred laws of hospitality and by the political interest of their country; nor could they do their duty to gods or men otherwise than by restoring him. In truth the Athenian government seems already to have become formidable to other states by the political principles, which its leading men flattering the Many to promote their own power, put forward. The Spartan government, infected with this jealousy, consented that

Herod. l. 5. c. 90, & seq.

* Setting aside the unfavorable part of the Æginetan character, Ægina was the Jersey and Guernsey of the Grecian seas.

Hippias should be invited into Peloponnesus. But Cleomenes had learnt from his late failure that the forces of the allies were not absolutely at his disposal; and that he must have some deference for the ruling powers in the cities whose troops he would employ. A convention of deputies from those cities was therefore summoned to Lacedæmon; among whom the measure was found so generally unpopular, and the Corinthian deputy particularly condemned it in such strong terms, that Cleomenes thought proper to desist from urging his design farther.

Hippias, disappointed of the hope thus held out to him, found yet resources in his private character, and the long established reputation of his family. Returning to Sigeium he received invitations from Amyntas king of Macedonia, and from the Thessalians; the former offering Anthemus, the others Iolcus, for places of settlement for himself and his partizans. But he had views which induced him to prefer his residence in Asia.

Herod. l. 5. c. 94.

We have now seen Persia attracting the attention of the Greeks of Asia and the ilands; much as a tremendous enemy, but sometimes too as a valuable friend. We have seen the democracy itself of Athens setting the example, among the states of Old Greece, of soliciting Persian protection. Will then the liberal spirit of patriotism and equal government justify the prejudices of Athenian faction, and doom Hippias to peculiar execration, because at length he also, with many of his fellowcitizens, despairing of other means for ever returning to their native country, applied to Artaphernes at Sardis? The resort of Greeks from various parts to the satrap's court and capital, some with political, some with mercantile views, was such that the Athenian government would not be likely to remain uninformed of what publicly passed there concerning them. Hippias found the attention which his rank and character might claim. The Athenian government, reasonably apprehensive of the consequences, sent to request that Artaphernes would not countenance their banished citizens. The Persian prince gave for his final answer to their ambassadors, 'That if the Athenians 'would be safe they must receive Hippias.' The return of these ambassadors put Athens in a ferment. Universal indignation, not without

Herod. l. 5. c. 96.

without a great mixture of alarm, was excited. It was at this critical moment that Aristagoras arrived from Sparta, to solicit assistance to the Ionian confederacy against the oppression of Persia. Being introduced into the assembly of the people, he repeated those arguments which at Lacedæmon had been unavailing. He added, that Miletus, as an Athenian colony, might reasonably claim assistance in its distress from a parent state so powerful. He omitted nothing that could flatter, allure, or excite commiseration; and having, as Herodotus observes, everything at stake, there was nothing that he was not ready to promise; and he prevailed. Twenty ships were voted to assist the Ionians; and these ships, adds the historian, were the beginning of evils to Greeks and barbarians. Herod. l. 5. c. 97.

The administration of Artaphernes appears to have been negligent and weak. The Athenian ships arrived at Miletus, with five added by the Eretrians of Eubœa. The combined fleet sailed to Ephesus; and by a bold stroke to profit from the Persian remissness, the landforces debarking, marched directly to Sardis, distant about sixty miles. So totally was Artaphernes unprepared for suppressing the revolt, and so little even for his own security, tho he had a considerable force with him, he immediately abandoned the town, and shut himself within the castle. The town was of course in universal tumult: the Grecian troops entered unopposed: plunder became their object, and in the confusion presently a house was set on fire. For security in frequent earthquakes, to which that country is subject, light materials were preferred, as for the same reason they continue to this day to be, for the construction of dwellings. Most of the houses of the wealthy capital of Lesser Asia were meerly frames of timber with pannels of reed: and tho some had their walls of brick, yet the roofs were uni- Ol. 70. 1. [5] B. C. 500. Herod. l. 3. c. 99, & seq.

[5] Blair has placed the beginning of the Ionian revolt four years earlier, clearly in opposition to the account of Herodotus; which is the authority here preferred, as it has been also by Dodwell, for his Annales Thucydidei. Herodotus expressly says, that the war lasted but six years (1). From the end of it he very clearly marks three to the second year of the satrapy of Mardonius (2); and it does not appear that more than one passed afterward before Mardonius was superseded by Artaphernes and Daris (3), who immediately proceeded on the expedition against Greece, which Blair, with all other chronologers, places 490 years before the Christian era.

(1) b. 6. c. 18. (2) c. 31. 43. & 46. (3) c. 94.

versally of thatch. The flame spred rapidly through a town so built. The inhabitants, Persians as well as Lydians, before without order or compact, solicitous every one for his own, were thus driven to assemble in the agora, and in the course of the torrent Pactolus which ran through the middle of it. Accident and necessity having collected them, they found themselves strong enough to attempt defence. The Greeks, stopped by the flames in their career of plunder, their principal object, and finding a large body of men to ingage, whose numbers were continually increasing, amid the hesitation of disappointment hastily determined to retire to mount Tmolus; whence, in the night, they prosecuted their retreat toward their ships. News of the transaction was quickly conveyed through the provinces within the river Halys. Troops hastened from all parts to Sardis; and the Persians, not yet accustomed to yield, marched immediately to seek the enemy, whom they found under the walls of Ephesus. A battle insued, in which the Greeks were intirely defeated; many of their principal officers were killed, and those of the survivors who avoided captivity, dispersed to their several cities. The Athenians, after this misfortune, recalled their ships; and, tho strongly solicited, would no more take part in the war.

Herod. l. 5. c. 103. The Ionians, nevertheless, continued to prosecute vigorous measures. Wisely avoiding farther attempts by land, they confined their offensive operations to the sea. Their fleet sailed first to the Hellespont, and brought Byzantium, with the other Grecian towns on the Propontis, under their subjection or into their alliance. Then directing their course southward, they were equally successful with most of the Carian cities. About the same time Onesilus, king of Salamis in Cyprus, in pursuit of his own views of ambition, had persuaded all that iland to revolt against the Persians, except the city of Amathus, to which he laid siege. Receiving information that a Phenician fleet was bringing a Persian army to its relief, he sent to desire alliance with the Ionians, and assistance from their navy, as in a common cause. The Ionians, without long deliberation, determined to accept the alliance offered, and to send the assistance desired. The enemy however had landed their army before the Ionian fleet arrived; and on the

Herod. l. 5. c. 104.

same

same day, it is said, two battles were fought; between the Persians and Cyprians by land, and between the Ionians and Phenicians at sea. In the seafight the Greeks were victorious, the Samians particularly distinguishing themselves; but by land they were defeated: Onesilus was killed, and the Persians quickly recovered the whole iland.

But while victory thus attended the fleet of Ionia, the country was totally exposed to the superior landforce of the enemy. The Persian general Daurises, leading an army to the Hellespont, took the four towns Abydus, Percotë, Lampsacus, and Pæsus, in as many days. Then, informed that the Carians had ingaged in the revolt, he marched southward, and defeated that people in a great battle. The routed troops, joined by the Ionian army, ventured and lost a second battle, in which the Ionians principally suffered. But Heracleides of Mylassa, general of the Carians, was one of those superior men who, acquiring wisdom from misfortune, can profit even from a defeat. The Persian army proceeded, with that careless confidence which victory is apt to inspire, as if nothing remained but to take possession of the Carian towns. A mountainous tract was to be passed. Heracleides, well acquainted with the country, silently preoccupied the defiles. The Persians, intangled among the mountains, were attacked by surprize: Daurises fell, with many officers of high rank, and his army was completely defeated.

Herod. l. 5. c. 106, & seq.

But the resources of a vast empire enabled the Persians to act in too many places at once, for the Ionians to oppose them with any prospect of final success. When Daurises marched toward Caria, Hymeas had turned from the Propontis toward the Hellespont, and quickly recovered all the northern part of Æolia. At the same time Artaphernes himself, leading an army to the confines of Æolia and Ionia, took Cuma and Clazomenæ. Then assembling the bodies which had hitherto been acting separately, it became evidently his design to form the siege of Miletus, the head of the rebellion, by taking which he might finish the war. Aristagoras saw the gathering storm, and could see no means of withstanding it. Herodotus accuses him of pusillanimity, apparently without reason. Aristagoras knew that, however others might make their peace, there could be no pardon for him;

Herod. l. 5. c. 123, & seq.

him; and when he could no longer assist his country in the unequal contest into which he had led it, his presence might only inflame the enemy's revenge. He determined, therefore, to quit Miletus. He communicated this resolution to his fellowcitizens, and waiting to see Pythagoras, a man high in rank and esteem among them, appointed to the chief command in his room, he sailed, with as many as chose to follow his fortune, to that territory on the river Strymon in Thrace, which Darius had given to Histiæus. Under his able management this colony was prospering when he was killed in besieging a Thracian town.

Herod. l. 5. c. 106, 107. l. 6. c. 1, & seq.

Histiæus, meanwhile, had obtained his release from his honorable imprisonment in the Persian court: Darius sent him to Sardis to assist in quelling the rebellion. But the Persian officers there, better informed than the ministers at Susa, were not disposed to trust him; and Histiæus, finding himself suspected, fled by night into Ionia, and passed to Chios. The Ionians, however, were not generally well inclined to him: some viewing in him the former tyrant, others the author of their present calamities and danger. His fellowcitizens the Milesians absolutely refused him admission into their town: but he found more favor at Mitylenë, where he obtained a loan of eight ships, with which he sailed to Byzantium. Apparently he had previous connection with the ruling party there. From that advantageous station he carried on piratical hostility against Greeks and barbarians, seizing the vessels of all states with which he had not some friendly ingagement.

Ol. 71. ¾. B. C. 493. Dodw. ann. Th. Herod. l. 6. c. 6, & seq.

It was now the sixth year of the war, when the Persian army sat down before Miletus. To assist its operations, which otherwise might have been ineffectual, a large fleet was collected, chiefly from Phenicia; but Cilicia, Cyprus, and Egypt contributed. On the other side, the Panionian assembly was summoned, to deliberate on measures to be taken in circumstances so critical. It was there determined not to oppose the Persian army in the field; but to leave Miletus to its own defence by land, while every possible exertion should be made to increase their force at sea; and it was ordered that all the ships of war, which every state of the confederacy could furnish, should assemble at

Ladë, a small iland overgainst the port of Miletus, and try the event of a naval ingagement[6]. The enumeration, given by Herodotus, of the trireme galleys sent by each state, is probably not unfounded, and may show in some degree the comparative strength of the Ionian cities. From Miletus came eighty, Priënë twelve, Myus three, Teos seventeen, Chios a hundred, Erythræ eight, Phocæa, weak since its capture by Harpagus and the emigration of its people, only three, Lesbos seventy, and Samos sixty; the whole making three hundred and fifty-three. This indeed appears a very great naval force for those little states to assemble and maintain; the ordinary complement for a triremë galley in that age, or very shortly after, being two hundred men. The crews of the Ionian fleet would thus be above seventy thousand. The number of the enemy's ships was much greater; Herodotus says it amounted to six hundred. Yet the Persian leaders had so little confidence in an armament of which little or no part was Persian, that they feared to risk a naval ingagement. But command of the sea was absolutely necessary to their final success by land. They had with them most of the Ionian and Æolian tyrants, who had been expelled from their several cities at the beginning of the revolt, and through these they endeavored to practise separately upon the squadron of each state. Complete pardon was promised to any who would quit the confederacy for themselves and their city; and threats indeed terrible were held out to those who should persevere in it. The men, they said, should be reduced to slavery, the boys should be made eunuchs; the virgins should be carried into Bactria, and the towns and territories should be given to others. Neither the offered favor, however, nor the threats were at first regarded. But disunion in command, the common defect of confederacies, prevailed in the Grecian fleet. A general relaxation of discipline insued; and at length the Samian leaders foreseeing nothing but ruin to the cause in which they were ingaged, began to

Herod. l. 7. c. 184.

[6] The site of Miletus has now long ceased to be maritime, and Ladë to be an iland. The bay on which that city stood has been gradually filled with the sand brought down by the river Latmus, and Ladë is an eminence in a plain. See Chandler's Travels in Asia Minor, or rather the Voyage Pittoresque de la Grece, par M. de Choiseuil Gouffier. Myus, near the mouth of the Mæander, underwent earlier the same fate. Pausan. l. 7. c. 2.

listen

listen to the proposals made to them from Æaces the expelled tyrant of their iland. Weighing the resources of their confederacy against those of the Persian empire, as Herodotus says for them, they judged that the contention on their part must in the end prove vain; since, should they, with all their disadvantage in numbers, prevail in the approaching action, still another fleet would unfailingly soon be raised against them. Urged by these considerations, they privately concluded a treaty.

The Persian leaders then no longer scrupled to quit the port and risk an ingagement. The Grecian fleet advancing to meet them, the Samian commander gave the signal to his squadron to set their sails. This clearly indicated intention to fly; for the antients in action used oars only. The captains of eleven galleys disobeyed the signal, and stood the battle; the rest sailed away. The line of battle of a fleet, among the antients, was that alone which in our sea-phrase is called the line of battle abreast: they met prow opposed to prow[7]. The station of the Samians had been in the extreme of one wing. The Lesbians, next in the line, disconcerted by the unexpected exposure of their flank, as well as by the alarming desertion of their allies, presently fled. The Chians remained firm; and, fighting with the most determined bravery against unequal numbers, suffered greatly. Even in their defeat, however, it appeared that, tho the Phenician ships still excelled in swiftness, and their seamen in skill as mariners, yet the Greeks were advancing to a superiority in naval action above other nations. The Phocæan commander Dionysius, having with his three galleys taken three of the enemy's, when he found the battle irrecoverably lost, and the Ionian affairs consequently desperate, would return no more to Phocæa; but, directing his course to the coast of Phenicia, made prize of a number of merchant-ships. Having thus inriched himself and his crews, he sailed to Sicily to injoy himself there; and thence, as necessity or thirst of gain impelled, he exercised piracy against the Carthaginians and Tuscans.

The Persians now, masters of the sea, pressed the siege of Miletus, and at length succeeded in an assault. Most of the men within the

[7] Ὥσπερ τριήρη ἀντίπρωρον τοῖς ναυλίοις διέφευσε. Xenoph. Lac. Polit. c. 11.

place

place were killed: the rest, with the women and children, were led to Susa; testimonies to the great king of the diligence of his officers, and examples of terror to other conquered provinces. Darius however, according to the honorable testimony borne him by Herodotus, did them no other ill[s] than to settle them at Ampë on the Euphrates, near where that river discharges itself into the Persian gulph. The rich vale of Miletus was divided among Persians; Carians were established in the mountainous part of its territory. Æaces, in reward for his service, was restored to the tyranny of Samos: but a large proportion of the Samian people emigrated to Sicily. In the time of Herodotus, when other revolutions had restored authority to the party adverse to tyranny and Persia, there stood a column in the agora of the city of Samos, with an inscription in honor of the eleven captains who had bravely fought in the common cause, at the risk of punishment for disobedience to their immediate commander.

Histiæus, on the reduction of Miletus, moved from Byzantium to Lesbos, where he seems to have had great interest. Thence, according to Herodotus, he carried on a piratical war, against the Greeks no less than against the Persians, in a manner which, notwithstanding numberless instances of extreme readiness in the Greeks at all times to make petty war among one another, appears rather unaccountable. At length, landing on the coast of Asia Minor for plunder, he was made prisoner by the Persian general Harpagus; and being sent to Sardis was there crucified. Herod. l. 6. c. 26.

The Persian fleet wintered at Miletus. Sailing in spring, the ilands Chios, Lesbos, Tenedos, immediately submitted. The army at the same time proceeded against the Ionian towns; and the generals, far otherwise disposed than their master, executed the full vengeance which they had threatened: the handsomest Grecian boys were made eunuchs, the most beautiful girls were carried off; the towns, and, as the Grecian writers particularly observe, without sparing the temples, were burnt. Herod. l. 6. c. 31, 32. Ol. 71. 4. B. C. 493.

After the reduction of the ilands, the fleet sailed to the Hellespont. All on the Asiatic side was already subject to the Persians, and nothing on the European shore now stood against them. Devastation was spred Herod. l. 6. c. 33.

[s] ——κακὸν ἄδην ἄλλο ποιήσας. Herod. l. 6. c. 20.

by sword and fire. The Byzantines and Chalcedonians best avoided the storm, flying betimes with their most valuable effects, and planting the territory of Mesambria, far within the Euxine sea. The Phenicians burnt the empty towns; and then returning to the Hellespont, all the Thracian Chersonese immediately submitted, except the town of Cardia.

Herod. l. 6., c. 34, & seq.

This peninsula, often called, by way of eminence, simply the Chersonese, had been planted by a colony of Athenians, whose history is not unimportant among the transactions of Greece and Persia. During the tyranny of Peisistratus at Athens, the Doloncian Thracians, antient inhabitants of the Chersonese, pressed in war by the Apsinthians, sent their chiefs to ask advice of the god of Delphi. The oracle directed them to invite into their country, to found a colony there, the first person who, after their quitting the temple, should ask them to the rites of hospitality. The Doloncians, directing their journey homeward, passed through Phocis and Bœotia, without receiving any invitation. Turning then into Attica, their way led them by the country-house of Miltiades son of Cypselus. That Athenian happening to be in his portico, and seeing men pass in a forein dress and carrying spears, accosted them, and offered refreshment. They accepted the invitation; and being hospitably entertained, they related the oracular response which they had received. Miltiades was of a very antient, honorable and wealthy family of Attica. Herodotus mentions, as a circumstance to ascertain its eminence, that it was a family accustomed to keep a chariot with four horses; probably meaning, as the critics have explained it, that the family of Miltiades had been accustomed to contend at the Olympian festival in the race of chariots with four horses; which certainly would imply considerable wealth in a country like Attica, little naturally adapted to breeding and keeping horses. Miltiades, himself popular and ambitious, was little friendly to Peisistratus, and thence was the more prepared to accept the invitation of the Thracians. Collecting therefore a number of Athenians, either disposed to his interest, or averse to the prevailing power, all of whom Peisistratus would gladly see depart from Athens, he established his colony, and was raised to the tyranny of the Chersonese. Dying

childless, his authority passed, as a part of his estate, to his nephew Stesagoras, son of Cimon his brother by the mother. Stesagoras also died childless. His younger brother Miltiades was then at Athens, in favor with Hippias and Hipparchus[9]; who, whether with any idea of legal claim of authority of the mother-country over the colony, or meerly to extend their own power, sent young Miltiades, at the same time to collect his inheritance, and to take upon him the public administration of the affairs of the Chersonese. It appears that the young chief carried his authority with a high hand: he kept a body of five hundred guards in constant pay: to strengthen his interest in the country, he married Hegesipylē, daughter of Olorus a Thracian prince; and Tyrant of the Chersonese is the title of Miltiades among all the earlier Greek historians[10].

Such was the state of things when Darius led his army into Europe. Miltiades then, yielding to a power which he was unable to resist, followed the Persian monarch's orders on the Scythian expedition. He is celebrated for having proposed among the Grecian chiefs to destroy the bridge over the Danube, which had been intrusted to their care, while Darius was in Scythia; hoping that so the prince and his army, between famine and the Scythian sword, might perish, and the Grecian states might thus be delivered from the Persian power. How far this proposal, certainly perfidious, can be justified upon Grecian principles either of philosophy or of patriotism, may be difficult to determine. We may however credit the assertion of Herodotus and Nepos, that interest more than integrity induced the other Grecian tyrants to oppose it: for they esteemed the supremacy of Persia the best security to their own authority against the democratical disposition of their people. Herodotus reports that an army of Scythians, bent upon revenging the Persian invasion, obliged Miltiades to fly the Chersonese. According to the same historian, however, he must have been popular in his government, at least among the Thracians, since, on the departure of the Scythians, they recalled him. We are not told

Herod. l. 6. c. 137. Corn. Nep. v. Miltiad.

Herod. l. 6. c. 40. & Plutarch. de sera Num. Vind.

[9] The Peisistratids. Herod. l. 6. c. 39.

[10] Chersonesi, omnes illos quos habitârat annos, perpetuam obtinuerat dominationem. Tyrannusque fuerat appellatus. Corn. Nep. vit. Milt. The biographer adds SED JUSTUS, and proceeds to explain the early Grecian sense of the term TYRANT.

that he took any active part in the Ionian revolt; but his flight from the Chersonese, after the defeat of the Grecian fleet off Miletus, shows that he knew himself obnoxious to the Persians. Putting his effects aboard five trireme galleys, he steered for Athens. The Phenician fleet pursued him, and took one of his galleys commanded by his eldest son. Here again Herodotus bears very honorable testimony to Darius. The son of Miltiades, as a prisoner of rank and consequence, was sent to receive his doom at Susa. But instead of punishment as a rebel, which his captors expected, Darius was liberal of favor to him, giving him an estate and a Persian lady for his wife, by whom he had a family which became numbered among the Persians. If Herodotus had authority for this anecdote, it may, together with the treatment of the captive Milesians, justify the opinion which he advances, that Darius would have pardoned even Histiæus, had he not been prevented by the jealous haste of his officers, who executed that unfortunate, but apparently little meritorious chief, without waiting for orders from the king.

Herod. l. 6. c. 30.

From the same impartial historian however we learn, that the superintendency of the Persian government over the conquered people was, in general, correspondent to the disposition of the monarch, liberal and mild. The first vengeance for the rebellion being over, the Ionians remaining in the country became again objects of care and protection. No mark of enmity was shown during the rest of that year, but very beneficial regulations, says the historian, were made [11]. Deputies from the cities were assembled, to advise about the means of keeping the peace of the country, and it was required of the several administrations to pledge themselves to one another that they would abstain from that piratical, thieving and murdering kind of petty war, to which the Greeks at all times and in all parts were strongly addicted; and that all controversies between cities, as between individuals, should be determined by regular course of law [12]. It behoved Artaphernes then, for his own sake, to provide for the regular payment of the tribute to the Persian empire. But no new burthen was laid upon the conquered people; and to obviate that oppression which might arise from partiality,

[11] ——ὐυδὲν ἐς νεῖκος φέρον, αλλὰ χρήσιμα κάρτα. Herod. l. 6. c. 42.

[12] ——ἵνα δοσίδικοι εἶεν, καὶ μὴ ἀλλήλους φέροιέν τε καὶ ἄγοιεν. Herod. ibid.

whether

whether in the king's officers, or in the municipal governments, the whole country was carefully surveyed, and the extent of every state taken in the Persian measure of parasangs. The tribute, really but a kind of quit-rent for lands not originally belonging to the Greeks, was then equitably assessed on all; and to the historian's age the Ionians continued to profit from this beneficial arrangement.

SECTION III.

First Persian Armament against Greece under Mardonius: proceeds no farther than Macedonia. The Grecian Cities summoned by Heralds to acknowlege Subjection to the Persian Empire. Internal Feuds in Greece: Banishment of Demaratus king of Lacedæmon: Affairs of Argos: Banishment and Restoration of Cleomenes king of Lacedæmon: Death of Cleomenes: War of Athens and Ægina.

IN the second spring after the reduction of Miletus, a great change was made in the administration of the provinces bordering on the Grecian seas. Artaphernes was recalled, with most of the principal officers of his satrapy, and Mardonius, a young man of highest rank, who had lately married a daughter of Darius, was sent to take that great and important command. He led with him a very numerous army. On the coast of Cilicia he met a large fleet attending his orders; and, going aboard, he sailed to Ionia, leaving the army to be conducted by the generals under him, to the Hellespont. Revenge against Athens and Eretria for the insult at Sardis, was the avowed purpose of this formidable armament. But, considering all the best information remaining to us of the character of Darius and of the circumstances of the times, it appears highly probable that the same necessity for employing restless spirits, which had urged the Scythian expedition, was the principal motive also to the permisssion of this enterprize.

Ol. 72. 1. B. C. 492. Herod. l. 6. c. 43.

Herod. l. 6. c. 44. Plat. Menex. p. 240. t. 2. ed. Serran.

Mardonius seems to have been naturally disposed to extraordinary things. Arriving in Ionia, he deposed all the tyrants, and, apparently with the view to acquire popularity among a people whose willing service

service might be important, he established democratical government in every Grecian city; a measure so opposite to the general policy of Persia, that Herodotus speaks of it as a wonder next to incredible among the people of European Greece. Collecting then, from the Ionians and Æolians, a considerable addition to his forces, both of sea and land, he proceeded to the Hellespont, and passed into Europe. Excepting some wild hords of Thracian mountaineers, all to the confines of Greece already acknowleged subjection to Persia. Macedonia had formerly bought its peace by submitting to the humiliating ceremony of the delivery of earth and water. Tribute being now demanded, the Macedonian prince feared to refuse. But the elements and the barbarians, this time, stopped the progress of the Persian arms. The fleet, assailed by a storm, in doubling the promontory of Athos, lost no less than three hundred vessels, and, it was reported, twenty thousand men. In a sudden attack from the Brygian Thracians, the army suffered considerably, and Mardonius himself was wounded. The march could not be safely prosecuted without subduing that people. This was effected; but the season was then so far advanced, and the fleet so shattered, that it was judged expedient for the whole armament to return to winter in Asia.

Herod. l. 6. c. 44, & l. 7. c. 108.

Ch. 6. sec. 3. of this Hist.

Ol. 72. 2. B. C. 491. Herod. l. 6. c. 46. & seq.

The first object in the next spring was the little iland of Thasus, formerly the seat of the principal Phenician factory in the Ægean sea; barren in its soil, but rich by its gold mines, and still more by those which its inhabitants possessed on the neighboring continent of Thrace. To secure themselves, rather than to offend others, the Thasians had lately employed a part of their wealth in building ships of war, and improving the fortifications of their town. An order came to them, in the name of the Persian king, to raze their fortifications, and to send all their ships of war to the Persian naval arsenal at Abdera. They obeyed. Then heralds were sent into Greece, demanding of every city acknowlegement of subjection to Darius by the delivery of earth and water. Many towns on the continent obeyed, and most of the ilands [13].

[13] Herodotus says ALL; but he afterward excepts the little ilands of Seriphos, Siphnos, and Melos (1). Apparently he should also have excepted Eubœa and Crete, or at least most of their towns.

(1) b. 7. c. 46.

Greece

Greece was at this time so divided by internal feuds, that had its united force born a nearer proportion to that of the Persian empire, still its circumstances would have seemed to invite the ambition of a powerful neighbor. The Thessalians, who should have guarded the northern frontier, and the Phocians, occupying the center of the country, bore toward each other a hatred so sharpened by the hostilities of successive generations, that no interest could induce them to coalesce. The Thebans, and with them almost all Bœotia, careless of an independency adverse to peace, and little producing any happiness, submitted even zealously to the Persian commands. Athens, at declared war with Ægina, still nourished animosity against Lacedæmon; while, within Peloponnesus, the antient enmity of Lacedæmon and Argos had been revived and heightened by late events. Herod. l. 8. c. 30.

It is an old observation, which the history of nations gives frequent occasion to repeat, that circumstances in themselves the most trifling often lead to the greatest consequences. The antient enmity between Athens and Ægina, said to have originated about a wooden statue, appears to have contributed not a little to lead the Athenians to that determined opposition to Persia, and to that alliance of their state with Lacedæmon, which together, in saving Greece from subjection, gave the Grecian people to be what they afterward became. As soon as it was known at Athens that the Æginetans had acknowleged themselves subjects to Persia, ministers were sent to Sparta to accuse them as traitors to Greece. It was the character of the Spartan government to be cautious in enterprize, but unshaken in principle, firm in resolve, and immoveable by danger. Independency on any forein state was the great object of all its singular institutions; and, far from bowing to a superior power, it had for some time been not unsuccessfully aspiring to dominion over others. The haughty demand of Persia therefore could not but find at Lacedæmon a determined refusal. Both there and at Athens the public indignation vented itself in barbarian inhumanity; the Persian heralds being with ignominy and scoffing put to death; at one place thrown into a pit, at the other into a well, and told there to take their earth and water. But the power of that vast empire was so reälly formidable, and in general opinion so nearly Herod. l. 5. c. 82, & l. 6. c 49. Herod. l. 7. c. 133.

nearly irresistible, that to find Athens heartily disposed to alliance in opposition to it, would be esteemed by the Lacedæmonians a circumstance the more fortunate, as the late enmity between the two commonwealths had been extreme. The Athenian ambassadors were accordingly very favorably received at Lacedæmon. Cleomenes, vehement in all his undertakings, went himself to Ægina, intending to seize the persons of those who had been forward in leading the people of that iland to the obnoxious measure. He was opposed and prevented in his purpose; but not without a remarkable acknowlegement of the authority of the Spartan state. It was replied to him, 'that he came meerly as an individual; the Æginetan people would 'have obeyed a regular order from the Lacedæmonian government.'

Herod. l. 6. c. 50.

But the dissentions of the Grecian republics among one another were not more adverse to the general defence against a forein enemy, than the spirit of party which divided each internally. Lacedæmon itself was violently distracted. The two kings, Demaratus and Cleomenes, had been long at variance. The former endeavored to excite the leading men against his collegue, absent on public service. The latter, on his return, no longer keeping any measure, asserted that Demaratus was illegitimately born; and incouraging Leotychidas, the next in succession of the Procleid family, to claim the crown against him, supported the pretension with all his interest. The legitimacy of Demaratus's birth was brought into reäl doubt; and where the judgement of men could not decide, recourse was had to the Delphian oracle. Herodotus, who is not scrupulous of speaking freely of oracles, tells, upon this occasion, a very circumstantial story of bribery practised by Cleomenes to procure a response from the Pythoness favorable to his views; and the report indeed appears to have found general credit in Greece. Demaratus, in consequence of that response, was immediately deposed. Finding then his situation irksome, and perhaps unsafe in Sparta, he retired to the iland of Zacynthus; and persecution following him thither, he fled to the Persian court. Cleomenes, now unopposed in his measures, went, accompanied by Leotychidas, to Ægina; and such was the authority which reputation had acquired to their state, the Æginetan government, generally haughty enough through

Herod. l. 6. c. 51, & seq.

Herod. l. 6. c. 66.

Pausan. l. 3. c. 4.

through presumption in its naval force and the security of its insular situation, submitted implicitly to their commands. Ten of the principal men of the iland were arrested and sent to Athens, there to remain pledges of the fidelity of the Æginetan people to the Grecian cause.

The highly valuable early historian, to whom we owe almost all detail of occurrences in this age, little generally careful of the order of events in his narration, has left it uncertain to what precise time should be assigned some transactions, important in the consideration of the state of Greece. At this critical period, Cleomenes led a Lacedæmonian army into Argolis, surprized the Argians in their camp, and routed them with great slaughter. The fugitives took refuge in a consecrated wood, surrounding a temple. Such sacred groves, frequent in Greece, were generally held in the most scrupulous veneration. Cleomenes himself hesitated at the profanation which he meditated. But conformably to the superstition derived from ages before Homer, he regarded only the affront to the gods, considered as unconnected with any crime against man, about which he had no scruple. Alluring some of the Argians therefore from their asylum, with a promise of ransom, he put them directly to the sword; and when his treachery was discovered, and he could allure no more, passion overbearing superstition, he set fire to the grove, and thus the rest were destroyed. Between the battle and the massacre, so large a portion of the Argian people perished, that the slaves rose upon the scanty remainder, overpowered them, and for some years commanded the city. The sons however of those slain by the Lacedæmonians, whether humanely spared, or by whatever good fortune escaping, when they had in sufficient number attained manhood, expelled the usurpers. These nevertheless possessing themselves of Tiryns, a negotiation insued, and a treaty of peace and friendship was concluded. From the tenor of Herodotus' account the new citizens of Tiryns seem to have deserved a better than their final fate. War being renewed against them, they were put to the sword, driven into exile, or again reduced to slavery.

Herod. l. 6. c. 74, & seq.

It was supposed that Cleomenes, after the destruction of the Argian

army, might have taken the city, but his wild fancy led him another way [14]. Sending home the greater part of his forces, he went, attended by a chosen escort, to the celebrated temple of Juno, near Mycenæ, to sacrifice there. The high priest of the temple remonstrated that the holy institutes forbad such intrusion of a stranger. Cleomenes, in the extravagance of his indignation, that he, of the blood of Hercules, king and priest, should be so denied, caused the high priest to be scourged by his attending Helots, performed the sacrifice himself, and then returned to Sparta. The party in opposition to him there were loud in complaint, not of his violation of the laws of war and of nations, but of his omission to attack Argos, which they imputed to corruption. A story, however, of a miraculous effulsion from the breast of the statue of the god whose grove Cleomenes burnt, an omen, it was insisted, clearly indicating that Argos was not to be taken, sufficed to stop the clamor. But after the expulsion of Demaratus the friends of that prince procured evidence so convincing of the corruption by which the oracle from Delphi had been obtained which occasioned his dethronement, that Cleomenes in alarm fled into Thessaly. The contest of factions however gave him opportunity soon to return into Peloponnesus, and in Arcadia he found or formed a party so strong that he proposed to excite war against his country. Fortunately his party in Lacedæmon, regaining the superiority, prevented that evil by procuring his recall to the throne.

Herod. l. 6. c. 82.

That wildness of Cleomenes, which had often approached frenzy, at length became lasting madness, and he was put under confinement. In this situation, obtaining a sword from a Helot, appointed to guard him, he deliberately cut himself piecemeal. The superstition of all Greece took an interest in this shocking deed. It was very generally attributed to the vengeance of the deity; but for different crimes, according to the various feelings and prejudices of the people of

Herod. l. 6. c. 75. Pausan. l. 3. c. 4. Plutarch. Apoph. Lac.

[14] A romantic story is told, by later writers, of a poetess, Telesilla, who, at the head of the women, boys and old men of Argos, repelled the assault of the Lacedæmonians (1). Had such a story had any credit in Herodotus' age, he was not of a temper to leave it unnoticed.

(1) Pausan. l. 2. c. 20. Polyæn. Strat. l. 7. c. 33.

different

different states. With the Athenians, the injury done to a temple and its sacred precinct, in the invasion of Attica, was the offensive impiety. The Argians ascribed the divine wrath, most reasonably, to the treacherous massacre of their troops; but, more confidently, to those offences, in the general opinion of the age, more apt to excite divine indignation; the burning of the sacred grove, and the affront done to their protecting deity Juno, in performing sacrifice contrary to the sacred institute, and in the injurious indignity to her priest. The other Greeks, less anxious about these injuries and offences to particular people and their peculiar deities, held the sacrilegious collusion with the Pythoness, which ruined his collegue Demaratus, to have been that, among the many atrocious acts of Cleomenes, which most called for the vengeance of the powers above. But the Lacedæmonians, with whom, according to a common principle of Grecian patriotism, any breach of their own institutions was a greater enormity than the grossest violation of laws, human and divine, affecting other states only, imputed the fatal frenzy to meer drunkenness; a vice highly reprobated and rarely seen at Sparta, but to which Cleomenes was addicted.

These circumstances will not be deemed unworthy objects of history, when considered as they tend to mark the state of Greece, and the temper of its people, at that important period, when her little commonwealths were first assailed by the tremendous might of Persia. With the same view a petty war which insued between Athens and Ægina will deserve attention. The reader should cast his eye upon the map, and see there what Ægina is: Ægina was a formidable foe to Athens. Its rulers, having made their peace with Leotychidas, so as to obtain his mediation with the Athenian government, were still denied the restoration of their hostages. Bent therefore upon revenge, they intercepted a large galley, in which many Athenians of rank were going to an annual religious festival at Delos. But Ægina, like all other Grecian states, had its factions. The oligarchal now prevailed; and Nicodromus, a considerable man of the opposite party, had found it prudent to retire from his country. The present opportunity invited to connect his interest with that of Athens, always

Herod. l. 6. c. 85, & seq.

disposed to favor democracy. A plan of surprize was concerted with the Athenian administration, and Nicodromus, who had many friends in the iland, made himself master of that called the old town of Ægina. But the Athenians, not possessing a naval force sufficient to cope with the Æginetan fleet, had applied to Corinth, then in close alliance with them, for a loan of twenty ships. These arrived a day too late; the whole project failed; and Nicodromus, with many of his adherents, imbarking, fled to Attica. The Athenians allotted them a settlement near the promontory Sunium; whence they made continual assaults and depredations upon the Æginetans of the iland. The prevailing party in Ægina meanwhile vented revenge against the remaining persons of the opposite faction, so shocking that in these times it appears hardly credible; yet one circumstance only, of particular affront to a goddess, seems to have struck either the Greeks of that age, or the historian in the next, as any peculiar enormity. Seven hundred citizens were led out at once to execution. One of them, freeing himself from his bonds, fled to a temple of Ceres, and laid fast hold on the gate. His pursuers endeavored to pull him away; but, his strength baffling them, they chopped off his hands, and, thus mangled, led him to suffer death with his fellows. The Æginetans were soon after defeated in a naval ingagement. The Athenians then landed on the iland, and the Æginetans from Sunium were not likely to be advocates for mercy to their fellowcountrymen, while of a thousand Argians who had come to assist the Æginetans of the iland, the greater part were slain. Still, with their shattered navy, the Æginetans attacked the Athenian fleet by surprize and took four galleys.

Herod. l. 6. c. 85, &seq.& Thucyd. l. 1. c. 41.

SECTION IV.

Second Persian Armament against Greece under Datis and Artaphernes: reduces the Ilands of the Ægean: invades Attica. Battle of Marathon.

SUCH was the virulence of enmity among the Greeks toward one-another, at the very time when the great storm was approaching from the East, which threatened a final period to that independency of their little republics, whence arose incitement and licence for those horrid violences. The small success of Mardonius, in his expedition, had probably afforded means for intrigue to take effect to his disadvantage in the court of Susa. He was recalled, and the command at Sardis was given to Artaphernes, son of the late satrap of that name, with whom was joined Datis, a Median nobleman, probably of greater experience. These generals, leading a landforce from the interior provinces, met the fleet on the coast of Cilicia. The conquest of Greece being the object, it was determined to avoid the circuitous march by Thrace and Macedonia. A sufficiency of transports having been collected, the whole army, cavalry as well as infantry, were imbarked, and coasted Asia Minor as far as Samos. Thither the Ionian and Æolian troops and vessels were summoned. All being assembled, the generals directed their course across the Ægean sea, first to Naxos. The inhabitants of that iland, notwithstanding their former successful defence, dared not abide this formidable armament: quitting their city they fled to their mountains. The Persians burnt the town, with its temples: the few Naxians who fell into their hands were made slaves. The fleet proceeded to the neighboring ilands, receiving their submission, and taking everywhere the children of the principal families for hostages. No opposition was found till they arrived at Carystus in Eubœa. The Carystians, with more spirit than prudence, declared they would neither join in hostilities against their neighbors and fellowcountrymen, nor give hostages. Waste of their lands,

Ol. 72. 2. B. C. 490.

Herod. l. 6. c. 94, & seq. Plat. Menex. p. 240. t. 2. & de Leg. l. 3. p. 698. t. 2.

lands, and siege laid to their town, soon reduced them to comply with whatsoever the Persian generals chose to command.

Herod. l. 6. c. 100, 101.

The storm now approached Eretria. Punishment to that city was one of the declared objects of the armament. Little hope therefore could be entertained of good terms for the community. In this desperate situation of public affairs, temptation was strong for individuals to endeavor, by whatsoever means, to secure themselves. While therefore a deputation was sent by public authority to request assistance from Athens, many of the citizens were for flying to the mountains; others were disposed to betray the city to the enemy; some of them thinking, perhaps not unreasonably, that beside gaining for themselves favorable terms, they might even lessen the horrors of capture to the city at large, by preventing the shock of arms, and the further irritation of an irresistible foe. The Athenians so far complied with the request made to them, as to direct that the four thousand colonists, lately sent from Athens into Eubœa, should assist in the defence of Eretria. The aid would have been important, had the Eretrians been united in council and prepared for a siege; or had there been any reasonable prospect of farther relief from the rest of Greece. But Æschines son of Nothon, one of the principal citizens, seeing defence hopeless, advised the colonists, by a timely retreat, to reserve themselves for the protection of their native country, which would next be attacked; and which, if saved, might still afford, possibly even to the Eretrians, a refuge from Persian oppression. The colonists accordingly crossed to Oropus in Attica. The Persians soon appeared off the Eretrian coast. The little seaport towns of Chœreas and Ægilia were immediately abandoned, and there the army debarked. Among the Eretrians, the resolution had finally prevailed to defend the city. During six days the Persian assaults were vigorously opposed. On the seventh the place was betrayed by two of the principal citizens. The temples were plundered and burnt: the inhabitants were condemned to slavery.

Herod. l. 6. c. 102. Thucyd. l. 6. c. 59.

The Persian generals allowed but a few days rest to their forces, before they crossed into Attica; having Hippias, formerly tyrant of that country, now of advanced age, it being the twentieth year from

his expulsion, for their guide and counsellor. In this alarming situation of Greece, no measures had been concerted for general security. The Asian Greeks had been first subdued. The Persian dominion then extended itself into Europe, as far as the confines of Thessaly. All the ilands had now fallen. Eubœa, which might be reckoned an appurtenance of the Grecian main, was conquered. The Persian army passed the narrow channel which separates them, and still no league for common defence seems even to have been proposed. On the capture of Eretria, a messenger was sent from Athens to Lacedæmon with the news, and a request for assistance. The Lacedæmonians were at this time pressed by one of those rebellions in Messenia, so often resulting from their illiberal policy for the maintenance of their sovereinty over that country. Nevertheless they promised their utmost help; but their laws and their religion, they said, forbad them to march before the full moon, of which it wanted five days. As things now stood indeed, probability of successful opposition was so small, that perhaps we ought not to impute to any base or unreasonable selfishness the caution of the Lacedæmonian government, tho we should believe that policy or irresolution, more than religion, detained their army. The messenger however, Pheidippides, a runner by profession, having performed his journey with extraordinary speed, related a story on his return, which might be not unavailing to inspire confidence into the Athenian populace. As he was going, he said, over the Parthenian mountain, above Tegea in Arcadia, the god Pan called to him by name. He stopped in obedience to the voice; when it proceeded, commanding him to tell the Athenians, 'That they were wrong in 'paying no worship to a deity so well disposed to them, who had often 'served them, and intended them farther favor.' The worship of the god Pan was in consequence introduced at Athens.

Herod. l. 6. c. 106. Strab. l. 9. p. 399. Plat. de Leg. p. 698. t. 2.

Herod. l. 6. c. 105.

There was fortunately at this time, among the principal Athenians, a man qualified both by genius and experience to take the lead on a momentous occasion, Miltiades, the expelled chief of the Chersonese. Miltiades had not, immediately on his retreat to Athens, found it a place of secure refuge: a prosecution was commenced against him for the

Herod. l. 6. c. 103, & seq.

the crime of tyranny[15]. In another season, however indefinite the crime, and however inapplicable every existing law to any act of the accused, a popular assembly might have pronounced condemnation. In the present crisis he was not only acquitted, but, after the common manner of the tide of popular favor, raised by the voice of the people to be one of the ten commanders in chief of the army[16]. Immediate assistance from Sparta being denied, it became a question with the ten generals, whether the bold step should be ventured of meeting the enemy in the field; or whether their whole diligence should be applied to prepare for a siege. It happened that opinions were equally divided; in which case, by antient custom, the polëmarch archon was to be called in to give the casting vote. The argument attributed by Herodotus to Miltiades upon this occasion, not only tends very much to explain both the politics and the temper of the times, but accounts satisfactorily why that able commander, contrary to every common principle of defensive war, was for risking at once a decisive ingagement with an enemy in number so very superior. 'It depends upon 'you,' said Miltiades in a conference with the polëmarch Callimachus, 'either to reduce Athens to slavery, or, by establishing her freedom, 'to leave an eternal memory of yourself among men, more glorious 'than even Harmodius and Aristogeiton have acquired. For never 'before, since the Athenians were a people, did a danger like the 'present threaten them. If, yielding to the Persians, they are deli- 'vered into the power of Hippias, let it be thought what their 'sufferings will be: but if they conquer, Athens will become the first 'city of Greece. Should they then, by your decision, be debarred 'from presently ingaging the enemy, I well know that faction will be 'dividing the minds of our citizens; and a party among them will 'not scruple to make terms with the Persians, to the destruction of 'the rest. But if we ingage before any corrupt disposition prevails, 'the gods only dispensing equal favor, we are able to conquer.' The polëmarch yielded to this argument.

Herod. l. 6. c. 109.

The Persians had now, for two or three generations, been accustomed

[15] Ὑπὸ δικαστήριον αὐτὸν ἀγαγόντες, ἐδίωξαν τυραννίδος τῆς ἐν Χερσονήσῳ. Herod. l. 6. c. 104.

[16] Στρατηγὸς Ἀθηναίων ἀπεδέχθη, αἱρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Δήμου. Herod. l. 6. c. 104.

to

to almost uninterrupted success in war. They had many times ingaged the Greeks of Asia and Cyprus; and tho the accounts come to us from Grecian historians only, yet we read of no considerable defeat they had ever suffered, except once in Caria; when, by the abilities of Heracleides of Mylassa, their general Daurises was surprized among defiles. The army under Datis and Artaphernes therefore advanced toward Athens, confident of superiority to all opposition in the field. Herodotus does not mention their numbers. According to Cornelius Nepos, they were a hundred thousand effective foot, and ten thousand horse; a very large force to be transported by sea from Asia: yet Plato, meaning probably to include the seamen and the various multitude of attendants upon Asiatic troops, calls the whole armament five hundred thousand; and Trogus Pompeius, according to his epitomizer Justin, did not scruple to add a hundred thousand more. Herodotus has not ventured either to report the numbers which the Athenians brought into the field: he only says they were very inferior to the Persians; and later writers have not less contradicted probability in diminishing the Grecian than in exaggerating the Persian force. According to Nepos and Pausanias, the Athenians were only nine thousand, and the Platæans, joining them with the whole strength of their little commonwealth, added only one thousand. But sufficient assurance remains to us, that Attica was capable of raising a greater force, and upon such an emergency it would exert its utmost [17]. The genius

Corn. Nep. v. Miltiad.

Plat. Menex.

Justin. l. 2. c. 9.

Corn. Nep. v. Miltiad. Pausan. l. 10, c. 20.

[17] Pausanias says that the battle of Marathon was the first occasion upon which the Athenians admitted slaves to military service (1); meaning probably to service with the freemen in the heavy infantry; because it appears from Herodotus to have been the ordinary practice to make slaves act as light troops. It seems a necessary inference, what we might otherwise indeed naturally suppose, that the utmost strength of Athens was exerted upon that occasion. But eleven years after, at the battle of Platæa, when the immediate danger to the Athenian people was much less pressing, and when a considerable part of their force was serving aboard the fleet, the Athenian troops in the confederate army were eight thousand heavy foot, attended by an equal number of light-armed slaves (2). Indeed at the time of the battle of Marathon, the accession to the Athenian forces from the colonists lately returned from Eubœa, would, according to Herodotus, be scarcely less than four thousand men. The same author informs us that the inhabitants of the little iland of Naxos, after the expulsion of a

(1) l. 1. c. 32.

(2) Herod. l. 9. c. 28, 29.

genius of Miltiades however, rather than the strength of Athens, appears upon this occasion the shining instrument in the hand of Providence for the preservation of Greece. It was no season for ceremony: abilities, wherever they were conspicuous, would of course have the lead. Of the nine collegues of Miltiades five gave up their days of command to him; and by their means he had the majority of votes among the ten. Thus the extreme inconveniencies, to which the Athenian system lay open, were in a great degree obviated; and the unity, indispensable to the advantageous conduct of military business, was established. Miltiades, to his other advantages, joined that of having served with the Persians. He knew the composition of their armies, the temper of their troops, and the ordinary system of their generals. The Greeks, whose dependance was on their heavy-armed foot, formed in the deep order of the phalanx, usually began an ingagement with a few discharges of missile weapons, and then presently came to close fight with their long spears. The Persians made more use of the bow, and less of the spear; which with them was shorter than the Grecian spear, and they depended much upon their cavalry, of which the Greeks (excepting the Thessalians) from the nature of their country could have little. The defensive armor also of the Persian infantry was inferior to the Grecian. Herodotus has marked the difference in a speech of Aristagoras the Milesian to the Lacedæmonian assembly: 'The Persians go to battle,' he says, 'carrying bows and short spears, and wearing stockings and turbans.' The Greeks carried long spears and swords, and wore greaves and helmets [18].

Herod. l. 6. c. 110. Plutarch. Aristid.

Herod. l. 5. c. 49.

The

powerful party, formed no less than eight thousand regular heavy-armed foot (1). Upon the whole we cannot suppose the regular Grecian forces at Marathon fewer than fourteen or fifteen thousand, and the light-armed, slaves and others, would be at least an equal, and probably a much greater number.

(1) Herod. l. 5. c. 30.

[18] Æschylus, who is said himself to have fought at Marathon, at Salamis, and at Platæa, adverts in several passages of his tragedy of The Persians to this difference of weapons. The chorus speaking of Xerxes says:

Ἔπαγει δυρικλύτοις ανδράσι τοξόδαμνον Ἄρην.

p. 129. ed H. Steph.

Afterward

The Persian generals, guided by Hippias, had chosen their place of debarkation on the eastern coast of Attica, near Marathon. There on landing they were at once in a plain in which cavalry might act; and the way to Athens, between the mountains Pentelicus and Brilessus, was less difficult than any other across the heights which at some distance surround that city. The entire command which they possessed of the sea, made it necessary for Miltiades to wait for intelligence where they would make their descent. They had thus landed their whole force without molestation, and were already in possession of the plain, when the Athenian army appeared upon the hills above. But this plain was narrow: pressed between the sea eastward, and the hills westward, and closed at each extremity, on the north by a marsh, on the south by the hills verging round and meeting the sea. Miltiades, on view of the ground and of the enemy, determined to attack. The first object, in ingaging Asiatic armies, was to resist or to render useless their numerous and excellent cavalry; the next to prevent them from profiting by their superior skill in the use of missile weapons. The former might have been obtained by waiting among the hills: but there the heavy-armed Greeks would have been helpless against the Persian archers; whose fleet, whose numbers, and whose weapons would inable them to attack on any side, or on all sides, or, avoiding a battle, to proceed to Athens. In a plain only they could be forced to that mode of ingagement in which the Greeks had greater practice, and for which their arms were superiorly adapted; and the narrow plain of Marathon was peculiarly favorable. Confined however as the ground was, the Athenian numbers were still insufficient to form a line equal to that of the enemy, and in all points competently strong. Deciding therefore instantly his choice of difficulties, Miltiades extended his front by weakening his center. Daring valor indeed, guided by a discernment

Herod. l. 6. c. 102. 107. Thucyd. l. 4. c. 58. Pausan. l. 1. c. 32. Wheeler's Jour. into Greece, b. 6. Chandler's Travels in Greece, c. 34, and foll. 6 Octob. Ann. Thu.

Herod. l. 6. c. 111.

Afterward the characteristical weapons are put for the nations who bore them:

Πότερον τόξου ῥῦμα τὸ νικῶν,
Ἢ δορυκράνου
Λόγχης ἰσχὺς κεκράτηκεν; p. 131.

and, still farther, Atossa asking concerning the Athenians,

Πότερα γὰρ, τοξουλκὸς αἰχμὴ δι' χερὸς γ' αὐτοῖς πρέπει;

the chorus answers:

Οὐδαμῶς· ἔγχη σαδαῖα, καὶ φαράσπιδες σαγαὶ. p. 137.

capable of profiting from every momentary opportunity, could alone balance the many disadvantages of his circumstances. Finding then his troops animated as he wished, he issued a sudden order to lay aside missile weapons, to advance running down the hill, and ingage at once in close fight. The order was obeyed with the utmost alacrity. The Persians, more accustomed to give than to receive the attack, beheld, at first, with a disposition to ridicule, this, as it appeared, mad onset. The effect of the shock however proved the wisdom with which it had been concerted. The Asiatic horse, formidable in champain countries by their rapid evolutions, but in this confined plain incumbered with their own numerous infantry, were at a loss how to act[19]. Of the infantry, that of proper Persia almost alone had reputation for close fight. The rest, accustomed chiefly to the use of missile weapons, were, by the rapidity of the Athenian charge, not less disconcerted than the horse. The contest was however long. The Persian infantry, successors of those troops who, under the great Cyrus, had conquered Asia, being posted in the center of their army, stood the vehemence of the onset, broke the weak part of the Athenian line, and pursued far into the country. The Athenians, after great efforts, put both the enemy's wings to flight; and had the prudence not to follow. Joining then their divided forces, they met the conquering center of the Persian army, returning weary from pursuit; defeated it, followed to the shore, and amid the confusion of imbarkation made great slaughter. They took seven galleys. The Persians lost in all six thousand four hundred men. Of the Athenians, only one hundred and ninety-two fell; but among them were the polemarch Callimachus, Stesileos one of the ten generals, Cynægeirus, brother of the poet Æschylus, and other men of rank, who had been earnest to set an example of valor on this trying occasion. The highest praise of valor was however very equally earned by the whole army, whose just eulogy will perhaps best be estimated from an observation of the original historian: 'The Athe-
'nians who fought at Marathon,' says Herodotus, 'were the first

Herod. l. 6. c. 112.
c. 112.
c. 113.
c. 117.
c. 114.
c. 112.

[19] No account is given by Herodotus of anything done by the Persian horse, tho he speaks of it as numerous. The detail however which he afterward gives of actions of the Persian cavalry previous to the battle of Platæa, together with every description of the field of Marathon, sufficiently accounts for their inaction or inefficacy there.

'among

'among the Greeks known to have used running, for the purpose of 'coming at once to close fight; and they were the first who withstood '(in the field) even the sight of the Median dress, and of the men who 'wear it; for hitherto the very name of Medes and Persians had been 'a terror to the Greeks [20].'

Such is the account given of this celebrated day by that historian, who lived near enough to the time to have conversed with eyewitnesses [21]. It is modest throughout, and bears general marks both of authentic information and of honest veracity. The small proportion of the Athenian slain perhaps appears least consistent with the other circumstances. Yet it is countenanced by authentic accounts of various battles in different ages, and particularly by those in our own history, of Crecy, Poitiers, and above all, of Agincourt. When indeed the whole front of the soldier was covered with defensive armour, slaughter seldom could be great, but among broken troops, or in pursuit. We are however told that a part of the Athenian army was broken. If it might be allowed to the historian at all to wander from positive authority, the known abilities of Miltiades, and his acquaintance with the temper and formation of the Persian army, added to the circumstances of the action, would almost warrant a conjecture that the flight of his weak center was intended; purposely to lead the flower of the enemy's forces out of the battle, and fatigue them with unprofitable pursuit. The deep order in which the antients fought, would perhaps make such a stratagem not too hazardous for daring prudence, under urgent necessity of risking much. Writers who have

[20] Those honest confessions of Herodotus, which have given so much offence to Plutarch, we find all more or less confirmed by the elder writers of highest authority. Thus Plato: Αἱ δὲ γνῶμαι δεδουλωμέναι ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἦσαν· οὕτω πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ μάχιμα γένη καταδεδουλωμένη ἦν ἡ Περσῶν ἀρχή. Menexen. p. 240.

[21] There are two expressions in his sixth book (1) which have been understood by some to import that he had himself conversed with Epizelus son of Cuphagoras, who had been deprived of his eyesight, according to his own account, in a very extraordinary manner, during the action at Marathon; but the critics seem to have determined that those expressions mean no more than that the historian had heard the account of Epizelus reported by others (2). But Herodotus, having been born, according to the chronologers, only six years after the battle of Marathon, might very possibly have conversed with persons present at it.

(1) c. 117. (2) See note 14. p. 493. of Wesseling's edition.

followed

followed Herodotus, in describing this memorable day, have abounded with evident fiction, as well as with fulsome panegyric of the Athenians, and absurd obloquy on their enemy[22].

Still, however, after the defeat at Marathon, the Persian armament was very formidable; nor was Athens, immediately by its glorious victory, delivered from the danger of that subversion with which it had been threatened. The Persian commander, doubling Cape Sunium, coasted the southern shore of Attica, not without hope of carrying the city by a sudden assault. But the Athenians had a general equal to his arduous office. Aware of what might be the enemy's intention, Miltiades made a rapid march with a large part of his forces; and when the Persians arrived off the port of Phalerum, they saw an Athenian army incamped on the hill of Cynosarges which overlooks it. They cast anchor; but, without attempting anything, weighed again and steered for Asia. They carried with them their Eretrian prisoners, who were conducted to the great king at Susa. The humane Darius settled them on an estate his private property, at Ardericca in the province of Cissia, about twenty-four miles from his capital; where their posterity, for centuries, retained characteristical marks of a European origin.

Herod. l. 6. c. 115, 116.

c. 119.

Herod. ibid. & Philostrat. vit. Apoll.

On the next day after the battle, a body of two thousand Lacedæmonian auxiliaries arrived. They had marched instantly after the full of the moon, and had so pressed their way, that they are said to have reached Athens in three days after leaving Sparta, tho great part of the road was over a mountainous country, and the computed distance at least a hundred and twenty English miles[23]. Disappointed, both for themselves and for their commonwealth, to have so missed their share in an action which could not but reflect uncommon glory

Herod. l. 6. c. 120. Isocr. Paneg. p. 120. t. 1.

[22] The extravagance of Justin's tale may lessen our regret for the loss of the great work which he has epitomized. Had Herodotus, among all his muses, given one romance so absurd as Justin's account of this battle, he might have deserved some portion of the abuse with which calumny has singularly loaded him. Among later authors the concise narrative of Cornelius Nepos is by far most deserving attention.

[23] The distance, according to Isocrates, was twelve hundred Grecian stadia, which, at eight stadia to the mile, would be a hundred and fifty miles; at ten stadia, a hundred and twenty.

on those who had partaken in it, they would however proceed to the field, to view the slain of that enemy who now for the first time had come from so far to attack Greece, and whom report made universally so formidable. Having gratified their curiosity, they returned to Lacedæmon, not without bestowing those praises which Athenian valor had so fairly earned. Tho the force thus sent so late, was apparently very small, both for the urgency of the occasion and for the ability of Lacedæmon, yet the pretence of religion, and the zeal shown in the rapidity of the march, were accepted as excuses; and it does not appear that the Athenians at the time, or their orators or writers afterward, imputed any blame to the Lacedæmonian government or people.

SECTION V.

Growing Ambition of Athens. Effects of Party-spirit at Athens. Extraordinary Honors to the Memory of Harmodius and Aristogeiton. Impeachment and Death of Miltiades.

IT is particularly in the nature of democratical government for ambition to grow with success. No sooner were the Athenians delivered by the victory of Marathon from impending destruction, than they began to meditate conquest. Almost all the ilands of the Ægean were obnoxious for their ready submission to the Persian summons; and some even for their exertions in the Persian cause. Miltiades was sent with seventy ships to exact fines from them for their delinquency; and, as far as might be, using the newly-acquired naval power, in imitation of the practice of Lacedæmon on the continent, to reduce them under the authority, or at least the influence of the Athenian government. Paros resisting, siege was laid to its principal town; but in twenty-six days no impression was made. Miltiades then, himself dangerously wounded, led back his armament to Athens, without having effected anything, according to Herodotus, but the ravage of that one iland.

Herod. l. 6. c. 132, & seq. Corn. Nep. v. Miltiad.

Athens

Athens has been accused of black ingratitude and gross injustice for the treatment of this great man which immediately followed. It has been endeavored, on the other hand, by the zealous partizans of democratical rule, to justify his doom on those severe principles of patriotism, which deny all rights to individuals, where but a suspicion of public interest interferes. But whoever will take the pains to connect the desultory but honest narration of Herodotus, may find, and everything remaining from Thucydides, Xenophon, Isocrates and all the orators anyway relative to the subject, will confirm it, that neither ingratitude, nor patriotism, decided the majority in the Athenian assembly upon this occasion; party-spirit still was the great mover of their politics.

Herod. l. 6. c. 123. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 20, & l. 6. c. 53, & 59.

It has been said by Herodotus, and repeated by Thucydides, that, not Harmodius and Aristogeiton, as the vulgar in their time believed, but the Alcmæonid faction delivered Athens from the tyranny of the Peisistratids. But a party which had so long directed the affairs of the commonwealth, and so wisely, so virtuously, and so beneficially as that of the Peisistratids, would be too firmly and extensively rooted to be at once annihilated by the expulsion of its chiefs. The Alcmæonids had beyond all things to dread the reflux of popularity toward that party: and it seems therefore to have been a studied policy to hold out the names of Harmodius and Aristogeiton to public esteem, while nothing was left untried to brand the memory of the Peisistratid administration. Hence the very extraordinary honors paid to the memory of the assassins of Hipparchus: hence the meer revenge of a private quarrel elevated to the dignity of tyrannicide and assertion of public liberty. The celebration of the deed by songs was made a regular part of the ceremony of the great Panathenæan festival. The custom was introduced, even at private entertainments, always to sing the song of Harmodius and Aristogeiton[24]. Statues of the patriots, made by the ablest artists, at the public expence and of the most

[24] This song, the most ancient composition of its kind extant, may be seen, with an elegant Latin translation, in Bishop Lowth's Lectures on Hebrew Poetry; and an elegant English translation, in which the turn of expression of the original has been very happily imitated, is among the poems of Mr. Pye.

costly

costly materials, were erected in different places of greatest resort in the city[25]. It was forbidden, by a particular law, to give their names to slaves. Obsequies were appointed to be periodically performed to their memory, under the direction of the polëmarch archon. Particular honors, privileges, and emoluments were decreed to their families. And to conclude all, in terror to future invaders of public liberty, but principally in terror to the living enemies of the Alcmæonid party, promises were held out, by public authority, that future sufferers in the cause of freedom (for by that sacred name the Alcmæonids described their own cause) should be equally honored with Harmodius and Aristogeiton. Attention to these circumstances, as effects of party, is necessary for understanding, in any degree, the domestic politics of the Athenian commonwealth.

The glory of Miltiades, diminishing the consequence, excited the envy of the Alcmæonids. Herodotus mentions a report that they had gone so far as to hold a traitorous correspondence with the Persians under Datis and Artaphernes, and communicated intelligence to them by signals. He professes indeed that he thought this incredible; and the circulation of such a report may perhaps best be considered as one among the innumerable proofs, how busy, and how virulent, in calumny faction was at Athens[26]. On the other hand, the ill will of the Alcmæonids to Miltiades did not remain dubious. The security of the commonwealth, which that great man's abilities had procured, had made those abilities less immediately necessary; and his failure at Paros afforded means of ruining him with a fickle multitude, possessed of despotic authority. Xanthippus, one of the principal men of Athens, who had married a niece of Megacles, the great opponent of Peisistratus and chief of the house of Alcmæon, conducted a capital accusation against him. When Miltiades was to answer before the people, he was so ill, from his wound, as to be unable to rise from his

Herod. l. 6. c. 121.

Herod. l. 6. c. 131, & 136. Corn. Nep. v. Miltiad.

[25] The laborious Meursius, in his Peisistratus, has collected accounts of many of these statues from various antient authors.

[26] Narratam sibi, vel ab aliis scripto mandatam, Atheniensium quorumdam, suspicionem tot argumentis repellit Herodotus, ut in his etiam vexandis modum excessisse videatur Plutarchus: de Herod. Malign. Valcken. not. ap. Wessel. Herod. l. 6. c. 121. Plutarch has indeed, throughout that treatise, exceeded all measure of reason, and little regarded argument.

bed. In his bed therefore he was brought into the assembly, where he lay, a melancholy spectacle, while his cause was pleaded by his friends. He was acquitted of capital offence, but condemned in a fine of fifty talents, above twelve thousand pounds sterling; and being unable immediately to pay such a sum, it was proposed by his opponents, and actually ordered by the assembly, that he should be carried, ill as he was, to the common prison. But the prytanis, whose office it was to execute the severe injunction, indignant at the unworthy treatment of a man to whom his country owed so much, had the courage to disobey. Within a few days, a mortification in the wounded limb brought Miltiades to his end; yet the fine, rigorously exacted from his family, was paid by his son Cimon [27].

[27] Cornelius Nepos, Plutarch, Valerius Maximus, and Justin, all affirm, that Miltiades was thrown into the common prison, and died there; and they add some circumstances to improve the story. On such a concurrence of authority, I thought myself warranted to report the simple circumstance (tho Herodotus had omitted mention of it) that Miltiades died in prison. But looking into Bayle's Dictionary, in the article Cimon, I found this passage: 'Herodote, parlant du proces de Miltiade, ne dit 'rien, ni de la prison du pere, ni de la prison du fils; & il insinue clairement que 'Miltiade ne fut point emprisonné;' and a little farther this quotation from Plato: Μιλτιάδην δὲ, τὸν ἐν Μαραθῶνι, εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβαλεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο· καὶ, εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸν πρύτανιν, ἐνέπεσεν ἄν (1). Upon reconsidering the matter, I intirely agree with the learned and ingenious critic that it is clearly implied in the account of Herodotus, that neither Miltiades nor Cimon was imprisoned (2); and Plato's testimony so confirms this, that I do not hesitate to reject the reports of the later writers. Bayle translates βάραθρον, I think properly, le Cachot. Originally that word is said to have been the name of a deep pit in Attica, which, in early times, was used as a place for capital punishment, by throwing criminals headlong upon sharp stakes fixed at the bottom. That cruel mode of execution was, we are told, by the advice of an oracle (3), afterward disused, and the pit was filled; the name nevertheless remaining as a common term for a dungeon.

(1) Plat. Gorg. (2) b. 6. c. 136. (3) Schol. in Plut. Aristoph. v. 431.

CHAPTER VIII.

The History of GREECE, from the Accession of XERXES to the Throne of PERSIA till the Conclusion of the first Campaign of that Monarch's Expedition against GREECE.

SECTION I.

Accesion of Xerxes to the Throne of Persia. Immense Preparations of the Court of Persia for Conquest in Europe. Assembly of the Army at Sardis, and of the Fleet in the Hellespont. March of the Army. Muster of the Army. Arrival of the Army and Fleet at Thermë in Macedonia.

HERODOTUS relates some anecdotes attributing to Darius an acrimonious resentment against Athens, very repugnant to his general character, as it stands marked by authors of highest credit, and even by what that historian himself has reported, evidently on better authority. Asia, he adds, was agitated for three years by preparations for a second expedition into Greece, to revenge the disgrace of Marathon. Prudence, perhaps, not less than honor, would require the attempt; but three years could not be necessary to the resources of the Persian empire for such a purpose; and more important objects in the mean time called the attention of its rulers. Egypt revolted; and a dangerous dispute, about the right of succession to the throne, arose between the sons of Darius. That monarch had the satisfaction to see the succession amicably settled in favor of Xerxes, his son by Atossa daughter of Cyrus, in preference to elder sons by a former marriage: but he died soon after, leaving Egypt to be recovered, and Greece to be punished, by his successor. The former object was accomplished in the second year of the reign of Xerxes: the other seems to have been for some time neglected.

Æschyl. Pers. Plato.

Herod. l. 7. c. 1, & seq.

Ol. 73. 4. B. C. 485. Herod. l. 7. c. 7.

But the Persians had not yet forgotten the character, which their fathers had raised so high, of a warlike and conquering people. They were not accustomed to insults within their dominion like that of the burning of Sardis; and still less to defeats in the field like that of Marathon. We cannot suppose Herodotus often well informed of intrigues about the person of the great king; but we may believe what he puts as a remark into the mouth of Xerxes, 'that it had not 'been the custom of the Persians to be quiet.' Nor is it to be doubted but there would be men, about that prince, ready to encourage an ideä, natural enough to a youth inheriting such immense power from a race of conquerors, that it became him also to be a conqueror, to inlarge still the bounds of his vast empire, and to emulate the military fame of Darius, of Cambyses, and even of the great Cyrus[1]. To punish Athens and to conquer Greece were therefore small objects; nor does what Herodotus has suggested appear improbable, that the ardent ambition of the youthful monarch, and some among his counsellors, might look as far as the Western Ocean, howsoever little its shores or the intermediate nations were known to them, for the term of their career of glory. Four years, it is said, were employed in preparation. An army was collected, greater than the world ever saw, either before or since. The commanders, on the western frontier of the empire, had had opportunity of observing that the most formidable land-force could not secure maritime provinces against insults by sea; and, still more, that the conquest of maritime states would be in vain attempted without naval power. Every seaport therefore, in the whole winding length of coast from Macedonia to the Libyan Syrtes, was ordered to prepare ships and to impress mariners. A prodigious work was undertaken, for the purpose of making the navigation secure,

Herod. l. 7. c. 8. sect. 1.

Herod. l. 7. c. 8. s. 3. & Corn. Nep. vit. Themist.

Herod. l. 7. c. 20. Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 1, & seq.

[1] This is the motive also alledged by Æschylus, in the person of Atossa, for the expedition of Xerxes. Speaking to the shade of Darius she says:

Ταῦτα τοῖς κακοῖς ὁμιλῶν ἀνδράσιν διδάσκεται
Θούριος Ξέρξης· λέγουσιν δ' ὡς σὺ μὲν μέγαν τέκνοις
Πλοῦτον ἐκτησω σὺν ἀιχμῇ, τὸν δ' ἀνανδρίας ὕπο
Ἔνδον ἀιχμάζειν, πατρῷον δ' ἆλβον οὐδὲν αὐξάνειν.
Τοιά δ' ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ὀνείδη πολλάκις κλύων κακῶν,
Τὴν δ' ἐξούλουσεν κέλευθον καὶ στράτευμ' ἐφ' Ἑλλάδα. p. 161. edit. H. Steph.

from

from the Asiatic along the European coast, and to prevent all risk of future disasters, like that of the fleet under Mardonius. It was no less than to form a canal, navigable for the largest galleys, across the isthmus which joins Athos to the continent of Thrace. A fleet was assembled in the Hellespont, and, under the command of Bubares, son of Megabazus, the crews were employed on the work. Herodotus supposes meer ostentation to have been the motive to this undertaking; because, he says, less labour would have carried the fleet over land, from one sea to the other; yet it seems no rash conjecture that deep policy may have prompted it. To cross the Ægean, even now, with all the modern improvements in navigation, is singularly dangerous. To double the cape of Athos is still more formidable. The object therefore being to add the countries west of the Ægean sea to the Persian dominion, it was of no small consequence to lessen the danger and delays of the passage for a fleet[a]. At the same time, to facilitate the communication by land, a bridge was laid over the river Strymon. Magazines meanwhile were formed all along the coast as far as Macedonia;

Herod. l. 7. c. 21. Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 2.

[a] Scarcely any circumstance of the expedition of Xerxes is more strongly supported by historical testimony than the making of the canal of Athos. The informed and exact Thucydides, who had property in Thrace, lived part of his time upon that property, and held at one time an important command there, speaks of the canal of Athos, made by the king of Persia, with perfect confidence (1). Plato, Isocrates, and Lysias (2), all mention it as an undoubted fact; the latter adding that it was, in his time, still a subject of wonder and of common conversation. Diodorus relates the fact not less positively than Herodotus. That part of Strabo which described Thrace is unfortunately lost; but the canal of Xerxes remains confidently mentioned in the epitome of his work. The place was moreover so surrounded with Grecian settlements, that it seems impossible for such a report, if unfounded, to have held any credit. At the very time of the expedition of Xerxes there were no fewer than five Grecian towns on the peninsula itself of Athos, one even on the isthmus, situate, as Thucydides particularly mentions, close to the canal, and many on the adjacent coasts (3). Yet Juvenal has chosen the story of this canal for an exemplification of the Grecian disposition to lie: and a traveller who two centuries ago visited, or thought he visited the place, has asserted that he could find no vestige of the work (4). For myself I must own that I cannot consider the sarcasm of a satirist wanting to say a smart thing, or such negative evidence as that of the modern traveller, of any weight against the concurring testimonies of the writers above quoted.

(1) Thucyd. l. 4. c. 109.
(2) Plat. de Leg. l. 3. p. 699. t. 2. Isocrat. Paneg. p. 222. t. 1. Lys. or. funeb.
(3) Herod. l. 7. c. 22. Thucyd. l. 4. c. 109. Excerpt. ex Strab. l. 7.
(4) Bellon. Singul. Rer. Obser. p. 78.

donia; chiefly in the towns of the Grecian colonies now subject to Persia.

Ol. 74. ¾. B. C. 481. Herod. l. 7. c. 26. At length, the levies being completed, the forces from all the eastern and southern provinces were assembled at Critali in Cappadocia. Thither the monarch himself went to take the command. He marched immediately to Sardis; where the landforce from the west of Asia Minor joined him. Thence heralds were sent into Greece, to all the cities except Athens and Lacedæmon; where, in violation of the law of nations, even of that age, the Persian heralds, in the reign of Darius, had been cruelly put to death. Earth and water were demanded in token of subjection; and, according to the oriental custom, orders were given to prepare entertainment for the king against his arrival. Xerxes wintered at Sardis. Meanwhile a work, scarcely inferior to the canal of Athos, was prepared in the Hellespont. Two bridges of boats were extended, from near Abydus on the Asiatic, to near Sestos on the European shore. The width is seven furlongs. The bridges were contrived, one to resist the current, which is always strong from the Propontis, the other to withstand the winds, which are often violent from the Ægean sea; so that each protected the other.

Herod. l. 7. c. 33. Plat. de Leg. l. 3. p. 699. t. 2. Strab. l. 13. p. 591.

Ol. 74. B. C. 480. Herod. l. 7. c. 37, & seq. Early in spring the army moved. For so vast a multitude one principal difficulty was so to direct the march that water might not fail. Several rivers of some name were found unequal to the supply; and among them the celebrated stream of Scamander, crossing the Trojan plain. Seven days and nights were employed unintermittingly, in passing the bridges of the Hellespont. The march was then continued through the Chersonese. The fleet, which had been assembled in the Hellespont, was at the same time ordered to proceed along the coast westward. The land and sea forces met again at Doriscus near the mouth of the Hebrus, where Darius, on his return from his Scythian expedition, had established a Persian garrison. Both the country and the coast there were favorable for the review of so immense an armament, and there accordingly the monarch reviewed his forces both of sea and land.

There, too, Herodotus tells us, the army was mustered. Later antient writers have taken upon them to differ from him concerning

its

its strength; but we may best believe the simple honesty of the original historian, who, in describing the manner of the muster, sufficiently shows that even the Persian generals themselves knew not how to ascertain the numbers under their command. Indeed those who know how difficult it is, amid all the accuracy of division and the minuteness of detail in modern European armies, and comparatively handfuls of men, to acquire exact information of effective numbers, will little expect it among the almost countless bands, of various languages and widely differing customs, which composed the military multitude under Xerxes. Herodotus reckons in it no less than twenty-nine nations, from Scythia north to Ethiopia south, and from India east to Thrace and Libya west. To acquire a foundation for guessing the total effective strength, without an attempt to ascertain the detail, the method taken by the Persian generals, he says, was this: Ten thousand men, being counted, were formed in a circle as close as possible. A fence was then raised around them. They were dismissed, and all the army in turn passed into this inclosure, till the whole was thus counted by tens of thousands. According to this muster, such as it was, the historian says the infantry alone amounted to one million seven hundred thousand fighting men; but he expressly declares, that no one ever undertook to give an account of the detail[3]. The cavalry he makes only eighty thousand; by no means an improbable number, and likely to have been better ascertained. Arabian camel-riders and African charioteers he computes at twenty thousand. Horses, mules, asses, oxen, and camels, for the baggage, were besides innumerable.

Herod. l. 7. c. 60.

Herod. l. 7. c. 87.

Of the fleet he gives a more particular account. The trireme galleys of war amounted to twelve hundred and seven; and his distribution, which may show the comparative naval strength of different nations at the time, makes the total appear scarcely beyond probability. Three hundred were furnished by the Phenicians with the Syrians of Palestine; two hundred by Egypt; one hundred and fifty by Cyprus; Cilicia sent one hundred; Pamphylia thirty; Lycia fifty; Caria seventy; thirty were provided by the Dorian Greeks of Asia, one

Herod. l. 7. c. 89.

[3] Ὅσον μὲν νῦν ἕκαστοι παρεῖχον πλήθεος ἀριθμόν, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν τὸ ἀτρεκές· οὐ γὰρ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων. l. vii. c. 60.

hundred

hundred by the Ionians, sixty by the Æolians, seventeen by the islands, and by the Hellespontine towns one hundred. The average complement of men to each trireme galley he reckons at two hundred. The crews of the whole fleet would thus amount to two hundred and forty-one thousand four hundred. But, over-and-above the ordinary crew, there were thirty Persians or Medes or Sacians in each galley. These would make an addition of thirty-six thousand two hundred and ten men. The Phenician ships, he says, were the best sailers, and among those the Sidonian excelled. Beside these, the transports, some for infantry, some particularly fitted for cavalry, storeships, some of vast burden, together with smaller vessels of various sorts and for various purposes attending the fleet, would not easily be numbered. He reckons them, by a gross calculation, at three thousand, and their average crews at eighty men: the amount of their crews would thus be two hundred and forty thousand; and the number of men in the fleet, all together, five hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten.

Of this extraordinary expedition naturally many anecdotes would be remembered and propagated; many true, many false, mistaken, or exaggerated. Among those related by Herodotus, some appear perfectly probable; some concern circumstances of which he could hardly have had authentic information; and some are utterly inconsistent with the characters to whom they refer. Among the latter I should reckon the ridiculous punishment of the Hellespont by stripes and chains, together with executions, equally impolitic as inhuman, and repugnant to what we learn on best authority of the manners of the Persians. But the account which that historian gives of the march of the army, and of the attending motions of the fleet, is clear and consistent beyond what might be expected. The march was continued from Doriscus in three columns. One, under Mardonius and Masistes, kept along the coast, the fleet nearly accompanying it. Another, under Tritantæchmes and Gergis, proceeded far within land. Xerxes himself led the third between the other two, Smerdomenes and Megabyzus commanding under him. They passed the Samothracian towns, the most westerly of which was Mesambria on the river Lissus, on whose opposite bank was Stryma, a town belonging to the islanders of Thasus.

Herod. l. 7. c. 35, & 39.

Herod. l. 7. c. 121.

Herod. l. 7. c. 108, & seq.

Thasus. This river did not suffice for the consumption of the army. Maronæa, Dicæa, Abdera, Grecian colonies, lay next on the road. Everywhere the commands to prepare for the reception of the monarch and his forces had been zealously executed. Beside vast magazines of corn, meat, and forage for the troops, many of the cities, emulous to court favor, or anxious to avert wrath, had prepared, with a sumptuousness proportioned to their hopes and fears rather than to their revenues, for the entertainment of the king and his court. Wherever the halt of the royal train had been announced, a superb pavilion was erected, adorned with the most costly furniture. Many cities provided even vessels of gold and silver for the table. The rapacious attendants of the Persian court spared nothing; in the morning, when the army marched, all was carried off. This eastern style of robbery gave occasion for a saying of Megacreon of Abdera, which Herodotus has recorded as having become popular, 'That the Abderites ought to go 'with their wives in procession to their temples, and pray to the gods 'always equally to avert half the evils that threatened: for upon the 'present occasion their most grateful thanks were due for the favor 'shown in disposing Xerxes to eat but once a day; since, if he had 'chosen to dine on the morrow as he had supped over night, there 'would have been an end of Abdera.'

Herod. l. 7. c. 118, & seq.

Not contented with their forces, already innumerable, the Persians continued everywhere on their march to press men. The youth, equally Grecian and Thracian, were compelled to join either the army or the navy. Yet, according to Herodotus, the Thracians preserved such veneration for the soil which this enormous armament had trodden, that to his time they avoided breaking or sowing it. He does not account for this particularity; but perhaps the Persians favored the Thracians against the Greeks; all whose establishments on that coast were incroachments upon Thracian ground. From Abdera the division under Xerxes proceeded to Eion (a Grecian town on the river Strymon, with a Persian garrison, established there by Darius) and thence by Argilus and Stageirus to Acanthus, all Grecian settlements. In the neighbourhood of Acanthus the three divisions met; and there Artachæas, a Persian of high rank, related to the royal family, and in

Herod. l. 7. c. 108. & 110. Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 3.

great favor with Xerxes, died. The few words in which Herodotus describes his funeral, contribute to show the extensiveness, and to connect from remotest antiquity the history, of those artificial mounts, numerous in our own country, as in many other parts of the world. The whole army, he says, heaped the mount which formed the sepulchral monument of Artachæas[4]. After this solemn ceremony the march was continued westward, with the country called Chalcidicë, full of Grecian settlements, on the left. The fleet, which had met the army at Acanthus, proceeded thence through the canal of Athos, and round the peninsulas of Sithonia and Pallenë, into the bay of Thermë; pressing ships and seamen at all the Grecian towns on the coast. The army, arriving soon after, occupied with its incampment the whole extent of the Macedonian shore, from Thermë and the borders of Mygdonia, to the river Haliacmon near the borders of Thessaly.

[4] Ἐτυμβοχόεε δὲ πᾶσα ἡ στρατιή. l. vii. c. 117. Homer gives a corresponding description of the sepulchral barrow raised by the Grecian army under Agamemnon in honor of the heroes who fell before Troy.

Ἀμφ' αὐτοίσι δ' ἔπειτα μέγαν καὶ ἀμύμονα τύμβον
Χεύαμεν Ἀργείων ἱερὸς στρατὸς αἰχμητάων,
Ἀκτῇ ἐπὶ προὐχούσῃ ἐπὶ πλάτεϊ Ἑλλησπόντῳ·
Ὡς κεν τηλεφανὴς ἐκ πουλύφιν ἀνδράσιν εἴη
Τοῖς ὁὶ νῦν γεγάασι, καὶ οἱ μετόπισθεν ἔσονται· Odyss. l. xxiv. v. 84.

Now all the sons of warlike Greece surround,
The destin'd tomb, and cast a mighty mound.
High on the shore the growing hill we raise,
That wide th' extended Hellespont surveys:
Where all, from age to age, who pass the coast,
May point Achilles' tomb Pope's Odyss. b. xxiv. v. 101.

The concluding words of the line, 'and hail 'the mighty ghost,' are an addition of the translator, not warranted by Homer, in this or any other passage of his works.

The custom of forming these sepulchral barrows, long lost over the greater part of Europe, is yet preserved in Spain. 'By the 'road-side,' says Townsend, 'are seen wooden 'crosses, to mark the spot where some un- 'happy traveller lost his life. The passen- 'gers think it a work of piety to cast a stone 'upon the monumental heap.—Whatever 'may have been the origin of this practice, 'it is general over Spain.'—Journey through Spain, vol. 1. p. 200.

SECTION II.

State of Greece at the Time of the Invasion under Xerxes. Themistocles. Responses of the Delphian Oracle concerning the Invasion. Measures for forming a Confederacy of Grecian Commonwealths. Disunion among the Greeks. Assembly of Deputies from the confederated Commonwealths at Corinth. The Defence of Thessaly given up by the Confederates. Measures for defending the Pass of Thermopylæ.

THE Greeks had long had intelligence of the immense preparations making in Asia; professedly for the punishment of Athens, but evidently enough with more extensive views of conquest. Yet still, as on the former invasion, no measures were concerted in common for the general defence of the country. On the contrary, many of the small republics readily and even zealously made the demanded acknowlegement of subjection to the great king, by the delivery of earth and water [5]. Nor will this appear strange to those who read the honest historian of the age, and consider the real state of things in the country, however it may militate with later declamation on Grecian patriotism and love of liberty [6]. For it was surely no unreasonable opinion, held by many,

Herod. l. 7. c. 138.

[5] Οὔτε βουλομένων τῶν πολλῶν ἀντάπλεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, Μηδιζόντων δὲ προθύμως (1). This is in a great degree confirmed by Thucydides: Σπάνιον ἦν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τινὰ ἀρετὴν τῇ Ξέρξου δυνάμει ἀνθιτάξασθαι (2), and still more by Plato: Πολλὰ δὲ λέγων ἄν τις τὰ τότε γενόμενα περὶ ἐκεῖνον τὸν πόλεμον, τῆς Ἑλλάδος εὐδαμῶς ἐνσχήμονα ἂν καθηγορεῖ· οὐδ' ἂν ἀμύνασθαι τὴν γε Ἑλλάδα λέγων, ὀρθῶς ἂν λέγοι· ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ τό τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων νόημα ἤμυνε τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν δουλείαν, σχεδὸν ἂν ἤδη πάντ' ἦν μεμιγμένα. κ. τ. ε (3).

That declamation had its origin in Greece when Grecian liberty was in decay, but has been mostly produced under the pressure of the imperial despotism of Rome; when men, not daring to speak directly of the government under which they lived, injoyed a weak revenge in reviling it obliquely, or in obliquely exciting opposition to it, through immoderate eulogy of times past. Thus we have seen, in modern Europe, people denied the liberty of speaking, concerning the government of their own country, with eager zeal take an interest in English and American politics.

1) Herod. l. 7. c. 138. (2) Thucyd. l. 3. c. 56. (3) Plat de Leg. l. 3. p. 692. t. 2.

that the might of Persia was irresistible [7]. All the Asian Greeks had formerly in vain attempted to defend themselves against the very inferior potentate of Lydia; and, when reduced, they scarcely found themselves losers, but on the contrary seem to have been in many points gainers by their subjection. But now that immense power, which had not only swallowed up the Lydian monarchy with all its appendages, but was already far advanced into Europe, and, to a land-force that could not be numbered, added by far the greatest naval strength, collected from various subject states, that had ever been seen in the world, how was it to be resisted by a few little republics, whose territories together were comparatively but a spot, and which were nevertheless incapable of any firm political union among one another? Quiet men would naturally think it wisely done to merit favor by early submission; and the ambitious might hope that their field would even be extended, through the establishment of the Persian dominion in Greece. Some would, perhaps not unreasonably, prefer subjection under the Persian empire, before submission to the domineering spirit of the Spartan oligarchy [8]; while the more oppressive tyranny of the Athenian democracy had yet little shown itself. Some might even wish for a superintending authority to repress those often horrid violences of domestic faction, by which almost every Grecian city was unceasingly torn. Those therefore who had given the demanded earth and water rested satisfied in the confidence that they should suffer nothing: those who had refused were in very great alarm [9]. 'And here,' says Herodotus, 'I am driven of necessity to profess an opinion, invidious 'I know to most men, which yet, as I think it the truth, I shall not 'withhold. If the Athenians, in dread of the approaching danger, had 'either fled their country, or surrendered themselves, not even an 'attempt could have been made to oppose the enemy by sea. What 'then would have followed may be easily conceived. The fortified

[7] Even Isocrates admits this as a sufficient apology for the smaller Grecian states: Ἡγοῦντο γὰρ τὰις μὲν ταπεινὰις τῶν πόλεων προσήκειν ἐξ ἁπάντος τρόπου ζητεῖν τὴν σωτηρίαν. Panegyr. p. 226, t. 1. ed. Auger.

[8] See the Panathenaic of Isocrates.

[9] Οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτέων, δόντες γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, εἶχον θάρσος ὡς οὐδὲν παυσόμενοι ἄχαρι πρὸς τοῦ βαρβάρου· οἱ δὲ οὐ δόντες ἐν δείματι μεγάλῳ κατέστασαν. Herod. l. 7. c. 138.

'lines

'lines proposed by the Peloponnesians across the Corinthian isthmus 'would have been nugatory. For the Persian, having it in his choice 'where to make his attack by sea, would have subdued the several 'states one by one; and the Lacedæmonians at last, reduced to their 'single strength, would have had no alternative but to die gloriously, 'or submit to a power which they could no longer withstand; so that 'all Greece must inevitably have fallen under the Persian yoke. 'Whoever therefore shall say that the Athenians preserved Greece, 'will not err from the truth: for, to whichsoever party they joined 'themselves, that must preponderate. Their resolution then being 'decided by their zeal for Grecian independency, THEY excited to 'energy those Grecian states which had not yet submitted to Persia; 'and THEY, next under the gods, repelled the invasion.'

This testimony in favor of Athens appears upon the whole not less true than honorable. But as the business of history is neither panegyric nor satire, but to form a just estimate of the conduct and characters of men, it will be proper, as we have adverted to the circumstances which might apologize for those Greeks who yielded on the first summons, to advert also to the circumstances which led the Athenians to such determined and animated opposition to the Persian power. Nor is the investigation difficult. The burning of Sardis first, then their treatment of the Persian heralds, and finally their victory at Marathon, had made the Athenians so peculiarly obnoxious that, in submitting, they could little hope for favorable terms. Tho, moreover, Hippias was now dead, yet the Peisistratid party still existed; and the court of the satrap of Sardis was the common resort of Grecian refugees; of whom some, richer or more aspiring, or of rank to introduce them to consideration, carried their intrigues as far as the monarch's court at Susa. Among these Herodotus names some Thessalian princes, some of the Peisistratids, and more particularly Demaratus, the banished king of Sparta, who had received a most liberal provision from the generosity of the late Persian monarch, Darius. All would expect to profit from the success of the Persian arms in Greece; to which indeed many looked as the only circumstance that could ever restore them to their country; while, on the contrary, those who now led the affairs of

Herod. l. 7. c. 3. & 6.

Herod. l. 7. c. 104.

the

the Athenian commonwealth must, on that very account, expect from it the more inevitable and deeper ruin. But the glorious day of Marathon would naturally give new energy to every Athenian mind. Extraordinary success easily excites among a people the presumption that nothing is too arduous for them. Now also, as on the invasion under Datis, there arose among the Athenians a leader born for the occasion.

Corn. Nep. & Plutarch. vit. Themist.

Themistocles was a man of birth less illustrious than those who had hitherto generally swayed the Athenian counsels; but whom very extraordinary talents, joined with a general vehemence of temper, and

Herod. l. 7. c. 143.

a singular enthusiasm for glory, could not fail of raising, in a popular government, to the highest political eminence. We have observed how the war with the little iland of Ægina had contributed to the for-

Herod. l. 7. c. 144. Plut. vit. Themist.

mer spirited opposition of Athens to Persia. It is the remark of Herodotus that, upon the present occasion also, Greece owed its preservation to that war; for it was that war which first obliged the Athenians to

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 14.

raise a marine. At Laureium, in Attica, was a very productive silver-mine, public property. But it had been determined, in the true spirit of democracy, that as the treasury was rich, the revenue from the mine, instead of being reserved for public service, should be divided among all the Athenian people for their private use. That enthusiastic ardor for a great object which, when genius feels, it can communicate, Themistocles communicated among the Athenian youth. While their minds were generally exasperated against the Æginetans, he procured a decree, which the graver and more experienced leading men had not dared even to propose, that no dividend should be made of the income from the mines, till two hundred trireme galleys were built with it. The threatened invasion from the East had stopped the Æginetan war, and the galleys were now complete.

What Herodotus relates concerning the consultation of the Delphian oracle, in this tremendous crisis, tends much to mark the temper and character of the times, which modern language will more perfectly portray, the more nearly it can imitate the expression of the original.

Herod. l. 7. c. 139. & seq.

'Neither then,' says the historian, continuing his panegyric of Athens, 'did the alarming oracles from Delphi, however inspiring terror, per-'suade the Athenians to desert the cause of Greece. For persons

deputed

'deputed by public authority to consult the god [10], having performed 'the prescribed ceremonies, entered the temple; and, as they sat by 'the shrine, the Pythoness, whose name was Aristonica, prophesied 'thus: "Wretches, why sit ye there? Leave your houses and the "lofty ramparts of your city, and fly to the farthest parts of the "earth. For not the head shall remain firm, nor the body, nor the "extreme feet; not therefore the hands, nor shall aught of the middle "remain, but all shall pass unregarded. For fire and keen Mars, "urging the Syrian chariot, shall destroy. Nor yours alone, but many "other strong towers shall he overthrow. Many temples of the im-"mortal gods shall he give to the consuming fire. Even now they "stand dropping sweat, and shaking with terror. Black blood flows "over their highest roofs, foreseeing the necessities of wretchedness. "Depart therefore from the sanctuary, and diffuse the mind in evils." 'The Athenian deputies were thrown into the deepest consternation. 'Consulting with Timon son of Androbulus, one of the principal Del-'phian citizens, he advised them to take the symbols of suppliants, and 'go again to the oracle. They did so, and addressed the shrine thus: "O soverein power, prophesy to us more propitiously for our country, "regarding these suppliant tokens which we bear; or we will not "depart from the sanctuary, but remain here even until we die.' The prophetess answered: "Minerva is unable to appease Olympian Jupiter, "tho intreating with many words and deep wisdom. Again, therefore, "I speak in adamantine terms. All else, within Cecropian bounds "and the recesses of divine Cithæron, shall fall. The wooden wall "alone great Jupiter grants to Minerva to remain inexpugnable, a "refuge to you and your children. Wait not, therefore, the approach "of horse or foot, an immense army, coming from the continent; but "retreat, turning the back, even tho they be close upon you. O divine "Salamis! thou shalt lose the sons of women, whether Ceres be scat-"tered or gathered! [11].'

'Writing

[10] Θεοπρόποι is their Grecian title, for which modern speech cannot, without many words, give an equivalent phrase.

[11] These two oracles, thoi n verse in the original, fall remarkably into English almost word for word; even the ambiguous expressions almost esactly corresponding in the two languages. It is not every oracle reported.

'Writing down this answer, which appeared milder than the former, 'the deputies returned to Athens. Various opinions were held among 'the Athenian elders about the meaning of words which interested 'them so deeply. Some thought they directed the defence of the cita- 'del, which having been antiently surrounded by a palisade, might be 'intended by the term wooden wall. Others insisted that the wooden 'wall could mean nothing but the fleet, upon which alone, therefore, 'the oracle incouraged them to depend: yet this construction seemed 'overthrown by the concluding sentence, which the diviners deemed 'to portend that, if the fleet ventured an ingagement, it would be de- 'feated off Salamis. They advised, therefore, by no means to risk 'any kind or degree of ingagement, but to make use of the fleet for 'quitting, with their families and effects, a country which they could 'not defend, and to seek a settlement elsewhere.'

It was not likely that the prudent managers of the Delphian oracle would prophesy anything very favorable to Athens, so peculiarly devoted to Persian vengeance, when the innumerable forces of that mighty empire were already assembled at Sardis, while the little country of Greece was so unprepared and so disunited. Yet the consultation was probably a necessary compliance with popular prejudice; and it depended then upon genius to interpret the response advantageously, after having perhaps suggested what might bear an advantageous interpretation. Themistocles was not at a loss upon this occasion. 'There 'was one emphatical word,' he said, 'which clearly proved the inter- 'pretation of the diviners to be wrong. For if the last sentence had 'been meant unfavorably to the Athenians, the oracle would scarcely 'have used the expression, 'O divine Salamis,' but rather, 'O wretched 'Salamis.' Defeat at sea was therefore portended not to them but to 'their enemies: the wooden wall unquestionably meant their fleet; 'and a naval ingagement must save the country.' The Athenian multitude was predisposed to the character and sentiments of Themistocles.

Herod. ibid. & Plut. vit. Themist.

ported by Greek authors that can be thus literally rendered, or even rendered at all, in another language, if indeed they bear any certain sense in the original. It has therefore been a prudent practice of translators to give their representations of them in verse.

It was determined, in pursuance of his opinion, to put the whole strength of the commonwealth to the navy, to increase the number of ships as fast as possible, and, together with such other Greeks as could be persuaded to join them, to meet the enemy at sea.

Then at last measures were taken for forming a league among those Grecian states which, according to the historian's expression, were inclined to the better cause [12]. It was presently agreed that all enmities among themselves should cease: for many yet existed, and principally between Athens and Ægina. Information came that Xerxes was arrived at Sardis. Beside that his court was a common resort for refugee Greeks, many of his Ionian and Æolian subjects would be constantly about it, tho probably very few of them ever near his person. Means were, however, thus open for the Greeks to pass with little suspicion, and easily to acquire information concerning all public transactions of the Persian government. To ascertain report, and to pry if possible more deeply into things, some confidential persons were sent to Sardis. They were apprehended as spies, and condemned to death: but the circumstances being reported to Xerxes, that prince, disapproving the rigid caution of his officers, directed that the spies should be carried round the whole army, and, after seeing every thing, dismissed with passports to go where they pleased. Some ships about the same time carrying corn from the Euxine for Ægina and Peloponnesus, were stopped by the Persian officers in the Hellespont. Xerxes directed that they should be suffered to proceed on their voyage: 'For,' said he, 'we are going to the same country, and the corn may be useful to 'us.' The appearance of magnanimity in this conduct is lessened by the immensity of the Persian armament, seemingly far overproportioned to its object; yet upon the whole the anecdotes are not unworthy of the son of Darius, and grandson of Cyrus. Analagous transactions may have happened among other people in other ages: a story similar to the former is related in Roman history. But in justice to Xerxes it ought not to be forgotten that he stands first on record for this treatment, generous at least, if we refuse to call it magnanimous, of enemies whose lives were forfeited by the law of nations of all ages.

Herod. l. 7. c. 146, 147. Polyæn. Stratag. l. 7. c. 15. Plut. Apophth.

Polyb. l. 15. p. 695. Liv. l. 30. c. 29. Frontin. l. 4. c. 7.

[12] Ἑλλήνων τῶν τὰ ἀμείνω φρονεόντων. Herod. l. 7. c. 145.

Herod. l. 7. c. 145. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 14.

The principal Grecian states, whose resolutions remained yet doubtful, were Argos, Corcyra, Syracuse, and the Cretan cities. Ministers were sent to all, urging them to an alliance against Persia. Argos had not, with the power, lost all the pride of her antient preëminence among the Grecian states. Weak still from slaughter in battle, and the massacre which followed, in the invasion under Cleomenes; nourishing, since those events, an increased animosity against Lacedæmon, and fearing worse oppression from neighboring Greeks than from the distant Persian, the Argians applied to the Delphian oracle for advice, or, perhaps, negotiated for sanction to resolutions already taken. The response, evidently composed by a friend to the Argians, appears, as far as it can be understood, to favor their antient pretension to superiority over all other Grecian states, and at the same time to direct them to enter into no league for common defence, but meerly to provide for their own security. They nevertheless received the ministers of the confederates with great civility; and having, in the oracular response, an excuse, which Grecian religion could not dispute, for refusing, if they chose it, to ingage in any league, they endevored to profit from the pressing necessity of the occasion, for procuring advantageous terms as the price of their assistance. They required, first, that the Lacedæmonians should bind themselves to maintain peace with them for thirty years; and then they said that, tho command among the Grecian states justly belonged to Argos, yet they would be contented to share it equally with Sparta. The Lacedæmonian deputies hesitated and gave an unsatisfactory answer. The Argians closed the conference with declaring, 'That the Spartan arrogance was intolerable; they would rather be commanded by the barbarians than subject to Lacedæmon;' and they ordered the ministers to leave the Argian territory before sunset, on pain of being treated as enemies. This, says, Herodotus, is what the Argians themselves say about these matters. Other reports less favorable to them were current in Greece. But after an account of these the historian adds: 'I do not undertake to vouch for these stories, nor for anything relating to the business, farther than credit is due to what the Argians themselves say. But this I know, that if all men were to bring their domestic disgraces together,

Herod. l. 6. c. 76. & seq. l. 7. c. 148. & Isocrat. Panathen.

Herod. l. 7. c. 148. & seq.

'together, for the purpose of exchanging with their neighbors, they 'would no sooner have inspected those of others than all would most 'willingly take back their own. Thus neither upon this occasion was 'the conduct of the Argians the most shameful [13].'

The ministers of the confederates were not more successful in Crete. Herodotus, from whom alone we have any detail of the political affairs of these times, was too nearly cotemporary to be totally unbiassed by the interest, which persons, yet living, would have in the credit of the principal actors. He makes a handsome apology for the refusal of the Cretans to join in the confederacy. They were desirous, he says, of taking their share in the common defence of Greece, but an oracle forbad them. In regard to the Corcyræans he has not been scrupulous: he plainly accuses them of scandalous treachery to the Grecian cause, after having ingaged themselves to support it. Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse, was a very powerful prince, and his alliance would have been a great acquisition. But difficulties arose in accommodating his pretensions to command with those of the leading states of Greece. Partly absurd pride, partly perhaps a reasonable jealousy, prevented them from immediately acceding to his terms; and, in the mean time, the invasion of Sicily by a Carthaginian army made his whole force necessary at home.

Herod. l. 7. c. 169.

Herod. l. 7. c. 168. & Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 15.

Herod. l. 7. c. 153, & seq.

Corinth was the place appointed for the meeting of deputies from the confederated states, to consult about the conduct of the war. None, among the Grecian people, had been more forward to join the confederacy than the Thessalians. Intelligence arrived that the Persian army had crossed the Hellespont, and was directing its march westward. This decided that Thessaly was the frontier to be first attacked. The Thessalians reasonably expected that a force would immediately be assembled, competent, as far as the strength of Greece might admit, for the defence of the passes into their country. Alarmed to find no measures taken for that purpose, they hastened a remonstrance to Corinth, urging, that the strength of their province alone was utterly unequal to oppose the prodigious army coming against them; that

[13] The testimony of Plato to the justice of this assertion (De Leg. l. 3. p. 692. t. 2.) may suffice to turn upon Plutarch himself that charge of malignity which he has urged against Herodotus.

it ought not to be expected they should sacrifice themselves, with their families, for the sake of people who would not stir to assist them; that a powerful body must therefore, without delay, join them from the southern states; otherwise, however unwilling, they must necessarily endevor to make terms with the enemy. This reasonable remonstrance roused the sluggish and hesitating counsels of the confederacy.

Herod. l. 7. c. 173. Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 2.

A body of foot was imbarked under the command of Evænetus, a Lacedæmonian, and Themistocles the Athenian. They proceeded through the Euripus to Allus, a port of Thessalian Achaia; and then, marching across the country, occupied the valley of Tempë, between the mountains Olympus and Ossa, the only pass from Lower Macedonia into Thessaly. The infantry, from different states, amounted to ten thousand men. Thessaly was the only province of Greece that possessed any considerable strength of cavalry. The whole of the Thessalian horse joined the confederate infantry, and together they made a force competent to defend the pass against any numbers.

Herod. l. 7. c. 173.

But the Grecian army had not been many days incamped in Tempë, when confidential messengers arrived from Alexander son of Amyntas, a Macedonian man, as Herodotus in the simple language of his age calls him, tho king of Macedonia by inheritance from a long race of ancestors, claiming their descent from Hercules. The Macedonians represented, that the invader's force by land and sea was immense: that there was another way into Thessaly, practicable for an army, from Upper Macedonia through Perrhæbia, to the town of Gonnus, so that, in their station in Tempë, they might be taken in the rear[14]; and if they would avoid being trodden under foot by their enemies, they would do well to retreat in time. The Grecian leaders, in pursuance of this

[14] Our geographical information concerning this country, tho much improved of very late years, is still very deficient. The able and indefatigable D'Anville seems to have been able to procure none of any value. His map, to which, in the want of another guide of any comparable reputation, I trusted for the former editions, is grossly incorrect. Some better information has been obtained through recent travellers, from which Barthelemi has profited. But since his work came out the modern geography of the countries round the Ægean has been very superiorly given, in a map compiled by De la Rochette, and published by Faden. With its assistance I have ventured to give the explanation in the text of a passage of Herodotus, in itself so far from clear, that translators and commentators, would they own the difficulty, might be excused their misconception of it.

advice,

advice, imbarked their troops again, and returned to the Corinthian isthmus. A party seems before to have existed among the Thessalians, disposed to the Persian interest. On the retreat of the confederate forces it became immediately the ruling party. The Thessalians hastened to make their submission to the Persian monarch; they ingaged even zealously in the cause, and their services in the progress of the war were eminent[15].

The Grecian confederacy, which remained to resist the whole force of the Persian empire, now consisted of a few little states, whose united territories did not equal single provinces of France, and the sum of whose population in free subjects was considerably inferior to that of Yorkshire in England. Nor was there, even among these, either a just unanimity, or any established mode of general administration, which could command the constant and regular exertion of united strength; which might have repressed the disaffected party among the Thessalians, and, obviating thus the necessity for the precipitate retreat from Tempë, might have delayed, or rendered very hazardous, the march of the Persian multitudes over the rough country northward of the Thessalian plain.

The valuable assistance of Thessaly being however lost, the consolation remained for the congress at Corinth that, as their defence was now narrowed, their strength, such as it was, would be less divided; the fleet might more certainly coöperate with the army, and if the attack was to begin nearer the center of the confederacy, the pressure itself of danger might inforce that union in council, without which all defence would be hopeless. The nature of their country, and of its surrounding seas, was a farther incouragement: the one everywhere mountainous, the other broken with innumerable ilands and headlands and subject to sudden storms, both were peculiarly favorable for defensive operations. The southern boundary of Thessaly, which now became their frontier, was advantageous beyond the rest. The ridge of Œta, which forms it, extends from sea to sea; everywhere impracticable for an army, or so nearly so, that the smallest force might successfully oppose the greatest. This ridge is crossed nearly at right-

Strab. l. 9. p. 418. & 428, 429.

[15] Ἐμήδισαν προθύμως, οὐδέ τι ἐνδοιασθῶς, ὥς τε ἐν τοῖσι πρήγμασι ἐφάνοντο βασιλεῖ ἄνδρες ἐόντες χρησιμώτατοι. Herod. l. 7. c. 174.

angles,

angles, by another scarcely less formidable; which, rising immediately from the Corinthian isthmus, stretches through the middle of Greece under various names, Helicon, Parnassus, Pindus, and, still in a northerly direction, shoots beyond Grecian bounds far among the barbarous nations. To enter Attica and Peloponnesus therefore, by the western side of the country, first Pindus, then Œta, then Parnassus, must be surmounted. On the eastern side Œta alone opposed itself. But here only one pass was known, where the ridge, at its eastern extremity, meets the sea. This was termed 'the Gate;' a term of precisely the same import in the common speech of many parts of England. In former ages the Phocians, on the south of the mountains, to prevent predatory incursions upon their lands from the Thessalians, who lived on the northern side, had occupied the commanding fastnesses, and established a garrison there. Across the middle of the narrow, where was a width of about fifty feet nearly level, they had erected a wall; and, to strengthen the defence, they formed, on the Thessalian side, an inundation from some hot springs, which rose near the foot of the mountain. Hence the place became distinguished from other mountain passes by the name of Thermopylæ, Hot-gates; but Pylæ, simply the Gates, as the most important pass of the kind within their country, remained always among them the ordinary appellation. A little north of Thermopylæ, the mountains so closed, and again, a little southward, they so pressed upon the sea, as barely to admit the passage of a single carriage. Nothing could be more commodious than this spot, for the small force of the Greeks to make a stand against the immense army of Persia. It had the farther extraordinary advantage that, near at hand, and within ready communication, was a secure road for a fleet; so landlocked as to favor that also against superior numbers, yet affording means of retreat. Hither it was determined to send the whole naval force that could be collected, together with a body of troops sufficient to defend the pass.

Strab. l. 9. p. 418. 428, 429. & p. 434.

Herod. l. 7. c. 176.

But in the conduct even of this business, we find the union of the confederated states extremely defective. Jealous of one another, destitute of any sufficient power extending over the whole, and fearing, not unreasonably, the naval superiority of the enemy, which might put it completely in his choice where, when, and how he would make his

attacks, each little republic seems to have been anxious to reserve its strength for future contingencies. Even Lacedæmon again, as in the former war, pretended religion as a hindrance. The festival called Carneia was to be celebrated, immediately after which the whole force of the state should march against the enemy. Most of the Peloponnesian cities made similar excuses; and where no peculiar religious ceremony could be pleaded, the Olympian festival, whose period coincided with these events, was a common excuse for all who wanted one. Lacedæmon therefore sent only three hundred men; Corinth four hundred; Phlius two hundred; Mycenæ (at this time, tho an inconsiderable town, yet independent of Argos) sent eighty men. The mountaineers of Arcadia alone, unversed in the wiles of politics, and unable to estimate the danger to be expected from naval operations, honestly exerted their strength in the common cause. The cities of Tegea and Mantineia sent each five hundred soldiers: the other towns made the whole number of Arcadians two thousand one hundred and twenty. To these the little city of Thespiæ in Bœotia added no less than seven hundred: Thebes, ill-affected to the cause, gave only four hundred. The whole strength of Athens went to the naval armament. The other provinces without Peloponnesus had no large towns, and their inhabitants, less civilized, were little politically connected with the southern states.

Herod. l. 7. c. 206.

Herod. l. 7. c. 202. Pausan. l. 10. c. 20.

The assembly at Corinth, however, was not wanting either in industry or ingenuity, to persuade and incourage those nearest to the point of attack to use their utmost exertion against the invader. Ministers were sent through their towns and villages: 'The force,' they were told, 'now marching for their protection, was only 'the advanced guard of a powerful army, expected every day. 'That excessive fear of the Persian power, which had so pervaded 'Greece,' it was added, 'was absurd. For from the sea there was no 'cause for apprehension. The Athenians, Æginetans, and others who 'composed the allied fleet, were fully equal to the defence of the 'country on that side. Nor was it a god that was coming against 'them, but a man; and there neither was, nor ever would be a mortal, 'in whose lot, from his very birth, evil was not mingled, and most in 'the lot of those of highest station. In the common course of things, 'therefore,

Herod. l. 7. c. 203.

'therefore, their invader, a meer mortal, would be disappointed of his 'hope.' Hearing these things, continues the historian, whose original and almost cotemporary pencil gives us the very lineaments of the age, the Opuntian Locrians marched with their whole force, and the Phocians sent a thousand men. Leonidas, one of the kings of Sparta, commanded in chief.

SECTION III.

Station of the Grecian Army at Thermopylæ; of the Fleet at Artemisium. Responses of the Delphian Oracle. Progress of the Persian Fleet to Sepias; of the Army to Thermopylæ. Numbers of the Persian Forces. Storm and Shipwreck at Sepias. Battle of Thermopylæ.

Ol. 74. 4. 75. 1. B. C. 480. XERXES halted several days at Thermë, to refresh his troops, to acquire intelligence, and to collect guides capable of conducting his multitudes through the difficult country to which he was approaching.

Herod. l. 7. c. 127, 128. & 131. It was determined to proceed by Upper Macedonia into Thessaly; that road being more favorable than the shorter way by the valley of Tempë. By sea the Grecian coast was so near, that the fleet remained in the bay of Thermë eleven days, after the army had recommenced its march.

l. 8. c. 12. l. 7. c. 177. Sumner was already advanced, when intelligence reached the assembly at Corinth, that Xerxes was arrived in Pieria. The forces under Leonidas then immediately marched to their station at Thermopylæ, and the fleet proceeded to the neighboring road of Artemisium, on the

c. 179, 180. Eubœan coast. Hence three galleys, one of Trœzen, one of Ægina, the third Athenian, were sent off the iland of Sciathus, to watch the motions of the enemy. Ten Persian galleys, also sent to explore, fell in with them. The Greeks immediately fled. The Trœzenian ship and the Æginetan were taken with their crews. The Athenian captain ran his galley ashore near the mouth of the Peneius, and escaped by land with his people. The Persians took possession of the deserted vessel. Immediately signals by fire, from the heights of Sciathus, gave notice to the Greeks at Artemisium of the enemy's approach. So little firm were the leaders yet in their counsels, and so extremely apprehensive

hensive of the enemy's great superiority, that they immediately withdrew their fleet to Chalcis, proposing to defend the narrow pass of the Euripus [16]. Scouts were left on the heights at the northwestern end of Eubœa, still to watch the enemy.

In this time, indeed, of extreme difficulty and danger to the Greeks, constant and equal prudence appears scarcely anywhere, but among the managers of the Delphian oracle. The Delphian citizens, dreading, like others, the approaching invasion, consulted their god. The response directed them to pray to the winds; for these might be powerful assistants to Greece. This divine admonition was communicated among the confederate Greeks, and most thankfully received [17]. Another response was reported, directing the Athenians to invoke their son-in-law. According to antient tradition, Boreas god of the northwind, coming from Thrace, perhaps reälly a Thracian chief of that name, had married Oreithyia daughter of Erechtheus king of Attica. The prayers of the Athenians were therefore particularly directed to the northwind, with some confidence, at least among the vulgar, that they were not without peculiar interest with that deity. Those indeed who know the power of whistling, or of an eggshell, upon the minds of English seamen at this day, may imagine what the incouragement of the Delphian oracle to expect assistance from Boreas and their princess Oreithyia, might do among the Athenians. The event, however, which soon followed, gave more solid ground of hope, and might naturally excite the recollection of the relation of Athens to the northwind, if it had not before been thought of.

Herod. l. 7. c. 178.

c. 189.

The ten Persian galleys, after the capture of the Grecian vessels, proceeded in their business of exploring; but in passing between the iland of Sciathus and the main, three of them struck upon a rock called Myrmex. The fleet, as we have observed, lay in the bay of Thermë eleven days after the king had recommenced his march. Upon intelligence from the exploring ships that the passage to the Grecian coast was clear of the enemy, and dangerous only from rocks, vessels were sent

c. 183.

[16] Καταῤῥωδήσαντες, is the strong expression of Herodotus (l. 7. c. 182.) In another place he adds the corroborating adverb δεινῶς.

[17] Καὶ σφι, δεινῶς καταῤῥωδέουσι τὸν βάρβαρον, ἐξαγγείλαντες, χάριν ἀθάνατον κατέθεντο. Herod. l. 7. c. 178.

sent with stone to erect a mark on the Myrmex, and Pammon, a Greek of the iland of Scyros (for Herodotus has been careful to record the traitor's name) was ingaged to pilot the fleet through the channel of Sciathus. Proceeding then from the bay of Thermë, one day brought them to the bay between the town of Casthanæa and the foreland of Sepias, on the Thessalian coast.

Herod. l. 7. c. 184.

The army meanwhile had made its way through Upper Macedoniâ into Perrhæbia, and across Thessaly to the neighborhood of Thermopylæ, without opposition. Here Herodotus again enumerates the Persian forces by land and sea, with the addition acquired since the departure of the armament from Doriscus. This addition, he says, cannot be ascertained, but may be computed. The Greeks of Thrace and the adjacent ilands furnished one hundred and twenty ships, whose crews would amount to about twenty-four thousand men. The land-force, from the various people of Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly, he estimates at three hundred thousand. The number of fighting men in the whole armament, by sea and land, would thus be two million six hundred forty-one thousand six hundred and ten. The attending multitude, he supposes, could not be fewer but rather more. Reckoning them equal, the numbers under the command of Xerxes, which arrived without misfortune at Sepias and Thermopylæ, were five million two hundred eighty-three thousand two hundred and twenty men, exclusive of women and eunuchs without number, and a vast train of incumbrances little known to European armies, but which in all ages have attended the Asiatic. Whatever exaggeration may be in this account, we shall in vain seek more authentic information from later writers. Herodotus's detail of the nations from which the armament was collected, and of the measures taken to provide for its subsistence, defective as the latter is, afford the best of any existing means for forming some ideä, if not of its numbers, yet of its immensity. Exactness we cannot have, nor anything approaching it: but we know that Asia has often sent forth armies which appear next to prodigious; and every testimony makes it probable that the forces led by Xerxes against Greece were the most numerous ever assembled in the world.

The road of Casthanæa was open to the north and northeast winds; and

so

so little spacious that an eighth division only of the vast fleet of Persia could be moored in one line against the shore: the other seven rode at anchor with their heads toward the sea. Such a situation could never be safe for the antient galleys, peculiarly fitted for a navigation where want of sea-room makes a storm most dangerous to the stoutest vessel. The night after their arrival was calm: but in the morning the wind freshened from the northeast[18]. In those seas, where storms are often very sudden and always very dangerous, the seaman, unacquainted with those great principles of navigation, which direct a vessel over the globe, but which, in his narrow sphere of action, would be useless, is yet singularly attentive in observation of the weather, and singularly acute in prognostication of it. As soon as it was perceived, in the Persian fleet, that a violent storm was approaching, the division of galleys, next the shore, was drawn upon the beach: the rest were to provide for their safety as they could. According to Herodotus, they seem to have scattered to seek a port, or a safe and unoccupied beach, which to the antients was a port. But the storm hastily grew excessive. Some of the vessels were stranded on the place: some were driven upon the Sepiad foreland; some against the cliffs of Pelion; some to the towns of Casthanæa and Meliboea. Three days the tempest lasted with unabated violence. The Persian commanders were in the utmost alarm; apprehensive not only for what might be lost, but also for what was yet unhurt on shore. The Thessalians were but very lately become friends and subjects: a reverse of fortune might shake their fidelity, and tempt them to hostilities. A rampart was therefore formed around the naval camp, chiefly from the ruins of the wrecked vessels.

Herod. l. 7. c. 188, & seq. Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 12. About the middle of July. Dodwell Annal. Thucyd.

[18] Herodotus calls the wind Apeliotes, but he says the people of the country called it the Hellespontine wind. The apeliotes, according to Stuart's account of the tower of the winds, yet remaining at Athens, was the east. But the Hellespont lay nearly northeast from Sepias: and the effects of the storm described by Herodotus show that the wind must have been some degrees northward of the east. The accuracy, however, in stating winds, usual with our seamen, was not common among the antients; nor is it at this day in the Mediterranean, where generally winds are still named from the countries whence they blow, without any very exact reference to the points of the compass. I have said thus much on a subject, in itself of little consequence, principally because I would not be thought to controvert the authority of the tower of Andronicus Cyrrhestes, or of Stuart's account of it.

The simplicity, with which Herodotus details the actions of men, often marks the genuine workings of human nature, both more faithfully, and with more animation, than the cautious and polished manner of writers of more artificial judgement. The dread, which pervaded the Grecian fleet on the approach of the Persian armament, may be imagined from the hasty, and apparently improvident, retreat from Artemisium; which must expose the landforce at Thermopylæ to certain destruction, since the fleet alone could secure it from being taken in the rear. The joy at the view of the rising tempest, and the consequent confidence in divine favor, would be proportional. The Athenian seamen did not now forget the god of the Thracian wind with his Attic princess. Immediately they set with great earnestness to sacrifices and prayers, requesting those deities 'to vindicate Attica, and 'bring destruction on the barbarian fleet, as they had formerly done 'at Athos.' Whether this really induced Boreas to fall upon the barbarians, says Herodotus, I cannot undertake to say [19]: but the Athenians assert it, and in consequence they have built a temple to him on the bank of the Ilissus. Whether indeed Herodotus believed the oracular admonition to have been promulgated before the event, appears dubious: his expressions imply suspicion. On the second day of the storm the destruction and distress, produced in the Persian fleet, became manifest to the Grecian scouts on the Euboïc heights, and they hastened to Chalcis with the intelligence. Immediately public thanks were returned, and libations poured, to Neptune the deliverer: and in confidence that now the Persian force would be no longer formidable, it was determined to reoccupy the former station at Artemisium.

The loss of the Persians was very great. It is not likely that the Greeks would ever have any correct account of it; but, according to the lowest report, four hundred galleys of war were sunk or destroyed. The loss of men could be computed only from that of vessels; and means were totally wanting to estimate the destruction of storeships and attending vessels. As soon as the weather was become moderate and the sea smooth, the Persian commanders, without waiting to collect the

[19] Ἐι μὲν νῦν διὰ ταῦτα τοῖσι βαρβάροισι ὀρμέωσι Βορῆς ἐπέπεσε οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν. Herod. l. 7. c. 289.

scattered

scattered remains of their fleet, hastened to leave so dangerous a station: coasting Magnesia, they entered the Pagasæan gulph, known afterward by the name of the Pelasgian. Fifteen galleys, of those dispersed by the storm, following some days after, fell in with the Grecian fleet, which had resumed its station off Artemisium; and, mistaking it for the Persian, all were taken. Among the prisoners were Sandoces governor of Cuma in Æolis, Aridolis tyrant of Alabandæ in Caria, and Penthylus commander of the squadron of Paphos in Cyprus. Of twelve galleys which Paphos had furnished, the one only, in which the commander was taken, had survived the hurricane. This capture was very fortunate for the Greeks. Beside the loss to the enemy and the gain of so many ships of war to themselves, spirits were added to the multitude, and intelligence was acquired to the commanders. As soon as the prisoners had been examined before the principal officers of the fleet, they were sent to the congress at Corinth.

The prospect of Grecian affairs was now brightened a little. If the fleet could oppose the enemy with but equal success, it might be hoped that the nature of the frontier would render the prodigious numbers of his army unavailing. To the south of Thessaly mount Œta, as we have observed, stretches across the country from sea to sea. North of Thermopylæ, and bordering upon the Malian bay, is a plain, in one part wide, in others very narrow, inclosed by high and impracticable mountains, called the Trachinian rocks. The Persian army, moving in three divisions from Upper Macedonia, crossed the mountains by the passes indicated to the Greeks by Alexander, and proceeding by Gonnus through Thessaly, to the valley and town of Anticyra, there again met the sea. Crossing then the river Spercheius, it entered the Malian plain, in the widest part of which, at the town of Trachis, the king fixed his head-quarters. Southward of this town the river Asopus, after washing for some way the foot of the mountain, which is a branch of Œta, enters a cleft of it, and the only road is by the course of that river. A little farther southward a small stream called the Phœnix, falling from the hills, meets the Asopus: and here masonry had been necessary to render the way passable for a single carriage[20]. The

Herod. l. 7. c. 198.

c. 131.

Toward the end of July.

Herod. l. 7. c. 200.

[20] That appears to be the sense of the phrase ἁμαξιτὸς γὰρ μὴν μούνη δέδμηται. Herod. l. 7. c. 200. The curious reader may consult Wesseling's note.

Asopus

Asopus having made its course by the cleft, through the mountain-ridge, which is here narrow, enters a valley of some length, but little width, and presently discharges itself into the Malian bay. In this valley, and on the bank of the Asopus, was the town of Anthela, with the temple of Ceres, the temple of Amphictyon, and the place of meeting of the Amphictyonic assembly. Thermopylæ was a little beyond them, and less than two English miles from the junction of the Asopus and Phœnix. The Persian monarch commanded all to the north of the mountains: the Greeks under Leonidas held the pass.

Herod. l. 7. c. 201.

A prince like Xerxes, wholly unexperienced in war, might expect, as Herodotus says of him, that the force under his orders was capable of anything against men, and almost against nature. According to that author he waited four days, in expectation that the Greeks would retreat from his irresistible numbers, and leave him an uninterrupted passage. And this, according to the same honest historian, would actually have happened, but for the superior genius and unshaken courage of the Lacedæmonian king It has been added, by later writers, that a herald was sent to Leonidas, commanding him, in the name of Xerxes, to come and deliver his arms; to which the Spartan prince answered, with Laconic brevity, 'Come and take them.' But among the Persian generals there were probably men of experience and judgement, not incapable of informing their soverein how useless his numbers would be in the pass of Thermopylæ. Numerous moreover as the Greeks were under his command, information might easily reach him of the divisions among those who opposed him, and of the disposition of some to retire. He might also be told that the Spartan king boasted his descent from the hero Hercules, who is said to have ended his mortal life on mount Œta, and to whom, as a god, an altar stood dedicated in the valley of Anthela: but of these things the Persians would not be likely to make much account; nor would they probably be informed of the superior talents of Leonidas, who had never yet had opportunity for making them conspicuous. The credit due to Herodotus we continue always to find very nearly proportioned to his probable means of information. When those were good, he seldom or never relates absurd tales: when they have been deficient, he rarely

c. 207.

Plutarch. Apoph. Lac.

scruples to report any rumor. Information of public orders to the Persian army might reach him; but the actions, and still more the passions, of Xerxes upon his throne, which he pretends to describe, would not be matters of common notoriety. Xerxes, we are told, on the fifth day after his arrival at Trachis, commanded the Medes and Cissians of his army alone to go and bring all the Greeks, under Leonidas, alive into his presence. The attack, made in consequence, is likely to have been ineffectual enough to disgrace those troops, in some degree, in the eyes of their unexperienced soverein. The Persian guards, called the immortal band, were next ordered to the assault. According to Herodotus, the efforts of this band were very spirited; and he accounts very candidly for their want of success. Their short spears were inefficacious, and their numbers useless, against the longer weapons of the Greeks, and on ground so confined. Their attacks were however renewed and varied in all the ways that their leaders could devise. Numbers fell, and no impression was made. The report, which the historian adds, is likely enough to have become afterward popular in Greece, that the Persian monarch leaped thrice from his throne, as he anxiously viewed the conflict. From the description of the place, however, it seems impossible that his throne could have been within sight, and very little likely that he should himself have seen the action. The immortal band, after having suffered severely, was at length recalled, and the Persian generals were greatly at a loss. The attempt was however renewed the next day, in the hope that wounds, and the fatigue of repeated action, might weary the scanty numbers of the Greeks, and oblige them to quit their advantageous ground. But the little army of Leonidas was equal to his purpose; his reliefs were judiciously managed, and the second day's attack was unavailing like the former.

Herod. l. 7. c. 210.

c. 211.

c. 212.

Among the various advantages, beyond estimation, which the Persian monarch possessed over the little Grecian confederacy, may be reckoned the means, almost unbounded, of rewarding those who would serve him. The hope of profiting from these, brought information of another pass over the mountain; circuitous indeed and difficult, but by which, after the fortifying of Thermopylæ, the Thessalians had

c. 213.

sometimes

Herod. l. 7. c. 175. sometimes invaded Phocis for plunder. In more settled times it had been neglected; but, being not unknown among the neighboring
c. 212 & 217. inhabitants, Leonidas had appointed the Phocians, under his command, to the guard of it. The path began at the cleft in the
c. 216. mountain through which the Asopus has its channel. Hence, by a winding course, it ascended a hill, distinguished, by the name of Anopæa, from the heights of Œta on one side, and the Trachinian rocks on the other. Holding then for some space along the top of the ridge, it descended directly to Alpeni, the first town of Locris. The resolution was taken among the Persian generals to make
c. 215. an attempt this way. A strong detachment marched, about dusk, under the command of Hydarnes, and arrived, without opposition, by daybreak, near the summit of Anopæa. Here the Phocian guard had its station. The oaks, with which the mountain was covered, had concealed the approach of the enemy[21]. The Phocians, whose discipline, in general, was probably less cultivated than that of Lacedæmon or Athens, had neglected the necessary precautions of advanced guards and out-sentries. They were first alarmed by the noise of a multitude of men treading among the fallen leaves; which, as the weather was perfectly serene, they heard at some distance. Immediately they ran to arms. But, with the inconsiderateness of men surprised, imagining themselves the ultimate object of attack, instead of taking proper measures to fulfil the important purpose of their post, by preventing the passage of the enemy, they retreated on one side of the path, to gain more advantageous ground for defence. The judicious Hydarnes, leaving them to their desired security, continued his march, and, quickly descending the mountain, reached the plain unmolested.

The Persian army so abounded with Greeks, most of them involuntarily pressed, that deserters would not be wanting, to inform Leonidas of

[21] These mountains, according to all travellers, are now woodless. Nor has the destruction been a modern event: it is noticed by Statius, as in his time extensive in the Roman empire, and especially in Greece:

Nusquam umbræ veteres; minor Othrys, et ardua silent
Taygeta; exuti viderunt aëra montes.
Jam natat omne nemus: cæduntur robora classi.
——Ipsum jam puppibus æquor
Deficit, & totos consumunt carbasa ventos.—Stat. Achill. 1. v. 426.

whatever

whatever could be generally known in the enemy's camp. That very night intelligence came, that a strong detachment was marched for the mountains. Early in the morning the scouts of the army[22] arrived, with information that the enemy had already passed the Phocian guard, and were descending toward the plain. Immediately a council of the Grecian commanders was held. Opinions were divided; some thinking it became them still to maintain their post; others, that the consequence of the attempt could be but a useless waste of lives, which ought by all means to be preserved for the future wants of their country. The debate ended in a general resolution to retreat, with all speed, to their respective cities, the Lacedæmonians and Bœotians only remaining. Herodotus mentions it as uncertain whether Leonidas dismissed the rest. The Thespians alone appear to have resolved voluntarily to abide the event with him: the Thebans he would not suffer to depart; keeping them as hostages, on account of the known disaffection of their city to the Grecian cause.

Herod. l. 7. c. 219. Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 8. 6 Aug. B. C. 480. Dodw. Ann. Thu. but it may have been some days earlier.

Herod. l. 7. c. 220.

Leonidas himself determined, upon this great occasion, to exhibit to the world a memorable example of obedience to that law of Sparta, which forbad, under whatsoever disadvantage, to fly from an enemy. Considering the disposition, so widely prevailing among the Greeks, to fear the Persian power, and shrink before it, there appears not less true patriotic wisdom than admirable magnanimity in that prince's conduct. The oracular response from Delphi, said to have declared that either Sparta or its king must fall, adds nothing to its lustre. Upon fair historical testimony it has been fully equal to the warm and abundant eulogies, which writers of various ages and nations have vied in bestowing upon it. Animated by his example, every Lacedæmonian and Thespian under his command was resolved to die; but to die gloriously for himself, and, as far as possible, usefully for his country. To be surrounded being now unavoidable, the object was no longer to guard the pass, but to chuse the spot where, in sacrificing themselves, they might make the greatest destruction of the enemy. The narrow therefore, at the junction of the Phœnix and Asopus, was given up, and the little band was collected at the wall of Thermopylæ.

c. 104.

[22] Οἱ ἡμεροσκόποι καταδραμόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων. Herod. l. 7. c. 219.

Herod. l. 7. c. 223, & seq.

The whole Persian army was under arms before sunrise, the king himself attending, in solemn pomp, to wait the appearance of the luminary above the horizon, for beginning the devotional ceremonies prescribed for that favorite hour of Persian religion. After these were concluded, the troops were dismissed to wait for orders. About the middle of the forenoon [23], when it was supposed Hydarnes might be nearly arrived in the rear of the Greeks, a chosen body was commanded to advance to the assault in front. Leonidas now gave a loose to the fury of men prepared for death. Advancing before the wall, he attacked the Persians in the wider part of the valley, made great slaughter, and caused such confusion that, through want of room for the ill-disciplined multitude, numbers were forced into the sea, and many expired under the pressure of their own people. Himself, fighting at the head of his band, fell early. The ingagement was nevertheless continued, with advantage on the side of the Greeks, till Hydarnes came in sight in their rear. Then they retreated again to the narrow at the wall. The Thebans took this opportunity to beg mercy of the conquerors: but in the very act of surrendering, many, through the confusion, were killed: the rest were made prisoners. The surviving Lacedæmonians and Thespians gained a hillock, where they fought, surrounded, till they were slain to a man.

Such is the account given by Herodotus of this extraordinary and celebrated action. The circumstances might come authenticated to him through the Greeks who served with the Persians; and every anecdote that could be collected would no doubt be heard with eagerness, and preserved with care [24]. The names of all the three hundred Spartans were still upon record in the historian's time. Two of them survived the battle, having been accidentally absent; Aristodemus,

c. 229, & seq.

[23] —— χρόνον ἰς ἀγορῆς κου μάλιστα πληθώρην. Herod. l. 7. c. 223.

[24] Some seem to have been invented after the age of Herodotus, as the annotator Valckenarius has justly observed, n. 92. p. 609, of Wesseling's Herodotus. The report of Diodorus, followed by Plutarch, Justin, and others, that Leonidas with his Spartans attacked the Persian camp by night, and penetrated to the royal tent, is inconsistent with the other circumstances, whether of place or time; nor does it seem too much to say that it is an absurd fiction. Indeed, most of the tales, the omission of which by Herodotus has so much excited the indignation of Plutarch, appear fitter for poetry or romance than history.

who

who was, with the prince's leave, for the recovery of his health, at Alpeni; and Pantites, sent on public business into Thessaly. It being, however, reported at Lacedæmon that Eurytus, who had also had leave from Leonidas to remain at Alpeni on account of sickness, nevertheless joined on the day of battle, and fell with his comrades; and that Pantites might have so hastened his return as to have shared in the glory of the day, both were dishonored. Pantites, in consequence, strangled himself: but Aristodemus, with greater fortitude, supported life; and was happy enough, in the sequel, to find opportunity for distinguishing his courage in the cause of his country, so that his memory has been transmitted with honor to posterity. The body of the Spartan king, as the same historian affirms, being discovered among the heaps of slain, was, by order of Xerxes, beheaded, and the trunk ignominiously exposed on a cross: but this, he adds, was contrary to the general principles and practice of the Persians, who were accustomed, beyond all other people, to honor military merit, even in their enemies. This observation to the credit of the enemies, and in opposition to the prejudices of his country, proves not less the extensive information and just judgement than the candor of Herodotus; for every authentic account marks the Persians for a people of liberal sentiments and polished manners, beyond almost any other in all antiquity. Herod. l. 7. c. 224.

SECTION IV.

Numbers of the Grecian Fleet. Sea-fights off Artemisium. Retreat of the Grecian Fleet. March of the Persian Army toward Athens. Attempt against Delphi.

DURING this memorable scene at Thermopylæ, the hostile fleets had met in the neighboring channel. The Persians wanted to force the passage between Eubœa and the main; for the double purpose of a safer navigation, and of attending more closely the motions of their army. The business therefore of the Grecian fleet, as Herodotus has observed, was, like that of the army, to defend the strait. It consisted

Herod. l. 8. c. 1.

of two hundred and seventy-one trireme galleys, with a few of those smaller vessels called penteconters. The penteconter, the vessel of Homer's age, had, like the modern row-boat, only one tier of oars, and its complement of rowers was from fifty to sixty. The trireme, it is generally supposed, had three tier of oars; by which it gained that swiftness, so important in the antient mode of naval action[25]. Its ordinary complement of rowers was, at the time of which we are treating, from a hundred and fifty to a hundred and sixty; beside whom it commonly carried forty soldiers, and sometimes more; but, on emergencies, particularly when boarded, the whole crew acted with arms. Of the triremes, now in the Grecian fleet, no less than one hundred and twenty-seven were furnished by Athens, a very few years before unable to cope at sea with the inhabitants of the Æginetan rock; and more were still preparing in the Athenian ports. Forty were sent by Corinth; twenty by Megara: the Chalcidians of Eubœa manned twenty, lent to them by the Athenians: Ægina sent eighteen; Sicyon twelve; Lacedæmon only ten; Epidaurus eight; Eretria seven; Trœzen five; and the ilands of Styros and Ceos each two. The Platæans, an inland people, unacquainted with naval business, but zealously attached to Athens, served, with their best ability, in the Athenian fleet. To these triremes the Opuntian Locrians added five penteconters, and the Ceians two.

l. 6. c. 15. l. 7. c. 184. & l. 8. c. 130.

In an armament to which they contributed so much the largest proportion, the Athenians might seem justly to claim the chief command: yet, such was the reputation and influence which Lacedæmon held among the Greeks, the allies absolutely refused to serve under any but a Spartan commander. Eurybiades was therefore admiral of the fleet. Historians have, upon this occasion, justly applauded the moderation of the Athenian leaders, who patiently acquiesced under this decision; and, superior to little punctilio, continued with unabated zeal to prosecute the great purposes of the common cause. But the Athenian counsels, were, at this time, directed by a man who could conceal unbounded desire of glory under the appearance of modesty; who, with a temper as pliable as his genius was penetrating, weighing

l. 8. c. 2. & seq.

[25] Some remarks on the antient vessels of war will be found in an Appendix at the end of this chapter.

the

the necessities of the times, and foreseeing the opportunities of ambition, could not only accommodate himself to all seasons and circumstances, but had skill to lead the froward populace of Athens to submit their passions to his opinion. Herodotus relates an anecdote of him, too remarkable, whencesoever the information was derived, and too characteristical to be omitted[26]. The Persian fleet, being collected after their late misfortune, appeared in the road of Aphetæ, at the mouth of the Pelasgian gulph, and opposite to Artemisium, at the distance of not more than ten miles, in far greater numbers than the Greeks had expected. The whole neighboring country was at the same time filled with the immense multitude of their military host. Alarm spred on all sides, and the contagion reached the commanders of the Grecian squadrons; insomuch that it was proposed to retreat to the interior seas of Greece[27]. The Eubœans, who had ingaged in the confederacy, being informed of this, were in the highest consternation. They sent immediately to Eurybiades, begging that the fleet might remain for their protection, only till they could remove their families and most valuable effects. The admiral refused. The Eubœans then applied to the Athenian commander. Themistocles, whose opinion was before decided against the retreat, told them that, tho words could not persuade, gold might; and for thirty talents, something more than seven thousand pounds sterling, he would ingage that the fleet should remain and fight the Persians. The money was presently paid into his hands. Five talents then brought over the commander-in-chief; and under his orders all the commanders of squadrons readily consented to remain, except Adeimantus the Corinthian. 'To him then,' says Herodotus, 'Themistocles swore,' saying, 'Neither shalt thou leave 'us; for I will give thee more than the Persian king would send thee 'for deserting thy allies;' and immediately ordered three talents to be conveyed to his ship. Fear of the accusation, or gratification with the present, prevailed; and thus were the principal Grecian commanders bribed to the opinion of Themistocles, and to the protection of the

[26] This note 45, p. 621, of Wesseling's Herodotus, may perhaps deserve the notice of the curious reader. Plutarch, who, in his Treatise against Herodotus, has expressed great indignation at this tale, has nevertheless in his Life of Themistocles related very nearly the same.

[27] Ἔσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Herod. l. 8. c. 4. Ἔισω τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Plut. vit. Themist.

Eubœans;

Eubœans; and the fleet, probably to the great advantage of the common cause, remained in its station.

Herod. l. 8. c. 6. & 7. Next morning at daybreak the Persian admirals moved. They had proposed immediately to attack the Grecian fleet; but after approaching near enough to observe how inferior it was to their own, they concluded that, if they should advance, the Greeks would certainly retreat, and, through their knowlege of the narrow seas behind them, would probably escape. On consultation it was therefore determined to send two hundred galleys round Eubœa, to take a station in the rear of the Greeks; the main body abstaining from attack, till it should be known by signals that the detached squadron was arrived at the station proposed.

c. 8. & seq. During these transactions, Scyllias, a Greek of Scionë, a remarkable diver, who, from having been useful to the Persian commanders in recovering many things of value from the wreck of their lost ships, had been introduced to means of information, deserted to the Greeks. He brought a more exact account of the present strength of the enemy's fleet than had yet been obtained, and he gave intelligence of the squadron sent round Eubœa. Immediately a council of war was held; and, after much debate, it was determined that the whole fleet should weigh at midnight, and go against the detached squadron; in the just hope that, taken separately, it might easily be overpowered. In the evening however, having received no confirmation of the intelligence (for, to avoid observation, the enemy kept a considerable distance from the Eubœan coast), the Grecian commanders determined to try an attack upon the main body of the Persian fleet; or rather perhaps upon some part of it, when daylight would not suffice for bringing the whole into action, and when, should they nevertheless be overpowered, night would favor their retreat. They founded hopes also on a friendly disposition in the Ionian commanders; of whom some were indeed well inclined to them, while others were eager to gain the Persian monarch's favor, and earn the rewards promised for zeal shown in his service. A sharp ingagement insued. If we may believe Herodotus, the Greeks took thirty galleys; tho he says afterward that neither side could claim a victory. Among the prisoners however,

made by the Greeks, was Philaon, brother of Gorgus prince of Salamis in Cyprus, a man of great estimation among the enemy's officers. Lycomedes, an Athenian captain, obtained the reward of valor for being the first who took a Persian galley. Antidorus of Lemnos was the only Grecian captain in the Persian service who deserted with his ship to the confederate Greeks. The Athenian government afterward rewarded him with a grant of lands in the iland of Salamis. In the night the Greeks resumed their station at Artemisium; the Persians remained at Aphetæ.

The Grecian fleet had scarcely cast anchor when a storm arose, attended with heavy rain and violent thunder. The drift of the storm carried the wreck of the late ingagement, and the floating bodies, among the Persian ships. Their cables were intangled, their oars impeded. Repeated flashes of lightning, amid extreme darkness, just served to discover the horrors of the scene, while the uncommon resonance of the thunder, among the neighboring summits of Pelion, struck the seamen with the imagination that the gods themselves were thus loudly declaring their anger: a fancy likely enough to arise in the minds, at least, of the Grecian seamen in the Persian fleet, who, according to the belief in their age, were making war, under forein gods, against the gods of their mother-country. The detached squadron, meanwhile, in the open sea, as it was there called where none was truly open sea, driving before the storm, and ignorant of their course, fell among the rocks of that peculiarly dangerous bay of the Eubœan coast called the Cœla[28]. 'All perished; and thus,' says Herodotus, 'the deity interfered to reduce 'the Persian force more nearly to an equality with the Grecian.'

Herod. l. 8. c. 12.

c. 13. & Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 13.

All the next day the Persians remained in their station; while a reïnforcement of fifty-three Athenian galleys joined the Grecian fleet, bringing with them the welcome news of the destruction of the enemy's squadron on the Euboïc rocks. Thus incouraged, the Grecian commanders were the more intent upon watching opportunities for farther advantages. Means were observed for cutting off the Cilician squadron. The attempt was made in the evening, and succeeded; and in the night the fleet again resumed its station at Artemisium.

Herod. l. 8. c. 14, & seq.

[28] Sinus Euboicus, quem Cœla vocant, suspectus nautis. Liv. Hist. Rom. l. 31. c. 41. See note 78. p. 625, of Wesseling's Herodotus.

The

The Persian commanders, irritated by repeated insults from an enemy so inferior, and apprehensive of blame for remissness, determined, on the following day, to attack the Grecian fleet with their whole remaining force. About noon they advanced, formed in a semicircle, with a view to surround the enemy. The Greeks waited in their station, probably an advantageous one. The plan of attack of the Persians, if well conceived, appears to have been ill executed. Such a multitude of vessels indeed, manned with people of different nations and languages, who varied both in method and in degrees of skill, must be extremely liable to disorder, and little fit to undertake nice and complicated evolutions. In approaching the enemy, they crossed and fell against oneanother. The battle was nevertheless warmly maintained. The Egyptians distinguished themselves, and took five Grecian galleys. More than half the Attic squadron was disabled; but the Aristeia, the honors for superior merit in the action, were decreed to the Athenian Cleinias (son of Alcibiades, and grandfather of him to whom that name owes its celebrity) who commanded a galley built and manned with two hundred men at his private expence. Herodotus affirms that the Greeks remained masters of the wreck and of the dead: but these seem to have been their only tokens of victory. The historian acknowleges that they suffered greatly; and indeed proceeds to give the strongest proof of it by relating that, in a council of war, held immediately after the ingagement, it was resolved to retreat to the interior seas of Greece. This resolution was farther confirmed, and the measure hastened, by the arrival of Abronychus, an Athenian officer, who had been stationed with a light vessel at Thermopylæ for the purpose of communicating intelligence, and brought information of the circumvention of Leonidas and his party, and the retreat of the rest of the army. It was then resolved not to delay for a moment the retreat of the fleet. The whole moved in the accidental order of the instant: the Corinthians led, the Athenians formed the rear [29].

Herod. l. 8. c. 21.

[29] Later writers tell of Grecian victories off Artemisium, utterly inconsistent with the events that followed; but Plato's slight mention of the actions there confirms Herodotus's account (1); and even Plutarch gives some degree of corresponding testimony (2).

(1) Plat. de Leg. l. 4. p. 707. t. 2. (2) Vit. Themist.

But

But Themistocles, ever fertile in expedients, conceived the idea of making even the flight of his fellowcountrymen useful to his country. With some of the swiftest galleys of the squadron under his command, he went to the watering-places of the road of Artemisium, which he concluded the enemy would scarcely fail to visit next day, and there on the rocks he wrote thus: 'Men of Ionia, you do ill in making war upon 'your fathers, and helping to inslave Greece. Come therefore over to 'us; or, if that cannot be, remain neuter, and persuade the Carians to 'the same measure. But if the necessity which compels you to the 'part you are ingaged in, is such as to make a secession impracticable, 'yet, when we come to action, avoid exertion against us; remembering 'that you are descended from one blood with us, and that the enmity 'of the Persians was first drawn upon us in your cause.' I imagine, continues the historian, that Themistocles had two views in this. If the inscriptions should be observed only by the Greeks of the Persian fleet, he hoped that some might be persuaded by them; but if the matter should be reported to the Persian chiefs, the Ionians would become suspected, and perhaps might be excluded from the line of battle in future ingagements.

Herod. l. 8. c. 19. & 22. Plut. vit. Themist. Justin. l. 2. c. 12.

The road of Artemisium was no sooner clear, than a Greek, of the neighboring town of Histiæa, hastened in a light boat to the Persian fleet, to obtain the reward for such intelligence. Some swift vessels were immediately dispatched to ascertain the truth of the report, and at sunrise the whole fleet weighed and proceeded to Artemisium. The same day the Persians took possession of the town of Histiæa; and the neighboring district of the iland sedulously made submission.

Herod. l. 8. c. 23.

About the same time the army recommenced its march from Thermopylæ. Some Arcadians, poor and without prospect at home, had been tempted, by the fame of the great king's riches and liberality, to wander thus far to offer their services to him. The practice of seeking hire in forein military service appears to have obtained among that mountain-people, before it became usual with the other European Greeks. Herodotus seems to relate the story of these adventurers, not more for the purpose of eulogy than of admonition to his country. They were introduced, he says, to the presence of Xerxes, and being

c. 26.

Thucyd. l. 3. c. 34.

asked 'what was doing in Greece?' they answered, with great simplicity, 'That it was the season of the Olympian games, and that consequently the Greeks were amusing themselves with seeing athletic exercises and horse-races.' Being then asked, 'What was the reward of the conquerors in those games?' they answered, 'An olive garland.' Upon which Tritantæchmes, a prince of the blood-royal of Persia, exclaimed, 'Oh Mardonius, what a people have you brought us to fight against; who contend among themselves not for riches but for virtue!'

Ol. 75. B. C. 480

Thucyd. l. 3. c. 56. & 62. Plat. Menex. p. 241. t. 2. Isocr. Paneg. & Panath. Plut. Aristid.

But whatever might be the general simplicity or the general virtue of the Greeks of this age, their patriotism at least was of very various complexion in the different states, and in the different factions of the same state. Of the provinces from mount Œta to the isthmus, Phocis almost alone was faithful to the confederate cause, the cause of Grecian independency. From the moment when the Persians became masters of Thermopylæ, the adjacent Locris could hardly avoid submission. Doris, and all Bœotia, except the little cities of Thespiæ and Platæa, were led by a few principal men of Thebes, who had in view to confirm and advance their own power, through the patronage of the great king. Influenced by these men, those provinces had always been adverse to the confederacy; and now with ready zeal acknowleged themselves subjects of the Persian monarch. Herodotus, with great appearance of reason, attributes the firmness, even of the Phocians, more to their extreme animosity against the Thessalians, their hereditary enemies, and to the partial consideration of the peculiar interest of their province, than to any generous regard for common welfare, or any inlarged view of Grecian independency. If the Thessalians, he says, had held with the Greeks, the same animosity would have led the Phocians to join the enemy.

Thucyd. l. 3. c. 62.

Herod. l. 8. c. 30.

c. 31.

The Persians proceeded from Thermopylæ, with the Thessalians for their guides. Turning immediately to the right along the root of Œta, tney then directed their march through the narrow vales of Doris toward the river Cephissus. The Dorian, as a friendly territory, was spared; but as soon as the army entered Phocis, at the instigation of the Thessalians rather than from the disposition of the Persians,

c. 31, 32. Diod. l. 11. c. 14. Plut. Themist.

destruction was begun with fire and sword. The main body of the army followed the course of the Cephissus. Detachments burnt the towns of Drymus, Charadra, Erochus, Tethronium, Amphicæa, Neon, Pedieæ, Triteæ, Elateia, Hyampolis, Parapotamii, Abæ, with their temples. The people fled; many to the fastnesses of mount Parnassus, some to Amphissa and other towns of the Ozolian Locrians; which, lying beyond the ridges of Parnassus and Helicon, were in less immediate danger. A few were taken and reduced to slavery. From Panopeæ a detachment was sent to seize the treasures of Delphi; about which so much had been said by the Greeks under Xerxes, that Herodotus supposes the Persian monarch to have had more perfect knowlege of them, than of what he had left in his own palace at Susa. The main body continued their march through the friendly province of Bœotia toward Athens. Herod. l. 8. c. 35.

The defence of Delphi, itself a curious object, is not the less so for the veil with which interested ingenuity hath industriously covered it, and which superstitious ignorance would rather double than withdraw. The account transmitted by Herodotus, apparently current with the credulity of his age, may therefore be neither unamusing nor totally uninforming. As soon as news arrived that the Persians were in possession of Thermopylæ, the Delphian citizens, anxious for themselves, their temple, and the riches of which they were guardians, consulted their own oracle. They requested directions particularly concerning the sacred treasures; whether they should bury them; or whether they should carry them to some other country. The god, says the historian, would suffer nothing to be moved; declaring, that he would himself take charge of what belonged to him. The Delphians were thus relieved at least from their responsibility to the Greek nation: and their cares were confined to themselves and their families. Their wives and children were sent across the Corinthian gulph into Achaia. The men, except a few who withdrew to Amphissa in Locris, occupied the neighboring fastnesses among the crags of Parnassus. The Corycian cavern, a vast natural vault in the side of the mountain, near the city, received many[29]. All quitted Delphi except sixty men and the prophet. The l. 8. c. 36. & seq. Diod. l. 11. c. 14.

[29] This cavern is described by Pausanias, b. 10. c. 32.

Persian detachment meanwhile approached by the way of Panopë, Daulis, Lilæa, Phocian towns, which they burnt. As they drew near Delphi, and were now in sight of the temple, the prophet, whose name was Aceratus, saw the sacred armour, which it is unlawful for any mortal to touch, brought by some invisible power from the recess of the fane, and laid before the building. But no sooner was the advanced guard arrived at the chapel of Minerva, which is an outbuilding in front of the great temple, than thunder from heaven fell upon them; two vast fragments from the mountain rolled down with prodigious noise, and killed many: a voice of warlike acclamation issued from within the walls. Dismay became general among the Persians. The Delphians then, rushing from the cavern, and descending from the summits, attacked them and made great slaughter. The survivors fled precipitately into Bœotia.

From this story it is not difficult to detach the preternatural machinery, and we find an account remaining, neither improbable nor very defective. The priests, unwilling to trust the treasures to others, and anxious for the credit of their oracle, which could scarcely but suffer should the place fall into the hands of forein plunderers, determined upon a bold measure, which they executed with equal courage and prudence. A clear and firm response from the oracle first inspired the citizens with confidence. Then the best refuge that Greece afforded was provided for their families. The ablest and most trusty men were reserved for the defence of the place. If the mode of defence was uncommon, it appears however to have been perfectly adapted to the situation and circumstances, which were also very uncommon. Surrounded and almost overhung by very lofty mountain summits, the site itself of the city was composed of crags and precipices. No way led to it but through mountain defiles, narrow and steep, shadowed with wood, and commanded at every step by fastnesses above; and the approach from Bœotia was of considerable length through such defiles. Every measure seems to have been taken to make the enemy believe that the place was totally abandoned, and to induce them to advance in all the carelessness of perfect security. The surprize appears in consequence to have been complete. A thunderstorm at midsummer, among

Strab. l. 9. p. 416. & seq. Pausan. l. 10. c. 6. & seq. Justin. l. 24. c. 6. Whel. b. 4. Chandler, c. 65.

among the mountains, was likely to be an accidental assistant. The rolling down of the rocky fragments might appear miraculous to those who did not know that numbers of men, concealed among the crags, were prepared to give them motion. Possibly artificial fires and explosions might imitate a thunderstorm and increase the horror [30]. The Delphians then attacked with every advantage. The small remainder of the Persian detachment, who reached the plains of Bœotia, readily adopted the reports of superstition, to excuse their surprize and flight. Two persons, they said, superior in their appearance to anything human, joined the Delphians in the pursuit and slaughter The Delphians affirmed that these could be no other than Phylacus and Autonoüs, antient heroes of their country, to whom temples stood, in Herodotus's time, near the chapel of Minerva. Some of the fragments of rock, thrown down from the summits of Parnassus, were preserved within the chapel as memorials of the divine protection afforded upon that pressing emergency.

SECTION V.

Unsteady Counsels of the Grecian Confederacy. The Athenians, deserted by the Peloponnesians, remove their Families from Attica. Aristeides. Ostracism. Athens taken by the Persians. Artemisia. Antient Manner of Naval Action. Battle of Salamis. Return of Xerxes into Asia.

WHILE any hope remained of defending the pass of mount Œta, the Athenian fleet was of the utmost consequence to the confederated Peloponnesians: without its assistance, every part of their coast would be open to the enemy's navy. The safety of Attica therefore being a first object in the plan of operations, it had been resolved that, in case the enemy should penetrate across the mountains, the whole force of the confederacy should meet them in Bœotia, and oppose their Herod. l. 8. c. 40.

[30] See Dutēn's Inquiry into the Origin of the Discoveries attributed to the Moderns, c. 5. sect. 207.

farther

Herod. l. 8. c. 71. Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 15. Plut. vit. Themist.

farther progress. But the usual dilatoriness of confederacies recurred. The Peloponnesian troops were yet within their several states, when the news arrived of the death of the Spartan king, with his little band of self-devoted comrades, and of the retreat of the rest of his army. Then all hastened to the Corinthian isthmus, where Cleombrotus, brother of Leonidas, took the command. But the vehemence of the alarm, which spred on all sides, now set selfish counsels again afloat. Shortsighted through fear, the Peloponnesians determined not to risk anything for the preservation of Attica, but to contract their defence to their own peninsula. Their first business was to occupy, as an advanced post, the difficult passage of the Scironian rocks; another Thermopylæ, by which was the only road immediately from Attica into Peloponnesus. Then with earnest diligence they set to form strong lines across the isthmus.

Chandler's Travels in Greece, c. 44.

Herod. l. 8. c. 72.

The people assembled there were the Lacedæmonians, Arcadians, Eleians, Corinthians, Sicyonians, Epidaurians, Phliasians, Trœzenians, Hermionians. 'These,' says Herodotus, 'met in arms at the isthmus, in 'deepest anxiety for the fate of Greece. The other Peloponnesians, prin- 'cipally the Argians and Achaians, were careless of the event, or rather, 'if I may speak freely, they were disposed to the party of the enemy.'

Herod. l. 8. c. 40.

The fleet, in its hasty retreat from Artemisium, had made no stop till it arrived in the bay of Salamis, on the Attic coast. There information met the Athenians, whose crews, now in the fleet, were the principal part of their commonwealth, that no force was assembled in Bœotia; that the Peloponnesians had resolved to confine their defence to their own peninsula; that they had begun their measures for that purpose; that Attica thus was abandoned to destruction. The alarm was extreme All that could be obtained from their allies was the assistance of the fleet, to transport their families and effects to Salamis, Ægina, and Trœzen; places less exposed than Athens, but which expected only a delay of ruin. Nor were the Athenians now, like the Greeks of old, practised in wandering, and ready for migration. In proportion to the established security of property, and the peace of domestic life, the distress of families was great. At the awful moment of abandoning their country, a thousand anxious thoughts crowded upon every mind, In such excess of public misfortune, administration commonly loses its powers:

powers: the people, as in a shipwreck, become ungovernable through despair. All the wisdom, all the firmness, all the popularity of the ablest statesmen were wanted at Athens to preserve order, and to inforce those measures which political prudence required.

But one of the wisest and most virtuous citizens that any country ever boasted, was in banishment. ARISTEIDES son of Lysimachus, of a noble but not a wealthy family, had, in early youth, been patronized, and brought forward in public business, by Cleisthenes the expeller of the Peisistratids; and he is said, together with Themistocles, to have held a high military command under Miltiades, at the battle of Marathon. Themistocles, whose vast ambition was controlled by no scruple, avowed party principles. 'The gods forbid,' he is reported to have said, 'that I should be in power, and my friends no better for it.' Aristeides, on the contrary, was, in public as in private life, so strictly upright and scrupulously impartial, that the title of THE JUST became applied to him as a common appellation. But democratical jealousy, or rather perhaps the ingenuity of ambitious individuals to make popular passion serve their private purposes, had invented a peculiar mode of repressing the dangerous superiority which great abilities and superior character might acquire in a republic. An assembly of the people, by what was called OSTRACISM, voted an illustrious citizen into banishment for five, ten, or twenty years: alledging no crime, meaning no punishment, but only guarding against the overbearing influence of individuals: the exile's property and his honor remained unhurt. Aristeides had been thus banished; through the management, it is said, of Themistocles: for Aristeides inclined to the aristocratical party; opposing that increase of the general assembly's power which it had suited the ambition of Themistocles to promote. But, in this tremendous crisis of the commonwealth, the name of the just Aristeides began to be mentioned among the people; and it became evident that his absence was very generally regretted. Themistocles, whose capacious mind was never, by views of faction, blinded to greater interests, caught at the opportunity of popularity, and had the magnanimity himself to propose a decree which would inable his rival to return.

Plut. vit. Arist.

Diod. l. 11. c. 55. Plut. vit. Themist.

Herod. l. 8. c. 79. Plut. Aristid. & Themist.

CIMON,

Plut. Cimon.

CIMON, son of the great Miltiades, is said also to have distinguished himself upon this trying occasion. Being, by inheritance from a long line of ancestors, one of the principal landed men of the Athenian commonwealth, he would not naturally be forward to abandon his country. But when proclamation was made that all should forthwith remove their families and effects out of Attica, and that every man capable of bearing arms should immediately repair to his duty aboard the fleet, Cimon, at the head of a band of the principal youths of Athens, marched in procession, through the most public parts of the city, to the temple of Minerva in the citadel. In their hands they carried their bridles (the ensigns of that military service to which their birth and possessions had destined them) and, with solemn rites, dedicated these to the goddess. Then, arming themselves, the whole party set off for the fleet at Salamis; not a little incouraging the admiring citizens by this demonstration of confidence in the gods, and alacrity in devoting themselves to that new service, which the present crisis of their country required.

Herod. l. 8. c. 41. Plut. Themist.

Nor were the advantages to be derived from popular superstition neglected. It was believed, from antient times in Athens, that a large serpent was a divine guard to the temple of Minerva in the citadel; and it was an established practice to place cakes, as an offering to this reptile, every new moon. The chief priest of the temple declared that the cakes, which hitherto had never failed to be eaten by the divine serpent, now remained untouched: proof that the goddess herself had forsaken the citadel. This, says the cotemporary historian, whatever truth was in it, not a little contributed to induce the Athenians readily and quietly to quit the city.

Herod. l. 8. c. 49 & 74. Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 15. Plut. Themist.

The general business of the confederacy was not conducted either with equal wisdom or equal spirit. The want of one supreme authority was again felt. The measures of the land-forces were determined by the assembly at Corinth; of which the officers, commanding the troops of the several states, were principal members: those of the fleet seem not to have been taken into the consideration, but remained for the commanders of the several squadrons to decide. A council of those commander was held for the purposes. The great question was, Where they

they should now await the attack of that fleet from which they had been flying? Fear prevailed, and the majority were for retreating to the Corinthian isthmus; because there, it was urged, if they should be defeated, which seems to have been expected, tho the ships were lost, the crews might escape ashore, and still assist by land in the defence of their country.

The Persian army meanwhile, advancing from Thebes, burnt the abandoned towns of Thespiæ and Platæa; and, entering Attica, found no resistance till they arrived at the citadel of Athens. This was still held by some ministers of the temple of Minerva, some of the poorer citizens unable to support the expence of migration, and a few others, obstinately addicted to that interpretation of the Delphian oracle, which supposed it to declare that the citadel should remain inexpugnable. The city was delivered to those Athenians of the Peisistratid party, who accompanied the Persian army. The citadel was immediately invested. Terms were offered to the besieged by the Peisistratids, and obstinately refused. After a resistance beyond expectation, the place was taken by assault, and all within put to the sword.

Herod. l. 8. c. 50, & seq. Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 14.

Intelligence of this event, according to the probable detail of Herodotus, came to the fleet while a council of war was sitting. It occasioned such alarm, that some of the commanders of squadrons, without waiting for a decision of the question before them, hastened aboard their galleys and prepared for immediate flight. The rest, less panic-struck, were still, for the most part, of opinion that the proposed retreat to the isthmus should be executed without delay. Night came on, and all was confusion. Nothing can be more consonant to the common character of human affairs, in which little circumstances often decide the greatest events, than what the historian proceeds to relate. Themistocles, returning to his galley, was met by Mnesiphilus, an Athenian officer his particular friend, who anxiously asked, What was the determination of the council? 'To retreat instantly,' said Themistocles. 'Then,' replied Mnesiphilus, 'Greece is lost! for neither the present 'commander, nor any other man, will have influence to keep the fleet 'together. All will disperse to their several homes; and, through the 'folly of her chiefs, Greece is inslaved for ever!—Is there no possibility

Herod. l. 8. c. 56, & seq.

'of persuading Eurybiades to wiser measures?' Touched by his friend's earnestness in delivering an opinion perfectly coinciding with his own, the active mind of Themistocles could not rest. Returning immediately to Eurybiades, he prevailed to have another council hastily summoned. Naturally vehement in his temper, Themistocles was forward and copious in discourse upon the subject, for the consideration of which the council met, before it was regularly proposed by the commander-in-chief. The Corinthian commander, Adeimantus, who was as warmly for different measures, interrupting him, said, 'Themistocles, those who, at the 'games, rise before their time, are corrected with stripes.' To so affronting a reprimand, the Athenian chief, with admirable self-command, calmly replied, 'True, Adeimantus, but those who neglect to 'ingage in the contest never win the crown[32].' Then, in the course of the debate, he urged 'the importance of preserving Salamis, Ægina, 'and Megara, which upon the retreat of the fleet must immediately 'fall; the advantage of the present station, a confined bay, which 'would render both the numbers and the superior swiftness of the 'enemy's galleys useless; and the total want of such advantage in 'any station that could be taken near the Corinthian isthmus.' When all this proved ineffectual, he concluded with declaring, 'That if 'so little regard was shown to the Athenian people, who had risked 'everything in the Grecian cause, their fleet would immediately with-'draw from the confederacy, and either make terms with the enemy, 'or seek some distant settlement for a people so unworthily treated.' Eurybiades, alarmed, bent to this argument: a majority of the other commanders either felt its force, or were decided by the Spartan admiral; and it was determined to expect the enemy in the bay of Salamis.

Herod. l. 8. c. 66, & seq.

The Persian fleet had remained three days in the road of Artemisium, to refresh the crews after their sufferings by storms and ingagements. Three days then brought them through the Euripus to Phalerum, at

[32] Later writers, to make a better story, instead of Adeimantus, name Eurybiades, and add that he shook his cane over the head of Themistocles, who calmly said, 'Strike, but hear me.' Plutarch, through an inattention not unusual with him, has in his Life of Themistocles attributed the reprimand to Eurybiades, in his Apophthegms to Adeimantus.

that

that time the principal port of Athens. Herodotus supposes the Persian numbers, by sea and land, not less than on their first arrival at Sepias and Thermopylæ. For by land they were reïnforced by the Malians, Dorians, Locrians, and Bœotians. Their fleet was increased with galleys from Andros, Tenos, Eubœa, and other ilands. The recruits to the land-forces might easily supply the loss by battle; but those to the fleet would scarcely balance the damage by storms, which seems to have been very much greater than any hitherto suffered in action. The fleet and army being again met, a council of naval commanders was summoned, to consider whether the Grecian fleet should be attacked in its present station. It is difficult to determine how far credit may be due to Herodotus's account of a Grecian heroïne in the Persian fleet; who is yet so mentioned, in all histories of the times, that she must not be passed unnoticed. It was Artemisia, daughter of Lygdamis, a Halicarnassian, by a Cretan lady. Her husband had been tyrant of Halicarnassus, the native city of Herodotus, and he had extended his command over the neighbouring ilands Cos, Nisyrus, Calydna. On his death, Artemisia succeeded to his authority. When the orders of the Persian court came to the Asian Greeks, to prepare forces for the European expedition, she fitted five galleys, which were confessedly superior to any of that vast armament, except the Sidonian; and she formed the extraordinary resolution of undertaking herself the command of this little squadron. On joining the fleet in the Hellespont, she was regularly admitted to her seat in all councils of war; and she acquired, in a high degree, the esteem of the Persian monarch. At the council held off Phalerum, she alone dissuaded the proposed attack of the Grecian fleet. 'Offensive measures,' she said, 'should 'be prosecuted only by land. There the superiority was decided, and 'operations more certain. The fleet should be reserved as an indispen-'sable attendant upon so immense an army, which could not fail to 'suffer extremely, if by any misfortune it should lose the means of 'supply by sea. Besides,' she added, 'the Greeks cannot long hold 'their present advantageous situation; for, if I am rightly informed, 'they have no magazines on the iland which they occupy, and the 'main is already yours. Wait therefore only a little: you will see

Herod. l. 7. c. 99.

l. 8. c. 67, & seq.

'them disperse of themselves, and all Greece will be open to you.' This wise advice was overruled, and it was determined to attack the Grecian fleet next morning.

The Grecian commanders, meanwhile, were far from being all heartily disposed to the measure resolved on. Eurybiades appears to have been a man not of great abilities: his authority therefore, as commander-in-chief, over forces from various independent states, was very uncertain. Themistocles was still fearful of the defection of some of the squadrons; and, to insure what, in his judgement, was necessary for the common good, he is reported to have taken a very extraordinary step. A trusty person was sent to the Persian fleet, with orders to say that he came from the Athenian admiral, who was desirous of revolting to the Persians; that he was therefore to give an account of the dissentions among the Grecian commanders, and of the measures likely to follow: adding that, if the present opportunity for destroying the whole Grecian fleet together should be neglected, such another would never be found. That very night the Persians moved and formed a semicircle, from the point of Salamis to the port of Munychia: the Egyptian squadron was detached to block the western passage; and a force was landed upon the little iland Psyttaleia, between Salamis and the ports of Athens, to assist any of the Persian vessels, and seize any of the Grecian, that might be driven upon it. For the same purpose the Attic shore, to a considerable extent, was lined with troops; and by daybreak the whole multitude of the army was in motion; those whom no duty required, going, urged by curiosity, to take their stand on the adjacent heights. The most commodious eminence was chosen for the monarch himself, surrounded by his guards and attended by his splendid retinue, to view at leisure the action to insue.

Æschyl. Pers. p. 140. ed. H. Steph. Herod. l. 8. c. 75. Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 17. Plut. vit. Themist. & Aristid. Corn. Nep. v. Themist.

Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 17. Æschyl. Pers. p. 141. & 145. Herod. l. 8. c. 76. Plut. vit. Themist. & Aristid.

During these preparations of the Persians, Aristeides, then in Ægina, informed of the decree which had put a period to his exile, hastened to restore his services to his country; and escaping, under favor of the night, through the middle of the enemy's fleet, arrived at Salamis. Aristeides wanted not magnanimity, upon this great occasion, to lay aside both private animosity and the animosity of faction. He went directly to Themistocles, his rival and political enemy, related what he had

Herod. l. 8. c. 79, & seq. Plut. vit. Themist. & Aristid.

had seen, and offered his assistance for anything useful to the commonwealth. Themistocles (who, with a character of far less disinterestedness, could yet equally command his passions, and well knew the value of such assistance) joyfully accepting the offer, requested that Aristeides would accompany him to the council of war then sitting, and deliver his information in person; which he said would have much more weight than anything that could be repeated by himself, accustomed as he had been to combat the military and political opinions of most of the Grecian commanders. Aristeides immediately complied. He had scarcely delivered his intelligence, when confirmation of it came by a captain of a trireme galley of the iland of Tenos, who had deserted from the enemy. Then at last, pressed by necessity, the commanders with one voice declared a determination to exert themselves in action.

Among the antients, for a naval ingagement, a small space sufficed, in comparison of what modern fleets require; not only because of the smaller size of their vessels, but still more because of the different manner of working and fighting them. Our ships of war, very deep as well as large, and deriving motion only from the wind, with deep and open seas, want large intervals also between ship and ship. The antient galleys, on the contrary, always light however large, and, in action, receiving impulse from oars alone, could form and move in very close order, and were not afraid of narrow seas. From their mode of ingagement also they required comparatively little space. Our ships, whose artillery decides their battles, must bring their broadsides to bear upon the enemy; avoiding as much as possible to expose themselves in any other direction. They ingage therefore, according to the sea-phrases, close-hauled to the wind, and with the line of battle formed ahead. But the antients, whose principal weapon was a strong beak of brass or iron projecting from the stem of the galley, advanced to the attack always with the line of battle formed abreast. The greatest advantage one galley could obtain over another, was to bring its head to bear directly upon the enemy's broadside; the next, to gain the means of an oblique impulse, which might dash away some of his oars. By the success of the former attempt a galley was often sunk; by that of the other it became unmanageable, till the lost or damaged oars could be replaced; and

and this gave opportunity for the more decisive attack with the beak. Hence the importance of oars in action: by them alone attacks could be made, warded, or avoided in every direction. But Themistocles appears to have been the first to conceive the full advantage thus to be obtained. Missile weapons were much used by all nations; but it had been hitherto the great object of the Greeks to grapple ship to ship. The ingagement then resembled an action by land; and the superiority of the heavy-armed soldier on the deck, carried the day. It seems to have been partly on this account, that the Persian commanders had added thirty men, of their best national troops, to the ordinary complement of heavy-armed in every galley of their fleet; and they seem to have depended much on this increase of strength for certainty of victory. The discernment of Themistocles, apparently instructed by observation in the various actions off Artemisium, led him to a contrary principle: he would depend less upon arms wielded by the hands of individuals than upon the vessel itself, as one great and powerful weapon, or a squadron, as a combination of such weapons. It was, with this view, important to have his vessels light and unincumbered. He therefore reduced the complement of soldiers in each trireme to eighteen; of whom fourteen only were heavy-armed, and four bowmen [33].

Since the retreat from Artemisium, the Grecian fleet had been very considerably reinforced. The Lacedæmonians had added six triremes to their former ten: the Athenian squadron was increased to a hundred and eighty: some had been gained from other states: a few from the ilands: and the total number of triremes was now three hundred and eighty. The triremes of the Persian fleet are said to have been more than a thousand: according to Herodotus, they were above thirteen hundred [34]. Should exaggeration be suspected, even in the lowest

Herod. l. 8. c. 43, & seq. Herod. l. 8. c. 82. Isocr. Panegyr. p. 226. t. 1. ed. Aug. Herod. l. 7. c. 89. & 184, 185. & l. 8. c. 66.

[33] These numbers we have only on the authority of Plutarch, who, being neither soldier nor seaman, meerly states the fact. It receives however confirmation from Thucydides and Xenophon; and, as occasion will occur hereafter more particularly to observe, they explain the purpose of the alteration.

[34] The passage of Æschylus, which mentions the number of the Persian galleys, both as it stands in all the editions of his works, and in Plutarch's Life of Themistocles, seems clearly

lowest report, it is yet little reasonably to be doubted but the fleet under Xerxes, however inferior in the size and quality of the vessels, exceeded, in the number of men which it bore, any other naval armament ever assembled in the world.

Confident therefore in their strength, and urged by the common necessity of invaders to push vigorous measures, the Persians were impatient for decision. Accident seems to have made the Greeks at last the assailants; and thus perhaps contributed not a little to the greatness of their success. By daybreak, it is said on the twentieth of October, in the four hundred and eightieth year before the Christian era, they had formed their fleet in order of battle. The Athenians, on the right, were opposed to the Phenician squadron; the Lacedæmonians, on the left, to the Ionian. As the sun rose, trumpets sounded, pæans were sung, and the Grecian leaders endevored by all means to excite that animation among their people, which their own divided and hesitating counsels had so tended to repress. A trireme galley, returning from Ægina, excluded from the Grecian fleet by the enemy's line, and nevertheless endevoring to pass, was attacked. An Athenian galley commanded by Ameinias, brother of the poet Æschylus, advanced to her rescue: others followed: then the Æginetans moved, and the battle soon became general.

Dodw. Ann. Thu.

Herod. l. 8. c. 85. Æschyl. Pers.

Herod. l. 8. c. 84. Æschyl. Pers. Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 27.

The onset was vigorous on both sides. But space did not suffice for the Persians to bring their whole fleet regularly into action, nor for the Phenicians, in particular, to profit from the superior swiftness of their galleys and skill of their seamen. The Athenians and Æginetans therefore, after a sharp contest, broke the part of the Persian line first ingaged. Numbers of galleys, yet out of action, pressed to its support. Among the various nations who composed the Persian fleet, commanded

clearly enough in itself to say that they were in all but a thousand; yet the commentators and translators have been generally desirous of straining it to mean that, to make the total, the two hundred and seven, which the poet mentions as the swiftest of the fleet, should be added to the thousand. See Stanley's note. Plato says the Persian fleet was χιλίων καὶ ἔτι πλειόνων (1); an expression sufficiently indicating that he did not believe it to have been of many more than a thousand. According to Æschylus, the Grecian triremes were only three hundred. It is not impossible but Herodotus might have collected more accurate information of the numbers furnished by the several states.

(1) De Leg. l. 3. p. 699. t. 2.

in

in chief by Persian officers little versed in naval business, while the vast army which lined the Attic shore, with the soverein of the East at its head, were witnesses of the scene, zeal itself contributed to disorder. Damage and loss of oars, and wounds in the hull from the beaks of their own galleys insued; while the Athenians and Æginetans, forgetting their late enmity, or remembering it only as an incentive to generous emulation, with the most animated exertion preserved the steadiest discipline. Shortly the sea itself became scarcely visible for the quantity of wreck and floating bodies which covered it. Such is the strong expression of the poet, who himself fought in the Athenian squadron. In the mean time the business was easier to the Lacedæmonians and other Greeks in the left wing. Some of the Ionian officers exerted themselves to earn the favor of the monarch whom they served; but others were zealously disposed to the cause of the confederates. The confusion, thus and variously otherwise arising in the Persian fleet, spred, and rapidly became general and extreme. All their galleys which could disingage themselves fled. Some were taken: many were sunk; and numbers of the crews, inland men, unpractised in swimming, were drowned. Among those who perished were very many of high rank, who had been forward to distinguish themselves, in this new species of war, under their monarch's eye. According to Herodotus, Ariabignes, brother of Xerxes, and admiral of the fleet, was among the killed; but he is not mentioned by Æschylus. Forty Grecian galleys are said to have been sunk, or otherwise destroyed; but the crews mostly saved themselves aboard other ships, or on the neighboring friendly shore of Salamis. When the rout was become total, Aristeides, landing on Psyttaleia at the head of a body of Athenians, put all the Persians there to the sword; under the very eye of Xerxes, who, with his immense army around him, could afford them no assistance.

Herod. l. 8. c. 89.

Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 19.

Æschyl. Pers. Herod. l. 8. c. 95. Plut. Aristid.

In considering Herodotus's account of this celebrated sea-fight, we find not less reason, than on former occasions, to praise his scrupulous honesty and modesty. His narrative is dubious and incomplete, as all faithful narratives of great battles must be, unless some eye-witness, very peculiarly qualified by knowlege and situation, be the relater.

We

We cannot therefore but regret, not indeed that Æschylus was a poet, but that prose-writing was yet in his age so little common, that his poetical sketch of this great transaction is the most authoritative, the clearest, and the most consistent, of any that has passed to posterity. Concerning a day, however, so glorious, so singularly interesting to Greece, and particularly to Athens, anecdotes would undoubtedly abound; and a historian, a few years only later, desirous to shine in description rather than to relate the truth, could not have wanted materials. Anecdotes indeed of particular circumstances in great battles may often be authenticated; and to those Herodotus has chiefly confined himself; avoiding a detail of the battle at large, with an express declaration that he could obtain none upon which he could rely. Among his anecdotes, one is too remarkable and of too much fame to be omitted. The queen of Halicarnassus, after showing extraordinary bravery during the action, being among the last who fled, was closely pursued by the Athenian galley which Ameinias commanded. In this extremity, at a loss for other refuge, she suddenly turned against the nearest galley of the Persian fleet, which happened to be that of Damasithymus, prince of Calynda in Lycia, with whom she is said to have been upon terms not of perfect friendship; and, taking him totally unprepared for such an attempt, the stroke of the beak of her galley, against the side of his, was so violent and so well aimed, that the Calyndian prince instantly sunk with his crew. Ameinias, in the hurry of the moment, without means for inquiry, concluding from what he had seen, that Artemisia's galley was either one of the confederate fleet, or one that had deserted to it, turned his pursuit toward other vessels, and the queen of Halicarnassus escaped. According to Herodotus, tho, in this instance, we shall have difficulty to give him intire credit, Xerxes, from the shore where he sat, saw, admired, and applauded the exploit.

Herod. l. 8. c. 87, 88, & 93.

It is indeed impossible here not to wish for those Persian histories of these great events, which probably once existed, and which a learned orientalist of our own country would flatter us with the hope of still recovering[35]: but most we wish for them when the Persian counsels

[35] Richardson's Dissertation on the Languages, &c. of the Eastern Nations.

become particularly interesting, of which the Grecian historian has undertaken to give a detail that could not come to him duly authenticated. Not that an author under a despotic monarchy, who often must not publish what he knows or believes, and sometimes may not dare even to inquire, could be put in any general competition with a republican writer, who not only might inquire everywhere and speak anything, but has actually manifested his free impartiality by relating, with the ingenuous severity of a reproving friend, the disgraces of his fellow-countrymen, and by liberal and frequent eulogy of their enemies. We might however possibly draw, even from the flatterer of a despot, some information of which the total wreck of Persian litterature hath deprived us. Yet the Greeks were not without considerable means of information, often even of the intrigues of the Persian court. The eunuchs of the palace, the persons perhaps most intimate about the monarch (for, according to Xenophon, even the great Cyrus preferred eunuchs for his confidents) were of any nation rather than Persian. Some of them were Greeks; at least born among the Greeks, tho mostly perhaps of forein origin as of servile condition. Herodotus mentions a Greek of Chios, who acquired great wealth by the infamous traffic of castrated boys. One of these, Hermotimus, born at Pedasa in the territory of Halicarnassus, was in high favor with Xerxes, attended him into Greece, and, both before and after that expedition, was employed in affairs in Asia Minor which would lead him to communication with the principal Greeks of that country. Refugee Greeks moreover, from the various republics, continually swarmed about the courts of the Persian satraps, and even of the monarch himself; so that, altho the speeches, which Herodotus puts into the mouths of Persian cabinet-counsellors, must be as fictitious as those which Livy attributes to his fellowcountrymen at the head of armies, yet large means were certainly open, for Greeks of rank and character, to know the manners of the Persian great, and even to pry into the politics of the empire, as far perhaps as the Persians themselves: for under a despotic government the counsels which direct the greatest affairs are generally open to very few.

Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 7.

Herod. l. 8. c. 104, 105, 106.

After the battle of Salamis, however, the transactions of public notoriety bespeak, in a great degree, the counsels that directed them.

The

The defeat of the fleet necessarily deranged the measures of the Persian commanders. No port was near, capable of protecting its shattered and disheartened, but still large remains. Phalerum, then the principal harbour of Athens, could not contain half its numbers. A hasty order, of the very night after the ingagement, directed it to go immediately for the Hellespont. Day broke, and the Greeks, who expected a renewal of the action, looked in vain for an enemy. Quick determination of new measures was then necessary for the Persian army; which, having no sufficient magazines in the country, was, by the departure of the fleet, reduced, with its attending multitudes, to immediate danger of starving. In a few days it fell back into the rich and friendly province of Bœotia, and thence shortly into Thessaly.

Herod. l. 8. c. 107. c. 96 & 108. Æschyl. Pers. Herod. l. 8. c. 113.

Probably the punishment of Athens, with the submission of so many other provinces, were, in the Persian council, held sufficient, if not to satisfy the monarch's hope of glory, yet to prevent the imputation of disgrace, and perhaps even to form some shadowy claim to honor. The defeat of the fleet would be of course attributed to the faults of the immediate commanders, and to the defects and inferiority to be expected in an armament, not properly Persian, but composed almost intirely of the conquered subjects of the empire. The spoil of Athens, and among it the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, were sent as trophies, to mark to the interior provinces the exploits of that prodigious armament, which had so diminished their population and exhausted their wealth. The affairs of the empire might require the presence of the prince. The conquered countries were not yet so far settled that it could be particularly agreeable to a young monarch, by education and by disposition probably not much either a warrior or a man of business, to pass the winter among them. To support all his forces there, during the stormy season, even had he still had command of the sea, would have been impossible. Xerxes was therefore to return into Asia; but the projects of conquest were not to be yet abandoned. Three hundred thousand men were chosen from the whole army, to remain under the command of Mardonius; who, with that force, undertook to complete the reduction of Greece in the following summer. The rejected multitude were to return with all haste into Asia; urged by the prospect of

Herod. l. 8. c. 100. & seq. Herod. l. 8. c. 113. Æschyl. Pers.

of famine, and the apprehension that the approach of winter might totally bar the passage of the mountains and rivers of Macedonia and Thrace. Of the three hundred thousand selected by Mardonius, sixty thousand under Artabazus were to march as a guard to the royal person as far as the Hellespont. These were perhaps, among the innumerable crouds of various nations and languages who attended, or endevored to attend, the monarch's retreat, those who alone deserved the name of soldiers. Of these, as of soldiers forming a guard necessary to the prince's dignity and even safety, some care was probably taken. The rest suffered beyond description, from the haste of the march, and an almost total want of magazines: for the invasion only had been considered; the retreat was unprovided for. The disorderly multitude therefore lived by rapine, from friends equally and foes; but all was insufficient. Other sustenance failing, they ate the very grass from the ground, and the bark, and even leaves from the trees; and, as the historian, with emphatical simplicity, says, 'they left nothing.' Dysenteries and pestilential fevers seized whom famine spared. Numbers were left sick in the towns of Thessaly, Pæonia, Macedonia, and Thrace, with arbitrary orders, little likely to be diligently obeyed, that support and attendance should be provided for them. On the forty-fifth day from the commencement of his march in Thessaly, Xerxes reached the Hellespont; with an escort which, compared with the prodigious numbers a few months before under his command there, might be called nothing[36]. The bridges were already destroyed by storms and the violence of the current; but the fleet was arrived[37]. Artabazus immediately marched his detachment back toward Macedonia. The monarch proceeded to Sardis.

Herod. ut ant.

4 Dec. B. C. 480.

Herod. l. 8. c. 126.

[36] —— ἀπάγων τῆς στρατιῆς ὀυδὲν μέρος ὡς εἶπαι—Herodot. l. 8. c. 115.

[37] Herodotus is not among the reputable fablers who report that Xerxes in his retreat, without an army, without a fleet, and almost without an attendant, crossed the Hellespont in a cock-boat. He tells indeed another story, not perhaps wholly undeserving attention, as a specimen of tales circulated in Greece concerning these extraordinary transactions; tho he declares for himself that he did not believe it. The curious may find it in the 118th and 119th chapters of his 8th book.

APPENDIX TO THE EIGHTH CHAPTER.

Of the antient Ships of War.

THE form of the antient galleys of war, the trireme and quinquereme, and especially the arrangement of the rowers, have been much objects of inquiry and much of imagination, but remain yet very uncertain. The most satisfactory conjectures that I have met with, by far, are those of general Melvill, of which an account is given in the Appendix to governor Pownall's Treatise on the Study of Antiquities. Along the waist of the galley, according to the general's supposition, from a little above the water's edge, a gallery projected at an angle of about forty-five degrees. In this the upper rowers were disposed, checkered with the lower. Space for them being thus gained, partly by elevation, partly by lateral projection, those of the higest tier were not too much above the water to work their oars with effect. The General says he has been confirmed in his opinion that this was the reäl form of the antient galleys of war, by representations of them, tho imperfect, in antient paintings and reliefs, which he has seen in Italy. He has not specified those paintings and reliefs. There were, in the collection at Portici, pictures of sea ingagements, but so damaged that when there in the year 1788, I was unable myself to discern the parts of the vessels, so as to judge at all whether they might confirm or confute the general's notions. The most perfect antient monument to the purpose that ever fell in my way, was a marble fragment of a bireme in high relief, preserved in the Vatican museum at Rome. It had the incorrectness usual in the representations of such objects by the antient sculptors, but it nevertheless, in my opinion, went far to show that the general's idea was well founded. Winkelman, in his treatise on this monument, has blundered, as might be expected of a closet critic, pretending to dissert on rowing without ever having handled an oar.

In the account of a voyage round the world in 1767, and following years,

years, by de Pagés, an officer of the French navy, there is a description of a vessel of the ilands of the western verge of the Pacific ocean, the principle of which is exactly, and the construction very nearly, what general Melvill has imagined for the antient war-galley. De Pagés himself, apparently a diligent officer, and a liberal and candid writer, seems to have had little classical learning, and has not indicated that he had himself any idea of a Greek or Roman ship of war while he was describing what seems to have been so nearly the very thing. 'The vessel, he says, called *booanga*,' (Fr. bonanga) 'is perhaps but an inlargement of that of the Marian ilands, described in lord Anson's voyage. It is a sort of very long decked canoo or periagua. The hull does not rise more than a foot above the water. The upper-works, raised upon it, are extremely light, much like those of our old shebecks. It consists of a double gallery of bamboo, each two feet wide, running nearly the length of the vessel, leaving a small space beyond it, both at head and stern. The first gallery, ranging against the gunwale, on its outside, is about eighteen inches higher than the deck: the second, ranging against the first, outward, rises only about a foot above it. The first gallery is supported by knees fixed to the upper works: the second by knees fixed to timbers projecting beyond the upper works. Thus there are three rows of rowers on each side, whose rowlocks are disposed like the portholes in a ship's side, the highest over the lowest, and the middle tier between. The highest oars thus sufficiently overstretch the lowest, so as not to interfere in stroke with them; and the middle tier avoids interference with either, by taking the middle of the interval between every two oars of the upper and lower.'

Thus far the description is almost exactly general Melvill's of the antient war-galley. De Pagés proceeds then to notice an inconvenience of the contrivance, which the antients probably obviated, tho probably otherwise than the ilanders of the Pacific ocean. 'Each row,' he says, 'containing from twenty to twenty-five rowers, the utmost attention would be constantly required to trimming, if the inconvenience of overbalancing was not remedied thus: at about the distance of a fixth of the length of the vessel from its head and from

'its stern, are fixed, across it, two large bamboos, projecting from 'twenty to twenty-five feet on each side. At each end of these, 'parallel to the vessel's side, are fixed two or three other bamboos, 'whose buoyancy, assisted by so long a lever, prevents any consider-'able heeling, whether from wind, or from defective trimming; and, 'in fine weather, they serve as a fourth bench for rowers, who however 'use not oars, but paddles.'

The author adds, it is difficult to conceive the swiftness of these vessels, tho the oars are of awkward form, and the rower is too near the rowlock to make the most advantage of his lever.

The Mahometan Indians, who have eternal enmity with the Spanish Indians of the Philippine Islands, are those whom he mentions as principally using them.

CHAPTER IX.

HISTORY of GREECE, from the Battle of SALAMIS to the Conclusion of the PERSIAN Invasion.

SECTION I.

Return of the Athenians to their Country. Measures of the Grecian Fleet. Dedication to the Gods for the Victory at Salamis. Honors paid to Themistocles. Revolt of Chalcidicë from the Persians. Siege of Potidæa by Artabazus.

B.C. 480. Ol. 75, 1. THE various affections of Grecian minds after so glorious, so important, so unexpected a victory as that of Salamis, and the consequent hasty retreat of that numberless army, the means of resistance to which seemed beyond human calculation, may in some degree be conceived, but can scarcely in any degree be described. It does not appear that the Peisistratid Athenians, or any Persian garrison remained in Athens. That city and its whole territory seem to have been recovered without a struggle. Much difference of opinion and much debate arose among the Grecian commanders, concerning the measures next to be taken by the confederate fleet. It was proposed to pursue the Persians to the Hellespont, and at once crush the naval power of the empire, which would render its gigantic land-force less formidable to a country scarcely to be successfully invaded without a coöperating fleet. This was overruled [1]. But the most powerful naval armament that

Herod. l. 8. c. 108.

[1] It appears difficult to determine what should be thought of the story told by Herodotus, Cornelius Nepos, and Plutarch, and supported in some degree by the authority of Thucydides (1), of a message sent by Themistocles to Xerxes, informing him of the intention of the Greeks, after the battle of Salamis, to send their fleet to destroy the bridges of the Hellespont, and interrupt his return into Asia. Herodotus mentions it as an act of treachery, or at least of selfish policy; and were it not for the support derived from the slight mention of the circumstance by Thucydides, some incoherence in

(1) Herodot. l. 8. c. 108, 109, 110. Corn. Nep. & Plut. vit. Themist. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 137.

Herodotus's

that Greece had ever yet assembled, flushed with unhoped-for success, would not immediately rest. Many of the ilanders were obnoxious for their forwardness in the Persian cause. It was determined to exact a fine from them to be applied to the expences of the war. Themistocles, whose great qualities were sullied by a sordid attention to his private interest, is said on this occasion to have filled his own coffers through the influence which his high command and high reputation procured him. The Parians, we are told, avoided all public payment through a bribe to the Athenian commander. The Andrians alone, of the ilanders on the European side of the Ægean, resolutely refused to pay anything. Siege was in consequence laid to their principal town, but without effect; and the fleet returned to Salamis. Herod. l. 8. c. 111, 112.

Winter now approached, with a political calm, which for a long time had been little expected by the confederate Greeks. Gratitude to the gods, for the great deliverance obtained, was among the first emotions of the public mind. It was usual, after a victory, to select some of the most valuable articles of the spoil, to be offered, by the name of Acrothinia, first-fruits, to the supposed propitious deities. On the present occasion three Phenician trireme galleys were first chosen. One was dedicated in Salamis to the hero Ajax; another at the promontory Sunium, probably to Minerva[2]; and the third at the Corinthian isthmus to Neptune[2]. Other offerings required more preparation. A statue, twelve cubits high, holding in one hand a galley's prow, was dedicated to Apollo at Delphi. The oracle there demanded a particular acknowlegement from the Æginetans; because, it is said, in the glorious contest of Salamis, they had excelled all the other Greeks. Those ilanders gladly received the honorable testimony, and sent to Delphi a brazen mast, adorned with three stars of gold. These public dedi- c. 121. c. 112.

Herodotus's detail would lead to suspect that it was a mere fabrication of the adverse faction at Athens. Nepos and Plutarch, on the other hand, commend the deed as an act of the most refined, but the most patriotic policy.

[2] Minerva and Neptune are not mentioned by the historian; but the conjecture seems little hazardous. The ruins of the temple of the Suniad Minerva remain on the promontory to this day; and Neptune was not only the tutelary deity of the Isthmian games, but esteemed proprietary of the isthmus; and a statue, we find, was erected to him there upon occasion of the subsequent victory of Platæa.—See Herod. b. 9. c. 81. & Pausan. b. 2. c. 1.

cations being made or decreed, the remaining booty was divided. The fleet then proceeded to the isthmus, where another ceremony, of established practice among the Greeks, remained to be performed. Honors were to be decreed, first and second, for merit in the war[3]. The chiefs of the several states delivered their opinions in writing upon the altar of Neptune. Every one gave the first vote for himself; but a large majority of the second appeared for Themistocles. Thus it remained undecided to whom the first honor should be paid; and the squadrons separated to their several states; but the general voice of the people sounded the fame of Themistocles far beyond all others. Unsatisfied however with such vague applause, and disappointed of the degree of distinction which his ambition affected, Themistocles went to Lacedæmon, probably knowing that he should be well received. The Spartan government took upon itself to determine the claims of merit. It would have been invidious to have refused the Aristeia, or first honors for bravery and general conduct, to their own admiral who had commanded in chief; but, a new and singular compliment was invented for the Athenian commander: they adjudged to him the prize of wisdom and maritime skill. Eurybiades and Themistocles therefore together received, from the Lacedæmonian commonwealth, the honorable reward of olive crowns. Themistocles was besides presented with a chariot; and, at his departure, from Lacedæmon, three hundred Spartans, of those called Knights, or Cavalry, were appointed to escort him to the frontier[4]; a kind of honor never, to the time of Herodotus, paid to any other stranger.

The news of the victory of the Greeks at Salamis, and of the consequent retreat of Xerxes into Asia, was quickly conveyed through all the Grecian settlements, in uncertain rumors, here exaggerated, there deficient, according to the information, the temper, the interest, the memory, or, sometimes, the invention of individuals reporting it, where public and certain means of extensive communication were little known. But the Greeks of the Thracian colonies, who had seen, with

[3] —— ἀριστήϊα δώσαντες τῷ ἀξιωτάτῳ γενομένῳ Ἑλλήνων ἀνὰ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον.——τὸν πρῶτον καὶ τὸν δεύτερον κρίναντες ἐκ πάντων.—Herod. l. 8. c. 123.

[4] Σπαρτιητέων λογάδες, οὗτοι ἱππῆες καλέονται.—Herod. l. 8. c. 124.

trembling,

trembling, the proud march of the immense host of Persia toward Greece, were also eyewitnesses of the miserable reverse, when the monarch precipitated his retreat into Asia. Their information was, however, probably little exact concerning the force yet left hovering over their mother-country, and their knowlege of the resources of the Persian empire generally very imperfect. According, therefore, to the common nature of that tide of the human mind, which operates generally with more force upon the determinations of a multitude than of an individual, the fruitful province of Chalcidicë, on the confines of Thrace and Macedonia, boldly revolted from the Persian dominion, each little town asserting its beloved independency. Meanwhile Artabazus, having seen his soverein safe on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont hastened back with his detachment, itself a large army, to rejoin Mardonius. But as the quarters of Macedonia and Thessaly were already crowded, he halted in Chalcidicë. He received with indignation intelligence of the revolt, and thought, not unreasonably, that he should scarcely escape censure, if he suffered the winter to pass without punishing it. Immediately he laid siege to Olynthus and Potidæa. Olynthus was presently taken; and, if we may believe Herodotus, the inhabitants, being conducted to a neighboring marsh, were there all massacred. The town, which had been occupied by a colony from Bottiæa on the Macedonian coast, was given to native Chalcidians; and according to that common policy of the Persians, which we have heretofore remarked, the government was intrusted to Critobulus, a Greek of the town of Toronë in the neighboring peninsula of Sithonia.

Herod l. 8. c. 126. & seq.

The actions of Thermopylæ and Salamis had, however, had a quick effect in diminishing the extreme dread before entertained of the Persian power, and in promoting, among the Greeks, a general emulation, in arms, and in the spirit of independency. The Potidæans, whose situation commanded the neck of the fruitful and rebellious peninsula of Pallenë, defended themselves so vigorously that little progress was made in the siege. But the wealth of Persia, continually brought forth to supply the deficiency of military science and discipline, created a weight in the balance of war, against which the Greeks with difficulty found a counterpoise. Timoxeinus, commander of the Scionæan auxiliaries c. 128.

iliaries in Potidæa, was bribed to a treasonable correspondence with the Persian general. They communicated by letters, wrapt around arrows, which were shot to spots agreed upon. The accidental wounding of a Potidæan, by one of those arrows, however discovered the treason before it had gone to any pernicious length. A crowd immediately gathered about the wounded man; and, on extracting the arrow, a letter from Artabazus to Timoxeinus was found upon it. Three months had now been consumed in the siege, and little progress made, when the tide, to which many of the receſſes of the Ægeän sea are subject, flowing to an unusual height, flooded the Persian camp[3]. Immediately upon the ebb, the general ordered the army to march, meaning to take a station on higher ground within the peninsula of Pallenë; but not half the troops had passed the flats, when the flood made again, with increased violence. Many of the Persians were drowned: the Potidæans, sallying in boats, killed many; and Artabazus found his measures so disconcerted, that he raised the siege, and led the remains of his army into Thessaly.

SECTION II.

Preparations for the Campain. Congress at Athens: Speeches of Alexander King of Macedonia, of the Lacedæmonian Ambassador, and of the Athenian Minister. Athens a second time abandoned. Zeal of the Athenian People for the Prosecution of the Persian War.

Herod. l. 8. c. 130. & seq. Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 27.

THE Persian fleet, as soon as Xerxes had passed into Asia, quitting the Hellespont, went part to Samos, part to Cuma, in whose ports it wintered. In the spring, the whole assembled at Samos. Mistrust of those conquered subjects of the empire, who alone were mariners, led those who directed the affairs of the navy, to an alteration of the establishment of their crews, the direct contrary to that which the genius and experience of Themistocles had imagined, and which had proved so advantageous in practice: they increased the proportion

[3] See Herodotus, b. 7. c. 198; alſo note 48, p. 680, of Wesseling's edition.

of

of Median and Persian soldiers. The fleet however remained at Samos, to awe the Asiatic and Thracian coasts and neighbouring ilands, making no attempt westward.

Spring, says the historian, and the recollection that Mardonius was in Thessaly, awakened the Greeks. The assembling of the army was yet delayed; but a fleet of one hundred and twenty trireme galleys was collected at Ægina, under Leotychidas, king of Lacedæmon. Xanthippus, the prosecutor of Miltiades, commanded the Athenian squadron. During the winter, some of the leading men of Chios had conspired against Strattis, whom the Persians had appointed governor, or, in the Greek term, tyrant of their iland. They were detected, but found means to fly, and they went to Ægina. Addressing themselves to the naval commanders there, they urged, That all Ionia was ripe for revolt, and wanted only the countenance of the victorious fleet of Greece, to make a powerful diversion for the Persian arms. They prevailed so far that the fleet moved eastward, as if to cross the Ægean; but, stopping at Delos, dread of ingaging the might of Persia, at a distance from their own shores and in seas less known to them, again predominated; so that, as the historian proceeds to observe, the space between Samos and Delos remained in peace through mutual fear. Herod. ut ant.

Mardonius, meanwhile, had not neglected those measures which might promote the success of his arms by land. Sensible of the importance of naval coöperation, he resolved upon the endevor to detach the Athenians from the Grecian confederates; justly thinking that, if this could be effected, the Persian fleet would immediately resume a decided superiority. Alexander king of Macedonia was judiciously chosen for his ambassador to the Athenian commonwealth. That prince was intimately connected with both the Grecian and Persian nations. His family boasted its descent from Hercules and Perseus, through Temenus, the Heracleid, king of Argos. It held, with the Athenian commonwealth, the sacred connection of hereditary hospitality: Alexander himself had communicated with Athens in those revered offices of friendship. But his sister Gygæa was married to Bubares, a Persian, high in rank and in command, son of that Megabazus who, in the reign of Darius, had conquered the western Thracians, and compelled Amyntas, Herod. l. 8. c. 136, & seq. Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 28.

father

father of Alexander, to the delivery of earth and water. Yet, tho Alexander had constantly acted with the Persians, he had nevertheless, as far as his dependent situation would permit, always shown himself friendly to the confederate Greeks. He was well received at Athens.

Herod. l. 8. c. 141. But as the news of his arrival would quickly be spred through Greece, and would probably excite jealousy among the confederates, especially the Lacedæmonians, the leaders of the Athenian administration deferred his public audience before the assembly of the people, till ministers came from Sparta.

Herodotus does not inform us who particularly, during these remarkable transactions, directed the measures of the Attic government; which, both in wisdom and in magnanimity, at least equal anything in the political history of mankind. Plutarch attributes all to Aristeides.

Plut. Aristid. As early as possible after the arrival of the Lacedæmonian ministers, an assembly of the people was summoned. The Lacedæmonian ministers and the king of Macedonia were together admitted to this reälly public audience. Silence was proclaimed. Alexander rose; and, according to the original historian, spoke in this simple and antiquated,

c. 140. but emphatical style of oratory[6]: 'Athenians, thus saith Mardonius: "The commands of the king are come to me, saying, I FORGIVE THE "ATHENIANS ALL THEIR OFFENCES AGAINST ME. NOW THERE- "FORE, MARDONIUS, THUS DO: RESTORE TO THEM THEIR TER- "RITORY, AND ADD TO IT WHATSOEVER THEMSELVES SHALL "CHUSE, LEAVING THEM TO THEIR OWN LAWS; AND IF THEY "WILL MAKE ALLIANCE WITH ME, REBUILD ALL THE TEMPLES "WHICH HAVE BEEN BURNT. Such being the king's commands "to me, so I must necessarily do, unless you prevent. From myself "I say to you thus: Why would you persevere in the folly of making "war against the king? You cannot overcome him: you cannot long "resist him. You know how numerous his armies are, and what they "have effected. You are informed of the force under my command. "Should you overcome me, which in reason you cannot hope, imme- "diately a still greater force will be sent against you. As a friend I

[6] Testimony is also borne to this remarkable transaction by Demosthenes, 2d Philipp. Diodorus Sic. b. 11. c. 28. and Plutarch in his Life of Aristeides.

"recommend

" recommend to you, not, in the vain contest with the king, to lose " your country, but to seize the honorable opportunity of this offer, " from the king himself, for making peace. Be free; and let there " be alliance between us without fraud or deceit." These things, ' O Athenians, Mardonius commanded me to say to you. For my own ' part, I shall omit to inlarge upon the friendship I bear you, since this ' is not the first occasion upon which you have experienced it. I be- ' seech you to accept the terms proposed by Mardonius; for I well see ' the impossibility of your long contending against the Persian empire. ' Upon no other consideration would I have come to you thus com- ' missioned. But the king's power is more than human: his arm is of ' unmeasurable length. I dread the event for you, if you refuse the ' great conditions now offered. The very situation of your country ' should indeed admonish you: lying in the road to the rest of the ' confederates, you alone are first exposed, and actually bear all the ' brunt of the war. Comply therefore; for it is not a little honorable ' to you, that you, alone among the Greeks, are selected, by that ' great king, for offers of peace and friendship.'

The king of Macedonia concluded, and the chief of the Spartan ministers rose: 'The Lacedæmonians,' he said, 'have sent us to re- ' quest that you will admit nothing to the prejudice of Greece, nor ' receive any proposal from the Persian. For such a proceeding ' were unjust, unbecoming any Grecian people, and on many accounts, ' most of all unbecoming you. To you indeed we owe this war, which ' which was excited contrary to our inclination. The quarrel was ' originally with you alone; now it is extended to all Greece. That ' the Athenians, therefore, who from of old have, more than all man- ' kind, asserted the liberties of others, should become the authors of ' slavery to Greece, were most hainous. We grieve for your sufferings; ' that now for two seasons you have lost the produce of your lands; ' and that the public calamity should so long press so severely upon ' individuals. The Lacedæmonians and the other confederates are ' desirous of making you reparation. They will ingage, while the war ' shall last, to maintain your families, and all those of your slaves who ' may not be wanted to attend you on military service. Let not there- Herod. l. 8. c. 142.

' fore

'fore Alexander the Macedonian persuade you, softening Mardonius's 'message. He is certainly acting in his proper character: a tyrant 'himself, he coöperates with a tyrant. But for you, prudence utterly 'forbids what he advises: you well know that among barbarians there 'is no faith, no truth.'

In the name of the Athenian people (according to Plutarch, by Aristeides) the following answer was then made to the king of Macedonia: 'We know that the power of the Persian empire is many times 'greater than ours. With this therefore it was needless to reproach us. 'Nevertheless, independency being our object, we are determined to 'defend ourselves to the utmost, and you would in vain persuade us 'to make any terms with the barbarian. You may therefore tell 'Mardonius, that the Athenians say, 'While the sun holds his course "we will never make alliance with Xerxes; but trusting in our assist-"ing gods and heroes, whose temples and images he, setting at nought, "has burnt, we will persevere in resisting him.' Come then no more 'to the Athenians with such proposals, nor, with any view of pro-'moting our welfare, recommend what is dishonorable and unjust. 'For yourself, we shall always be desirous of showing you all the 'friendship and respect, to which the antient hospitality and alliance 'between us intitle you.'

Herod. l. 8. c. 143.

The orator then addressed the Lacedæmonian ministers thus: 'The 'apprehension of the Lacedæmonians that we might accept the terms 'proposed by the barbarian, was, upon a general view of human nature, 'certainly not unreasonable: but after the proof you have had of the 'resolution of the Athenians, it becomes a dishonorable apprehension. 'No riches, nor the offer of the finest country upon earth, should bribe 'us to connect ourselves with the Persians, to the inslaving of Greece. 'Were it possible that we could be so disposed, yet the obstacles are 'many and great. First, and what principally affect us, the images 'and temples of the gods burnt and reduced to rubbish. This it is our 'indispensable duty to resent, and revenge to the utmost, rather than 'make alliance with the perpetrator. Then, as a Grecian people, our 'connection in blood and in language, our common dedications to the 'gods, our common sacrifices, and our similar customs and manners.

c. 144.

'Of

'Of these the Athenians cannot become the betrayers. Know then 'this, if before you knew it not, that, while one Athenian survives, we 'will never ally ourselves with Xerxes. We gratefully acknowlege 'your kind attention, amid the distress and ruin of our private 'affairs, in proposing to maintain our families. We will however still 'make the best we can of our own means, without burdening you. 'These then being our resolutions, let there be, on your side, no delay 'in corresponding measures. Your army must march immediately; 'for, according to all appearances, it will not be long before the bar-'barian will invade our country: he will move instantly, upon receiv-'ing information that we have rejected his proposals. Before therefore 'he can arrive in Attica, it will behove us to meet him in Bœotia.' With these answers the king of Macedonia and the Lacedæmonian ambassadors departed.

Mardonius did not deceive the expectation of the Athenian leaders: he advanced immediately, by nearly the same road that Xerxes had taken, toward Attica. The wonted hesitation and dilatoriness meanwhile prevailed in the counsels of the Peloponnesians. The Persian army was already in Bœotia, and no measures were taken by the confederacy for defending Attica. Once more therefore it became necessary for the Athenians hastily to abandon their country. Probably however the necessity was less grievous than on the former occasion: for, beside being more prepared, they had less to apprehend; their own fleet now commanding the Grecian seas. In their own iland of Salamis, therefore, their families and effects would, for the present at least, be beyond annoyance from the Persian arms. Thither all were removed; and about eight months after Xerxes had quitted Athens, Mardonius, unopposed, retook possession of that city.

Herod. l. 9. c. 1.

Herod. l. 9. c. 3. & 6. Plut. vit. Aristid.

June. B. C. 479. Ol. 75 ½.

The conduct of the Peloponnesians, but most particularly of the Lacedæmonians who were at the head of them, appears upon this occasion, by the account of Plutarch as well as of Herodotus, ungenerous, ungrateful, and faithless, if not even dastardly[7]: that of the Athenians, magnanimous even to enthusiasm. Deprived of their country, and

[7] Plutarch, in his Treatise against Herodotus, has censured that historian for relating what, in his life of Aristeides, he has himself in strong terms confirmed.

Herod. l. 9. c. 4. Plut. vit. Aristid.

apparently betrayed by their allies, the Persian general thought this a favorable opportunity for attempting once more to draw the Athenians from the Grecian confederacy. He therefore sent Murichides, a Hellespontine Greek, to Salamis, with the same offers which he had before made by the king of Macedonia. The minister was admitted to audience by the council of Fivehundred. Lycidas, alone of the counsellors, was for paying so much attention to the proposal as to refer it to an assembly of the people. This circumstance was communicated: and so vehement was the popular zeal for persevering in enmity to Persia, a tumultuous crowd, on the rising of the council, stoned Lycidas to death. The frenzy spred; and, what we had rather not believe, tho Herodotus the friend and panegyrist of Athens affirms it, and the philosophic Plutarch seems even to applaud the deed, the Athenian women attacked the house of the unfortunate senator, and his widow and children perished under their hands. The law of nations was at the same time so far respected, that Murichides was dismissed without injury or insult.

Herod. l. 9. c. 5. Demosth. de cor. p. 296. ed. Reiske. M. T. Cic. de Off l. 3. c. 11.

SECTION III.

Campain in Bœotia. Battle of Platæa. Punishment of Thebes.

Herod. l. 9. c. 6 & 7. Plut. vit. Aristid.

MINISTERS had been sent from Athens, accompanied by others from Platæa and Megara, to remonstrate with the Lacedæmonian government on their shameful neglect of their ingagements, and to learn what were now to be the measures of the confederacy. The Lacedæmonians were celebrating their feast of the Hyacinthia, one of the most solemn of their calendar. This furnishing some pretext, the ephors, those magistrates who had usurped a power in the Spartan government superior to that of the kings, delayed their answer from day to day for ten days successively. The works at the Corinthian isthmus, never meanwhile intermitted, were now upon the point of completion. The Athenian ministers, thinking themselves insulted and their country betrayed, determined on the morrow to declare to the Lacedæmonian senate their

B. C. 479. Ol. 75 ½.

Herod. l. 9. c. 8 & 11.

c. 7 & 8.

c. 1.

sense

sense of such treatment, and to leave Sparta. At length, however, the Lacedæmonians, after consultation with their allies, and, it is added, some reproaches from them, had determined upon juster measures. Five thousand Spartans, each attended by seven Helots, making all together a body of forty thousand fighting men (for all the Helots acted as light-armed troops) marched silently out of the city in the evening, under the command of Pausanias son of Cleombrotus, regent for his cousin Pleistarchus son of Leonidas, yet a minor. In the morning, when the Athenian ministers came to make their final complaint to the senate, they were told that the Lacedæmonian army was already on the confines of Arcadia, in its way to meet the Persians. The Argians were, according to Herodotus, so thoroly in the Persian interest, that they had undertaken to intercept any Spartan troops which should attempt to quit Laconia. The suddenness and secrecy of the march defeated their intention. Immediately, however, on receiving intelligence that the Lacedæmonian army had entered Arcadia, they sent information to Mardonius. Herod. l. 9. c. 29.

While the Persian general had any hope of bringing over the Athenians, he had carefully spared Attica; but as soon as he was assured that they were immoveable, he gave up the country for plunder to his troops, and he completely destroyed the city. Then, hearing that the Peloponnesians were in motion, he returned into Bœotia; a country more commodious for the action of his numerous cavalry, nearer to his magazines, which were principally at Thebes, and whence, in any misfortune, retreat would be more open, while in success, the way was equally ready into Peloponnesus. He fixed his camp in the Theban territory, extending it along the course of the Asopus, from Erythræ toward Hysiæ, on the border of the Platæan lands. Within this tract he chose a situation, where he fortified a space of something more than a square mile. c. 13. c. 15. Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 28. Herod. l. 9. c. 41. c. 15.

The Lacedæmonians meanwhile were joined, at the isthmus, by the other Peloponnesians of the confederacy; and there, according to the constant practice of the Greeks in all momentous undertakings, after solemn sacrifices, the bowels of the victims were observed, whence persons believed to be inspired, or, if such were not to be found, persons

learned in divination, undertook to know how far and upon what conditions the gods would be propitious. Tisamenus, an Eleian, attended Pausanias in quality of prophet to the army. The Lacedæmonians had such confidence in the fortune and prophetical abilities of this man, that, to secure him to themselves, when he had refused all other price, they admitted him and his brother to the full privileges of Spartan citizens; an honor never, to the time of Herodotus, conferred upon any other person. Upon the present occasion the symptoms were very favorable; which would perhaps commonly happen when measures were already resolved upon; tho, among the Greeks, policy and superstition were so intimately blended, that it is often difficult to discover what should be attributed to each. At Eleusis the combined army was joined by the Athenian forces, to the chief command of which Aristeides had been raised, by a particular decree of the people. There farther sacrifices were made, and the symptoms of the victims were again favorable. The army, therefore, proceeded with confidence into Bœotia, and took a position on the roots of mount Cithæron, opposite to the camp of the Persians, the river Asopus flowing between them.

Herod. l. 9. c. 33.

c. 19.

c. 19 & 28. Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 30. Plut. vit. Aristid.

Mardonius had judiciously left the passage of the mountains uninterrupted to the Grecian troops; his business being to draw them into the champain country, where, through his cavalry, on which, then as at this day, was the principal reliance of Asiatic armies, victory would be nearly certain to him, and probably easy. But Pausanias would not move from his advantageous ground; and his position was so strong that an attempt to force it could not prudently be ventured. Mardonius therefore ordered Masistius, his general of the cavalry, to advance with all the horse, and, by harassing in various parts, to make the Greeks uneasy in their situation; not neglecting at the same time, if he could find or create opportunity, to attempt an impression. The Persian cavalry all used missile weapons, darts or arrows, or both; a practice by which, near four centuries and a half after, they destroyed the Roman army under Crassus, and in which the horsemen of the same countries are still wonderfully skilful at this day. Like the eastern cavalry at this day also, they commonly attacked or harassed by small bodies in succession; vehement in onset, never long in conflict, but,

Herod. l. 9. c. 20.

if the enemy was firm in resistance, retreating as hastily as they had advanced, to prepare for another charge.

The Megarian camp was in the part of the Grecian line the most accessible to cavalry. Here, therefore, Masistius directed his principal efforts. The Megarians, somewhat surprized by the novel manner of the attack, nevertheless maintained their station. Wearied, however, at length by the unceasing succession of fresh troops, all of whom approached enough to give opprobrious language, and discharge their darts and arrows, after which they instantly retired, the Megarian leaders sent to inform Pausanias of their distress; adding, that they must abandon their post if not quickly relieved. Pausanias himself was at a loss how effectually to oppose those desultory attacks of the Persian cavalry. He assembled the generals for their advice, and expressed his wish, that volunteers could be found to undertake a business, which was so new to him, that he was unwilling to risk orders upon it. The Athenians alone offered themselves. Aristeides had had the advantage of serving in a high command under the great Miltiades at the battle of Marathon. Upon the present occasion he selected an active officer named Olympiodorus, under whose orders he placed three hundred chosen heavy-armed foot, with a large proportion of archers and dartmen. These seem to have been, in the Athenian armies, superior to the light troops of the Peloponnesians; and probably also to those of the Megarians; who, being a Dorian people from Peloponnesus, would pride themselves upon adhering to the Peloponnesian discipline. Olympiodorus hastened to the relief of the pressed part of the line. The Persian horse, who, by the swiftness of their retreat, eluded every effort of the Megarian heavy-armed foot, found themselves unexpectedly incommoded by the Athenian bowmen. Charging to disperse them, they were received by the heavy-armed foot, upon whom they could make no impression, but suffered in the attempt. Masistius, vexed to be thus baffled, and anxious to recover an advantage from which he had promised himself credit, advanced to direct and incourage those desultory attacks, so harassing to regular infantry. In the instant of a charge, his horse, wounded with an arrow, reared upright, and he fell. His troops, attentive to their usual evolution, without

Herod. l. 9. c. 21. Plut. Aristid.

Plut. Aristid.

Herod. & Plut. ut sup.

without adverting to their general's misfortune, wheeled and retreated full speed. The Athenian heavy-armed foot, rushing forward, overpowered the few remaining about Masistius. His horse was caught and led off by the Greeks. Himself, lying on the ground, after the excellence of his armour, which was complete like that of the knights of western Europe in the times of chivalry, had resisted many efforts of the Athenian soldiers, was at length pierced in the eye by a javelin, which penetrated to the brain. The Persian cavalry, halting at their usual distance from the enemy, waited in vain for fresh orders. Perceiving then their loss, the whole body prepared to charge together, to revenge their slain general, or, at least, to recover the body. Olympiodorus, expecting this, had sent for succour; but the Persians made their charge before any sufficient reïnforcement could arrive, and the Athenians were obliged to retire for more advantageous ground. Assistance however was not delayed. The Grecian foot charged the Persian horse, put them to flight, and recovered their prize. The cavalry stood again at the distance of about a quarter of a mile; but, after some consultation among the principal surviving officers, retreated to their camp.

Masistius was a man very high both in rank and in esteem among the Persians, and, as it appears from Herodotus, next in command to Mardonius. His death was therefore lamented in their camp, with all the pomp of public mourning, and every honorable testimony of general grief. The event was, on the other hand, not a little encouraging to the Greeks. The leaders derived just confidence from the experience that the formidable cavalry of the East could be resisted; and the body of the slain general, borne on a carriage through the whole camp, however, in itself a melancholy object, was, in this season, an animating spectacle to the soldiers. It was now determined to quit the present ground, which, tho otherwise advantageous, had been found inconvenient from scarcity of water (for the decided superiority of the enemy's cavalry made it difficult to water from the Asopus) and to venture to a lower situation, within the Platæan territory, near the Gargaphian fountain. In their march from Erythræ, they kept the mountain-ridge by Hysiæ, but the ground of incampment consisted of gentle eminences only.

Herod. l. 9. c. 24.

c. 25.

9 Sept.

In

In this situation, nothing forbidding, the troops of every Grecian state claimed their accustomed post in the line. The Lacedæmonians, having been long the leading people of Greece, had the right as their acknowleged privilege. The Athenians, unquestionably next in consequence, thought themselves intitled to the second rank; but having never acted in any large body with Peloponnesian armies, no custom had established their degree of precedency. The Tegeans therefore claimed the left of the line, as their post by antient prescription. The dispute was brought before a meeting of the officers of the army. The Tegeans urged their claim in a studied oration, supporting it by a long detail of the great actions of their ancestors. Aristeides answered for the Athenians[8]. 'We understand,' he said, 'that we came hither not 'to harangue but to fight. Otherwise, were we disposed to boast of 'the deeds in arms of our ancestors, we could go as far into antiquity 'as the Arcadians, and perhaps find more honorable testimonies in our 'favor. For what has passed in our own times we need only mention 'Marathon. But we think it highly unbecoming, in a moment like 'the present, to be disputing about precedency. We are ready to obey 'you, Lacedæmonians, wheresoever, and next to whomsoever you 'think it for the common advantage to place us. Wherever our 'station may be appointed, we shall endevor to act as becomes us in 'the common cause of Greece. Command therefore, and depend upon 'our obedience.' The Lacedæmonians, without hesitation, and with one voice, exclaimed, that 'The Athenians ought to have the post of 'honor in preference to the Arcadians.'

Herod. l. 9. c. 25, 26.

c. 27.

c. 28.

The army was then disposed in the following order: five thousand Spartans of the city held the first place on the right, attended by thirty-five thousand light-armed Helots: then five thousand Lacedæmonians of the other towns of Laconia, attended by five thousand Helots. Next to these were the Tegeans, in number fifteen hundred: then five thousand Corinthians, three hundred Potidæans from Pallenë, six hundred Orchomenians of Arcadia, three thousand Sicyonians, eight hundred Epidaurians, one thousand Trœzenians, two hundred Lepreats,

[8] Herodotus, in relating this transaction, speaks of the Athenians in general, without naming any one: Plutarch attributes all to Aristeides.

four

four hundred Mycenæans and Tirynthians, one thousand Phliasians, three hundred Hermionians, six hundred Eretrians and Styrians, four hundred Chalcidians, five hundred Ambraciots, eight hundred Leucadians and Anactorians, two hundred Paleans of Cephallenia, five hundred Æginetans, three thousand Megarians, six hundred Platæans, and lastly, eight thousand Athenians held the extreme of the left wing. These, exclusively of the Helots, were together thirty-eight thousand seven hundred; all heavy-armed foot. But every Spartan of the city having seven attending Helots; every other Lacedæmonian one; and the slaves attending the other Greeks, and acting as light-armed soldiers, being, according to Herodotus, nearly in the proportion of one to every heavy-armed soldier, the light-armed would thus be, in all, sixty-nine thousand five hundred, and the total number of fighting men[9] a hundred and eight thousand two hundred. There were besides eighteen hundred Thespians, not regularly armed, who would make the whole a hundred and ten thousand. Herodotus mentions no horse in the Grecian army; probably because the force was inconsiderable, and utterly incompetent to face the numerous and excellent cavalry of Persia.

Herod. l. 9. c. 29.

As soon as it was known that the Greeks had filed off toward Platæa, Mardonius also moved and incamped over against them, keeping still the Asopus in his front. Herodotus supposes his army to have consisted now of three hundred and fifty thousand fighting men; of whom fifty thousand were Greeks or Macedonians; tho, he says, the number of these was never exactly ascertained. In numbering the others also he has omitted to deduct those probably lost in the march of Artabazus and in winter-quarters, together with the sick, beside those by his own account destroyed at the siege of Potidæa. Cornelius Nepos makes the infantry two hundred thousand, and the horse twenty thousand, all chosen troops. Among the Greeks under the Persian banners, a thousand Phocians followed with extreme reluctance; while their fellow-countrymen, who had taken refuge among the fastnesses of Parnassus,

c. 31. c. 40.

c. 31.

Corn. Nep. vit. Arist.

Herod. ut sup.

[9] *Ἀνδρῶν μαχίμων.* There were perhaps other slaves who did not bear arms, and there might be light-armed soldiers who were not slaves. Such apparently the Thespians were. On this subject the note 49, p. 706, of Wesseling's Herodotus, may deserve attention.

were

were, with all the activity that the zeal of revenge and the lust of plunder united could excite, continually harassing the outskirts of the army.

Mardonius, as well as Pausanias, had an Eleian prophet in his pay. Herodotus affirms that he even solicitously consulted Grecian oracles concerning the event of the war; and gives a very detailed account of his application to the prophetical cavern of Trophonius at Lebadea in Bœotia. Possibly he might think it of consequence to propagate among the Greeks, both his auxiliaries and his enemies, the belief that their own gods favored the Persian cause. But the Greeks under his command had also their particular prophet, whose predictions might be inconvenient to him, and against whom a Grecian prophet, under his own influence, might be useful. For himself, it is utterly unlikely that he would pay any regard to the oracles of deities, the belief in whom the religion of his country taught him to despise and abhor. The Grecian prophets however in both armies, on inspection of the sacrificed victims, foretold victory to their own, provided it received the attack. These prophecies, if dictated by policy, appear on both sides judicious [10]. For the Greeks had only to keep their advantageous ground, while the vast army of their enemy consumed its magazines, and they would have the benefit of victory without risk. To the Persians also the same prediction might be useful; to account to the soldier for the inaction of his general before an army so inferior, and to keep him quiet under sufferings from scarcity and probably badness of provisions, together with the want of many things to which Asiatics were accustomed, while means were sought to intice or force the Greeks from their position. Eight days passed without any material attempt on either side. But, during this pause, Mardonius obtained exact information of the

Herod. l. 9. c. 37, 38.

c. 39.

[10] If the simple Herodotus sometimes tires with reiterated details of the superstition of his age, yet the philosophical Plutarch is far more disgusting. Herodotus, drawing his pictures from the life, is often informing, and never fails to be in some degree amusing. We are indeed sometimes at a loss to know what he believed himself; and often we wish in vain to discover how far the real belief of statesmen and generals has operated, and where their policy only has made use of the credulity of the vulgar. Here we might expect the philosopher of an inlightened age to assist us; but we are totally disappointed.

defiles of mount Cithæròn, through which the Grecian army received
17 Sept. its supplies. On the evening of the ninth day a large body of horse marched. Just where the defile meets the plain they fell in with a convoy. They killed men and cattle till sated with slaughter, and drove the remainder to their own camp. Two days then again passed without any considerable event, neither army venturing to pass the Asopus; but the Persian horse, in detached bodies, were unceasingly harassing the Greeks.

Whether the Grecian soothsayer in the Persian general's pay was reälly intractable, or whether only the historian's zeal for the credit of the religion of his country induced him to propagate, and perhaps believe, the report, Mardonius, we are told, at length determined to disregard the Grecian prognostics, which forbad attack, and to follow the laws and customs of the Persians alone in ingaging the enemy.
Herod. l. 9. c. 42. The conduct, however, which Herodotus attributes to him upon this occasion, shows both the general and the politician. Having summoned
20 Sept. the principal Grecian officers of his army, he asked if they knew of any oracle declaring that a Persian army should perish in Greece. None would own they knew of any such, tho it seems a report of such an oracle had been circulated. 'Then,' said Mardonius, 'I will tell you 'that I well know an oracle has foretold the destruction of a Persian 'army that shall plunder the temple of Delphi. Be however assured 'that the army under my orders shall never violate that temple. The 'Greeks therefore, allies of the Persians, may proceed, confident of the 'favor of their gods, and of victory.' He then declared his intention to attack the confederates on the next day, and directed to prepare accor-
c. 16. dingly. As the historian had conversed with Bœotians of rank who served under Mardonius, the account of this transaction, in itself probable, might come to him well authenticated.

Among those of Grecian race now subjects of the Persian empire, Alexander king of Macedonia, from an independent soverein become the follower of a Persian general, would not naturally be the most satisfied with his new situation. Revolving in his mind the possible
c. 44, 45. Plut. vit. Aristid. consequences of the approaching day, he could not rest. At midnight he mounted his horse, rode to the Athenian line, and demanded to speak with

with the general. Aristeides, informed that an unknown person on horseback from the Persian camp, and apparently of rank, demanded to speak with him, assembled some of his principal officers, and went with them to the place. The king of Macedonia told them, 'that 'Mardonius had determined to attack the Grecian camp next morning, 'and had given his orders for the purpose. Should anything never- 'theless prevent the attack from taking place, he advised that the 'Grecian generals should persevere in holding their present situation; for the deficiency of the magazines would soon compel the Persians to 'retire. His affection for the Greek nation in general, and his parti- 'cular regard for the Athenian people, had induced him to hazard the 'very dangerous measure in which they saw him ingaged. He need 'not therefore, he was sure, request from them that secrecy which his 'safety required; but, on the contrary, should the war at last have a 'favorable issue for them, he trusted that his known inclination for the 'Grecian cause, and more especially his service of that night, would 'be remembered, when Greece, being free, might assist Macedonia in 'recovering independency.' Alexander hastened back to his own camp; Aristeides immediately went to Pausanias with the intelligence he had received. Herod. l. 9. c. 46.

On the arrival of the Athenian general at the commander-in-chief's tent, the important consultation was entered upon, in what manner to resist the attack, expected in a few hours, which was to decide the fate of Greece. It had been observed that the native Persians, esteemed far superior to the other Asiatic infantry, held the left of the enemy's line, against the Lacedæmonians, and the Greeks in the Persian service the right, against the Athenians. Pausanias proposed a change in the order of the Grecian army; that the Athenians, who alone of the confederates had any experience of action with the Persians, and who were elate, not only with the memory of their great victory at Marathon, but also with the event of their recent ingagement with the cavalry, should move to the right wing, and that the Lacedæmonians, long accustomed to be superior to all the Greeks, should take the left. Aristeides readily consented, and orders were given accordingly. Day broke, and the Persian generals observed the Grecian troops in motion. This unex- 21 Sept. Herod. l. 9. c. 47.

Plut. vit. Aristid.

pected circumstance induced them to defer the intended attack. Change in their own disposition might become necessary; changes were made; the day was consumed in evolutions of both armies, and the Persian infantry never came into action. But the cavalry harassed unceasingly the more accessible parts of the Grecian line. Generally they did no more than discharge their bows and hastily retire; thus, however, keeping a constant alarm, and, while they inflicted many wounds, receiving little injury. But a more serious attack was made upon that part of the Lacedæmonian line which guarded the Gargaphian fountain, where the horse remained masters of the field.

Herod. l. 9. c. 49. Plut. vit. Aristid.

Herod. l. 9. c. 50.

Night put an end to this desultory kind of action; when, after a day of unremitted fatigue[11], the Grecian army was without water. Provisions also began to fail, the activity of the Persian horse intercepting supplies. To move therefore was indispensable. At little more than a mile from the Gargaphian fountain, toward Platæa, the waters of the Asopus, in their descent from mount Cithæron, formed an iland, not half a mile wide. This spot, for the sake of water, it was determined to occupy. At the same time it was resolved to send half the army to the mountains, to bring in a convoy of provisions which waited there, not daring to stir beyond the defiles. But it was feared to attempt a movement in the plain, in presence of the Persian horse, which in the very camp had given such annoyance. The second watch of the night was therefore the time appointed for the march. But when, danger pressing, fear ran high, the troops of each independent state little regarded the orders of the commander-in-chief. The Tegeans steddily observed the motions of the Lacedæmonians, and the Platæans those of the Athenians; but the rest, instead of halting at the iland, fled (for that is the term used by Herodotus, and confirmed even by Plutarch) as far as the temple of Juno, under the walls of Platæa, at the distance of two miles and a half from the Gargaphian fountain.

c. 51. Plut. vit. Aristid.

Herod. l. 9. c. 52. Lys. or. fun. p. 107. vel 195. Plut. vit. Aristid.

Herod. l. 9. c. 53, 54. Plut. vit. Aristid.

The obstinacy of a Spartan officer, from which only unfortunate consequences could reasonably be expected, led immediately to the great and most important victory which followed. Amompharetus,

[11] Κείνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην πᾶσαν, προσκειμένης τῆς ἵππου, ἔχον πόνον ἄτρυτον. Herod. l. 9. c. 52.

whose

whose military rank was that of locage, but who was besides vested with the sacred dignity of the priesthood, urging the laws of his country against his general's orders, absolutely refused to retreat. Pausanias, incensed at this disobedience, yet, as the circumstance was altogether new in the Spartan service, at a loss how to act, detained the Lacedæmonian forces while the others were pressing their march. But the Athenian general, ever attentive to the interest of the confederacy at large, before he would suffer his own troops to move, sent to inquire the cause of the delay of which he was informed among the Lacedæmonians. The officer dispatched upon this occasion found the commander-in-chief in high altercation with Amompharetus; who at the instant of the Athenian's arrival, taking up a large stone in both his hands, in allusion to the Grecian mode of voting, by casting a shell, a pebble, or a die into an urn, threw it before his general's feet, saying, 'With this die I give my vote not to fly from the strangers:' for by that gentle term the Lacedæmonians usually distinguished foreiners, whom the other Greeks called barbarians. Pausanias desired the Athenian officer to report to his immediate commander what he had seen, and to request that the motions of the Athenian troops might be directed by what should be observed of the Lacedæmonian. At length, day breaking, he gave his orders for the Lacedæmonians with the Tegeans, who alone of the other confederates remained with him, to move toward the proposed ground of incampment. They directed their march along the hills: the Athenians only ventured in the plain. Then at last Amompharetus, yielding something of his obstinacy, ordered his lochus, with a slow pace, to follow the rest of the army.

Herod. l. 9. c. 55. Plut. vit. Aristid.

Herod. l. 9. c. 56.

The dawn again discovered to the Persians the Grecian army in unexpected motion. The horse, always alert, and now elated with the success of the preceding day, was quickly upon the Lacedæmonian rear. The movement of the Greeks being taken for flight, Mardonius led the Persian infantry in pursuit. The whole army followed, with all the haste and confusion of an ill-disciplined multitude, eager to share in certain victory. The Grecian general had not been immediately aware of the cowardly disobedience of that large part of his forces, which had pushed on beyond the ground intended to be occupied.

22 Sept. Herod. l. 9. c. 57. c. 58. c. 59.

pied. It was now advisable, if possible, to join them; but the Persian horse so annoyed his rear, with desultory attacks continually reïterated, that it became necessary to make a stand. He sent therefore to inform the Athenian general of all circumstances, and to request his immediate coöperation in an effort to repel the enemy's cavalry. Aristeides readily consented; but before he could join the Lacedæmonians, the Grecian troops in the Persian service were upon him, and he had himself to contend with superior numbers. The Lacedæmonians and Tegeans however alone formed a considerable army. They were above eleven thousand heavy-armed foot, and more than forty thousand light-armed slaves attended them. But the light-armed of the Peloponnesians were of so little estimation, that, notwithstanding their numbers, Pausanias had particularly desired a reïnforcement of Athenian bowmen. The ground however, consisting of the rugged roots of mount Cithæron, with the Asopus flowing at the bottom, was favorable for defence, and adverse to the action of cavalry. The Persian infantry was therefore brought up; and a fierce ingagement insued. The Persians, after discharging their missile weapons, closed upon the Greeks, and showed themselves, says the impartial historian, neither in strength nor in courage inferior[12]. But they were very inferior in arms for close fight, and not less so in practice and in science. With their undefended bodies and short weapons they nevertheless made vigorous assaults, many of them seizing and even breaking the long spears of the Greeks. Unacquainted with that exactness of close formation and that steddy march, in which the Greeks, and especially the Lacedæmonians, excelled, they rushed forward singly, or in very small bodies, and perished in vain attempts to penetrate the Spartan phalanx. As their efforts at length, through repeated failure, began to relax, the Greeks advanced upon them. The Tegeans, according to Herodotus, made the first impression; the Lacedæmonians then pushed forward, and confusion soon became general among the Persian infantry.

Herod. l. 9. c. 60.

c. 61. Plut. vit. Aristid.

Herod. l. 9. c. 62, & seq.

Mardonius, who, a little before, had thought himself pursuing an enemy neither able nor daring to withstand him, was seized with the

[12] To the same purpose also even Plutarch speaks: Περσῶν πολλοὺς—οὐκ ἀπράκτως οὐδὲ ἀθύμως πίπτοντας, vit. Aristid. and at least as much is implied by Plato. Laches. p. 191. t. 2.

deepest

deepest anguish to find victory thus turning against him. Had he instantly determined upon retreat, he might probably still have avoided any considerable loss; for his infantry would soon have been safe in the plain, under the protection of his numerous cavalry. But possibly signal and speedy success was indispensable to him. His fortune, perhaps his life, and the lot of all his family, might depend upon it: less however through the caprice of the prince than that of the people; which is always most dangerous under a despotic government. His army was too numerous to subsist long in a narrow and mountainous country, without supplies by sea. The necessity of decision therefore urging, in the crisis before him, he determined to rest all upon the fortune of the present moment. At the head of a chosen body of cavalry, he hastened to rally and support his broken infantry. By a vigorous and well-conducted charge, notwithstanding the disadvantage of the ground, he checked the progress of the Spartan phalanx: but he could not break that firm and well-disciplined body. In his efforts, after many of his bravest officers and numbers of his soldiers had been killed, he received himself a mortal wound. His fall was the signal for instant flight to those about him, and, through them, to his whole army. For in Asiatic armies, the jealousy of despotism being adverse to that close succession of various ranks in command, which, in the European, contributes so much to the preservation of order in all events, the death of the commander-in-chief can scarcely fail to superinduce complete confusion, and the certain ruin of the enterprize. Artabazus, next in command to Mardonius, is said not only to have differed in opinion from his general in regard to the mode of conducting the war, but to have disapproved of the war itself. It does not appear that he was at all ingaged in the battle[13]. As soon as he was assured of the

Herod. l. 8. c. 99 & 100.

[13] Rollin, tho he sometimes mistakes the Greek military writers, as Thucydides and Xenophon, on subjects meerly military, is otherwise, in this early part of Grecian history, generally exact; but I know not where he learnt that Artabazus distinguished himself by his gallant exertion in this battle. Herodotus mentions, on a prior occasion (1), that Artabazus got credit for his conduct in the business of Platæa; apparently for his counsel given before the battle, which was justified by the event; and for an able retreat, by which alone any part of the army was saved; but neither Herodotus nor Diodorus nor Plutarch, in describing the battle, mention that he was at all ingaged. Diodorus gives an account of his retreat exactly corresponding with that of Herodotus.

(1) b. 7. c. 124.

Persian

rout of the Persian infantry, leaving the rest of the army to any who would take charge of it, he retreated, with forty thousand men who had been under his immediate orders, hastily toward Phocis.

Herod. l. 9. c. 67. et Plut. Aristid.

While the Lacedæmonians and Tegeans were thus unexpectedly victorious upon the hills, the Athenians were sharply ingaged with the Bœotians in the plain below. The greater part of the other Greeks in the Persian service, little earnest in the cause, kept aloof. The abilities of Aristeides, therefore, and the valor of the Athenians, not exposed to a contest too unequal, at length prevailed. The Bœotians fled toward Thebes. The rest, prepared to act according to circumstances, made a

Herod. l. 9. c. 68.

timely retreat. The croud of Asiatics, of various nations, never stood the charge of the Lacedæmonians and Tegeans, but fled profusely, on the first appearance of flight among those bands of native Persians who had borne the brunt of the battle. The horse however, both Persian and Bœotian, still kept the field, and gave considerable protection to the fugitive infantry.

c. 69.

Intelligence had quickly passed to the Greeks under the walls of Platæa, that the Lacedæmonians and Tegeans were ingaged and successful. Anxious then to repair their shameful misconduct, with that usual unhappiness of error which leads to farther error, they advanced with more haste than good order toward the field of battle; and the Megarians and Phliasians, venturing by the plain, were attacked by the Theban horse, who killed six hundred, and drove the rest to the mountains.

c. 70. Plut. vit. Aristid. Diod. Sic. l. 9. c. 32.

The Lacedæmonians and Tegeans meanwhile, animated by unexpected success, yet steddy through practised discipline, repelling all the efforts of the Persian cavalry, pressed on to the fortified camp; the refuge of the greatest part of the routed troops, and the depository of all the valuables of the army. Immediately they attempted an assault: but the Lacedæmonians, as remarkable for ignorance of sieges as for skill in the field, were baffled with loss till the Athenian forces arrived. Under the direction of the Athenian officers, after vigorous efforts on both sides, an assault succeeded. A horrid slaughter insued. The victory, indeed, of a free people, fighting for their possessions, their families, and their independency, against forein invaders, is never likely

to be mild. Of near two hundred thousand Asiatics, the lowest reported numbers of the Persian army, only three thousand, exclusively of those who retreated under Artabazus, are said to have survived. Both Herodotus and Plutarch, however, avoid all detail of this massacre. How much of it happened within the fortified camp, and what execution was done on fugitives, over a country so surrounded by seas and mountains that it would be difficult for one to escape, information at all approaching to exactness is indeed not to be expected.

When opposition ceased within the Persian lines, and the spirit of slaughter was at length sated, the rich plunder of the camp drew the attention of the conquerors. Here the wealth of the lords of Asia displayed a scene so new to the citizens of the little Grecian republics, that they were at a loss on what objects in preference to fix their avidity. The Tegeans, however, who had first surmounted the rampart, and throughout the action had well supported their pretension to precedency among the Greeks, having the fortune also to arrive first at the magnificent pavilion of Mardonius, did not hesitate to stop there. Instantly they laid their rapacious hands upon all its rich contents; great part of which had been the furniture of Xerxes himself, which, on his hasty departure for Asia, he had presented to his general and brother-in-law. But they were not permitted intirely to injoy this precedency in pillage. The commander-in-chief quickly issued orders, That none should presume to appropriate any part of the booty, but that the whole should be collected, to be fairly divided among those who had together earned it. A brazen manger only, of very curious workmanship, the Tegeans were allowed to retain, as an honorary testimony to their particular valor and fortune. The Helots, attending the Lacedæmonian forces, were ordered to collect the rest. Tents and their furniture, adorned with gold and silver, collars, bracelets, hilts of cimetars, golden cups, and various other utensils of gold and silver, together with horses, camels, and women, were the principal spoil. Abundance of rich clothes, which at another time, says the historian, would have been thought valuable plunder, were now disregarded. But the vigilance of those appointed to superintend the business, did not suffice to prevent the Helots from concealing many things of value,

Herod. l. 9. c. 80.

Ibid.

which they sold, principally to the Æginetans; a nation (if we may so call the inhabitants of a rock) of merchant-pirates, who, by this unworthy traffic, acquired riches before unknown among them.

Herod. l. 9. c. 81. & Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 33.

The booty being collected, a tenth was first set apart, according to the customary piety of the Greeks, for an offering to the gods. From the produce of this, continues the cotemporary historian, was dedicated, to the god at Delphi, the golden tripod which stands upon the three-headed brazen serpent next the altar, the brazen statue of Jupiter at Olympia, ten cubits high, and the brazen statue of Neptune, seven cubits high, at the isthmus. The Tegeans dedicated their manger at Tegea in the temple of the Alean Minerva. To attribute to them a modesty becoming their valor, and which had profited from reproof, we should wish to interpret the goddess's title, from analogy in a language derived from the Arcadian, to signify That divine wisdom which directs what human ignorance calls Chance. The rest of the spoil was divided among those who had fought for it.

Herod. l. 9. c. 82.

Among the anecdotes transmitted concerning this great event, one, related by the original historian, has been particularly celebrated. The appendages of the royal household were found, in Mardonius's tent, nearly intire; and most of the domestic slaves had escaped the massacre. Pausanias, after admiring the various riches of the scene and the many contrivances of luxury, ordered a supper to be prepared by the Persian slaves, exactly as it would have been for Mardonius, had he been living and in his command. The orders were diligently executed: the splendid furniture was arranged; the sideboard displayed a profusion of gold and silver plate; the table was covered with exquisite elegance. Pausanias then directed his usual Spartan supper to be placed by the side of this sumptuous entertainment. Little preparation was necessary. Then sending for the principal Grecian officers, 'I 'have desired your company here,' he said, 'to show you the folly 'of the Persian general. Living as you see at home, he came thus far 'to take from us such a miserable pittance as ours.'

c. 77.

The Mantineians had arrived from Platæa presently after the storming of the camp. Vexed to have lost their share of glory and reward, both so extraordinary, they marched immediately, contrary to the inclination

inclination of Pausanias, in pursuit of Artabazus. Having reached the borders of Thessaly, they however returned without effecting anything. Presently after them the Eleians had arrived. The generals of both, on their return to their respective countries, were punished with banishment.

After the collection of the spoil, the next care of the Greeks, and what upon all occasions they esteemed a necessary and sacred office, was the burial of their slain. The Lacedæmonians formed three separate burial-places; one for those who had borne sacred offices [14], of whom the gallant Amompharetus had fallen; another for the other Lacedæmonians; and the third for the Helots. Herodotus relates a remarkable instance of the severity of their maxims of discipline at this time. Aristodemus, who, in the preceding year, had been disgraced for not taking his share in the action at Thermopylæ, distinguished himself beyond all others in the battle of Platæa, and was at length slain. The merit of his behavior was acknowleged; but it was admitted only as sufficient, in his circumstances, to wipe off infamy, and not to earn honor. The historian, however, with the inclination, has not wanted the power, to bestow on him more liberal reward; and the eulogy of Herodotus will transmit the name of Aristodemus with glory, probably, to the latest generations. The Athenians, Tegeans, Megarians, and Phliasians had each a single burying-place. Barrows, raised according to that extensive practice of antiquity which we have already had occasion to notice, distinguished to following ages the several spots [15].

Herod. l. 9. c. 85.

These

[14] This obvious interpretation of the term ἱρέας, which stands in all the editions of Herodotus, does not appear to me loaded with any difficulty. I wish to avoid discussion of matters which lie within the proper province of the critic or the antiquarian rather than of the historian; yet I must own that I think the ingenious conjectures of Valckenarius and others upon this passage, in the notes of Wesseling's edition, all more open to objection than the old reading.

[15] Plutarch, in his Life of Aristeides, expresses wonder, and, in his Treatise against Herodotus, much indignation, at the assertion that the Lacedæmonians, Tegeans, and Athenians alone gained the victory of Platæa: yet in the former work, relating, much in the same manner as Herodotus, the disorderly flight of the other Greeks before the battle, he has given pretty direct testimony to the fact. Lysias, in his funeral oration, asserts it positively. (Lys. or. fun. p. 107. vel 195). It is indeed little likely that, while memory of the transaction was yet fresh, a historian, writing for the Greek nation, would venture a false assertion so

These solemn ceremonies were scarcely over, when a dangerous jealousy broke out between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, on the question to whom the accustomed Aristeia, or first honors of military merit, were due, upon this great occasion. Immediate ill consequences were however prevented through the influence of the Corinthian leaders; who, interfering as mediators, named the Platæans as having merited beyond all others. When the common cause particularly required exertion by sea, they, tho an inland people, had served aboard the fleet; and in the campain by land, which had now had so glorious an issue, none had more distinguished themselves by their zeal and bravery. Their actions on the day of Platæa are not particularly recorded by any writer; apparently because, being citizens of Athens, as they are modestly called by Thucydides, or subjects, as they are perhaps more truly styled by Herodotus, they had formed one body with the Athenians, under the orders of Aristeides. Their commonwealth was too small to excite jealousy: all the other Greeks approved the determination of the Corinthians; and the Lacedæmonians and Athenians acquiesced.

Plut. vit. Aristid.

Herod. l. 8. c. 1. Thucyd. l. 3. c. 54.

Thucyd. l. 3. c. 55. & 63. Herod. l. 6. c. 108. Plut. Aristid. Thucyd. l. 3. c. 56.

This dangerous business being thus accommodated, a council was held to consider of further measures. The battle of Platæa, it is said, was fought on the twenty-second of September[16]. The season was

dishonorable to so large a part of it, concerning facts in their nature of such public notoriety; and it is still less likely that such an assertion would remain to be refuted in Plutarch's age. The interest which the Lacedæmonians and Athenians afterward had in courting the other Grecian states, may sufficiently account for the epigrams, barrows, and other such uncertain evidences as Plutarch has quoted. Indeed, before Plutarch's testimony against Herodotus can be of any weight, he must be first reconciled to himself. It does however appear extraordinary, that Herodotus, in his narrative of this great event, should never once have mentioned the Platæans. The assertion of Plutarch, that the Greeks decreed to the Platæans the first honors for military merit on the occasion, tho Diodorus differs from him, is confirmed by Thucydides, against whose authority that of Diodorus is not to be mentioned. Possibly on account of their subsequent fate, Herodotus might have had some reason for omitting all mention of them, similar to that, whatever it was, which has made him totally silent concerning the first two Messenian wars. When we consider his extreme freedom by turns with all the most powerful states of Greece, both omissions appear mysterious.

[16] Thus the chronologers have determined, not without authority; but the Grecian calendar was yet too little exact for absolute certainty to a day. Ταύτην τὴν μάχην ἐμαχέσαντο (says Plutarch, speaking of the battle of Platæa) τῇ τετράδι τοῦ Βοηδρομιῶνος ἱσταμένου,

was therefore not too far advanced for taking vengeance on those Greeks who had joined the Persians. It was determined to march immediately against Thebes, and to require the delivery of Timegenides and Attaginus, heads of the faction which had led the Bœotians to the Persian alliance. On the eleventh day from the battle of Platæa, the army entered the Theban lands; and the delivery of the obnoxious persons being refused, plunder and waste of the country, and preparations for the siege of their city, were begun. This was borne during twenty days. Then Timegenides, fearing the turn of popular favor against, proposed to the Theban people to offer the payment of a fine, to atone for the transgression of the republic against the common cause of Greece: declaring that, if it should be refused, he would be ready to surrender himself with Attaginus, rather than be the occasion or pretence for the destruction of his country. The proposal was accepted by the assembly. But in the following night Attaginus fled; leaving his own family, as well as his associate Timegenides, to the mercy of the inraged Thebans. His children were immediately delivered to the commander-in-chief of the confederate Greeks. But the Spartan prince did not want liberality to distinguish between the criminal father and the innocent offspring, whom he immediately dismissed unhurt. Timegenides and some other principal Thebans being then demanded, were surrendered. They expected that time would be allowed them to prepare for a public defence, and trusted that their interest, assisted by money well bestowed, would insure their safety. Pausanius suspected this, and determined to prevent it. He detained them till the confederate forces separated for their several homes; and then, taking them to Corinth, caused them to be there executed: a salutary severity, no doubt, for the security of Greece against the common

Herod. l. 9. c. 86. & seq. Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 33. 3 Oct.

ἑσταμένου, κατ' Ἀθηναίους, κατὰ δὲ Βοιωτοὺς τετράδι τοῦ Πανέμου φθίνοντος, ᾗ καὶ νῦν ἔτι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ἀθροίζεται συνέδριον, καὶ θύουσι τῷ ἐλευθερίῳ Διὶ Πλαταιεῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης. Τὴν δὲ τῶν ἡμέρων ἀνωμαλίαν οὐ θαυμαστέον, ὅπου καὶ νῦν, διηκριβωμένων τῶν ἐν ἀστρολογίᾳ μᾶλλον, ἄλλην ἄλλοι μηνὸς ἀρχὴν καὶ τελευτὴν ἄγουσι. Plut. vit. Aristid. The fourth day of the Attic month Boëdromion, according to our chronologers, would correspond with the 23d of September; but they have preferred the authority of the copies of Plutarch's Life of Camillus, and of his Treatise on the Glory of Athens; in both of which the third of the month Boëdromion is named as the day of the battle of Platæa. The day of the battle being fixed, Herodotus furnishes the other dates given in the margin.

enemy;

enemy; but, as far as appears, unsupported by the solemnity of a trial, and certainly unauthorized by any positive law.

Meanwhile Artabazus, who had withdrawn from the field of Platæa with numbers to make still a powerful army, nevertheless, on receiving information of the extent of the disaster to the Persian arms, saw no small difficulty and danger before him in the retreat to Asia. He was aware that even those nations which had been most forward in submission to Xerxes, at the head of advancing myriads, would not scruple to avow their reäl disposition of hostility toward him, were the defeat of Mardonius known, and his own march taken for flight. He therefore gave out that his forces were only the advanced guard of the victorious army, which was immediately following. Using rapidity and precaution, he passed the mountains of Thessaly, and crossed Macedonia, without loss. But report would soon outstrip the march of his numbers. Alexander king of Macedonia, who had found himself forced, as a kind of hostage, to follow the train of the Persian general, would not fail, on the defeat of the Persian army, to use his best diligence for returning to his kingdom. The Macedonian forces assembling, under the command of his son Perdiccas, hung on the rear of Artabazus. The difficult passage of the large river Strymon afforded opportunity which was ably and successfully used. A large part of the Persian army was cut off, and such numbers made prisoners, that the portion of their ransom, which Grecian piety usually offered to the gods, provided a statue of gold, which Alexander dedicated at Delphi. How far his conduct was consistent with faith pledged to Persia, we have no means to know, but the Athenian people acknowleged in it the virtue of a Grecian patriot: they voted honors and privileges to Perdiccas, and the battle of the Strymon had lasting fame, as the consummation of misfortune and disgrace to Persia, and of safety and glory to Greece [17].

[17] —Τέλειον τὰτυχημα ποιήσαντι τῷ βασιλεῖ. Demosth. περὶ συνταξ. p. 173, and in Aristocr. p. 687. ed. Reiske. In both these orations Perdiccas is mentioned as the person to whom the Athenian people decreed honors, tho they differ somewhat in regard to the amount. The great Philip, afterward king of Macedonia, in his letter to the Athenian people, preserved with the oration of Demosthenes, intitled On the Letter, mentions only Alexander, in whose name the dedications of course would be made, and under whose authority

SECTION IV.

Measures of the Grecian Fleet. Battle of Mycalë. End of the Expedition of Xerxes.

WHILE the arms of the confederate Greeks were thus wonderfully attended with success and glory against the immediate invaders of their country, the fleet, which had lain during the summer inactive at Delos, was at length excited to enterprize. There appears to have been, in Samos, always a strong party ready to take any opportunity for spirited opposition to the Persians, and to Theomestor, whom the Persians had raised to the tyranny of the iland. Ingaging in their views Hegesistratus, son of Aristagoras the Milesian chief, the Samians deputed Lampon and Athenagoras, two principal men among them, to attend him on a mission to the commanders of the confederate fleet. In a conference with Leotychidas and Xanthippus, Hegesistratus represented, 'That the whole Ionian people were ready, on the 'least incouragement, to revolt against the Persians, and join the Grecian 'cause: that the bare appearance of the Grecian fleet off their coast 'would suffice to excite them to spirited action: that the Persian 'government was remiss and weak beyond what could be readily 'believed; insomuch that never did the means offer to the commanders 'of a powerful armament, of so rich a booty with so little risk.' He proceeded to urge the Spartan king and the Athenian chief, by their common gods, to use the means, so easily in their power, for rescuing a Grecian people from subjection to barbarians; and he offered, for himself and his collegues, if their fidelity was doubted, to remain hostages with the fleet. Leotychidas, according to a common superstition of both Greeks and Romans, struck with the name of Hegesistratus as a favorable omen (it signifies the leader of an armament), readily came into the measure proposed. Dismissing the two other deputies, he detained Hegesistratus; and, only one day being allowed for preparation,

B. C. 479 Ol. 75 ½.

Herod. l. 9. c. 90. Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 34.

Herod. l. 9. c. 91 & 92.

authority the army which defeated the Persians would act, tho Perdicas might be the immediate commander. Ep. Phil. ad Ath. p. 164, ed Reiske.

Diod. l. 11. c. 34. paration, the whole fleet, consisting, according to Diodorus, of two hundred and fifty trireme galleys, moved, on the next, for Samos.

Herod. l. 9. c. 96. The season was so far advanced that the commanders of the Phenician squadron in the Persian service, finding enterprize neither intended by the Persian admiral, nor expected from the Greeks, had requested leave to depart for their own ports, before the equinoctial storms should set in; and it had been granted. Having thus incautiously parted with their best ships and ablest seamen, the Persians were highly alarmed with intelligence that the Grecian fleet was approaching. Hastily quitting Samos, they passed to the neighboring promontory of Mycalë on the Ionian coast; where an army, according to Herodotus, of sixty thousand men, was incamped under the command of Tigranes. Here, says the historian, near the temple of

c. 97. the venerable deities, and that temple of the Eleusinian Ceres which Philistus, son of Pasicles, built, when he followed Neleus, son of Codrus, to the founding of Miletus, they hauled their galleys upon the beach; and, with stones found upon the place, and palisadoes formed of olives and other cultivated trees, they raised a defence around them.

c. 98. The Grecian commanders had expected to find the Persian fleet in full force at Samos, and proposed to ingage it on that friendly coast: but they were not prepared for the more hazardous measure of following it to the Asiatic shore. A council of war was therefore held, in which it was deliberated whether to retire again immediately to their own seas, or first to make some attempt in the Hellespont. But intelligence of the departure of the Phenician squadron gave incouragement; the spirit of vigorous enterprize gained; and it was shortly determined to seek the enemy's fleet. On approaching the Ionian coast, it was not without surprize that they found the sea completely yielded to them, and the enemy prepared for opposition by land only. Ardor on one side would naturally rise in proportion to such evident backwardness on the other. The bold measure was resolved upon, to debark their whole force, capable of acting by land, which would be by far the larger part of their crews, and to attack the Persians in their fortified camp. Probably the leaders had reasonable hopes, and perhaps confirmed information, that the numerous Greeks, among the

Persian forces, wanted only opportunity to revolt. Leotychidas, however, practised an expedient like that of Themistocles at Artemisium. He sent a herald, in a boat, within hearing of the Ionian camp, who made proclamation, according to the original historian, in these words: 'Men of Ionia, attend to what I say, of which the Persians 'will understand nothing. When we ingage, it will become every 'one of you to think of the liberty of all: the word is Hebë. Let 'those who hear inform those who are out of hearing.' The Samians had before incurred some suspicion, from the Persian leaders, by their generous kindness to about five hundred Athenian prisoners, who had been brought from Attica and disposed of as slaves in Asia Minor. They had ransomed all, and sent them, with subsistence, to Athens. The Samian troops in the Persian army were therefore deprived of their arms; and the Milesians, being also suspected, were detached on pretence of service.

Herod. ut sup. & Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 34.

Herod. l. 9. c. 99. Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 35.

Leotychidas debarked his forces, without opposition, at some distance from the Persian camp. To add to their animation, he caused report to be spread, that Pausanias had gained a complete victory over Mardonius in Bœotia; of which intelligence could not have arrived, if, as historians affirm, it was the very day of the battle of Platæa. Possibly, however, information of the death of Masistius, with some exaggeration of the success obtained upon that occasion, might have reached him. The Grecian forces marched in two columns: one, under the command of Xanthippus, composed of the Athenian, Corinthian, Sicyonian, and Trœzenian troops, held the plain against the shore; the other, consisting of the Lacedæmonians with the remaining allies, under Leotychidas, went by the more inland and hilly road. The former arrived first, and, eager to ingross the glory of the day, proceeded immediately to the assault; which was so sudden, so well conducted, and so vigorous, that they had already entered the Persian rampart before the Lacedæmonians could come up. Their rashness was favored, and perhaps justified, by the ready zeal of the Greeks in the Persian service to give them every assistance. The Samians, exasperated by the treatment they had received, exerted themselves, tho

Herod. l. 9. c. 100. Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 35. Polyæn. Stratag. l. 1. c. 33.

Herod. l. 9. c. 102.

c. 103. Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 36.

unarmed, by all means in their power; and their exhortations and example determined the other Asian Greeks. From every account in Herodotus, it appears that the proper Persians had not yet deserved to lose that military reputation, which they had acquired under the great Cyrus; but, of all the infantry in the service of the empire, they almost alone seem to have merited the title of soldiers. Probably the proportion of them at Mycalë was not great. The other Asiatics shrunk before the vehemence of the Athenian attack; but the Persians were still resisting with the utmost bravery when the Lacedæmonians arrived. Then they were overpowered, and mostly cut in pieces. Tigranes, general of the Persian landforces, and two of the principal naval commanders, were among the slain. Of the Greeks, Perilaüs, commander of the Sicyonians, was the only man of rank who fell.

Herod. l. 9. c. 102.

c. 103.

Mycalë was a small peninsula; and, from the place of action, was no retreat by land, but through narrow passes over a mountain. The Persian commanders, little expecting so sudden an attempt upon their numerous forces within fortified lines, thought they had provided sufficiently for security by disarming the suspected Samians, and detaching the Milesians to guard the passes. The latter circumstance turned to the complete destruction of their army: The Milesians, with the most determined enmity, intercepted the fugitives, and few escaped. When slaughter ceased, the Greeks remaining quiet possessors of whatever the Persian camp and fleet had contained, carried off every valuable of easy removal, and then set fire to the rest, together with the ships, and the whole Persian fleet was burnt.

c. 104.

c. 106.

c. 106. Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 37.

After this signal blow to the Persian power, the Grecian fleet returned to Samos. A council was immediately held to consider what measures should be taken for the present security and future welfare of the revolted Ionians. The ilanders might be safe under the protection of the fleet; against which it would be difficult, even for the resources of the Persian empire, soon to raise a force capable of disputing the command of the seas. But it was generally deemed impossible for any power of Greece, to defend the long line of continental colonies against the land-force lying immediately behind them. Confirmation

firmation arrived of the news of the complete victory over the Persian arms in Bœotia. The Peloponnesians then proposed to remove the Ionians from Asia to Greece, and to put them in possession of all the seaports of those states which had sided with the Persians. But the Athenians dissented: they denied the necessity of so violent a measure; and they insisted peremptorily that the Peloponnesians had no right to interfere in the disposal of Athenian colonies. The Peloponnesians had the moderation to yield to this argument. Then the Samians, Chians, Lesbians, and other ilanders, bound themselves by solemn oaths to be faithful to the Grecian confederacy. The ilands would be a present refuge for those continentals, most obnoxious to Persian vengeance, whom the walls of their towns could not protect. Sardis was too near, the force there too great, and the season besides too much advanced for any farther attempt in Ionia. But the Hellespont, more distant from the center of the Persian force, was open to enterprize by sea. Thither therefore the fleet directed its course. It was determined to destroy the bridges, which were supposed to be still standing and protected by a garrison; but they had already yielded to the weather and current, and the Persians had deserted the place. Herod. l. 9. c. 114. Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 37.

Winter now approaching, Leotychidas, with all the Peloponnesians, returned to Greece. Xanthippus resolved nevertheless, with his Athenians and their Ionian allies, to attempt the recovery of the Chersonese, an Athenian colony, and where the Greeks were still numerous. The Persians, exposed to attacks in various parts, through the command which the Athenian fleet possessed at sea, collected their whole force in Sestos. After an obstinate defence, being pressed by famine, they made good their own retreat; upon which the Grecian inhabitants joyfully surrendered the town to the Athenians. Herod. l. 9. c. 118. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 89. Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 37.

The Persian monarch remained in Sardis, to see the sad relics of his forces, which found means to fly from Mycalè, and to receive the calamitous news of the still greater loss of his army in Greece. Shortly after he moved to his distant capital of Susa. On his departure he ordered all the Grecian temples within his power to be burnt; whether supposing Herod. l. 9. c. 107, 108. Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 36. Strab. l. 1. p. 28. M. T. Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 1. & de Leg. l. 2.

supposing the deity offended with his long sufferance of them, or that he thought to gain popularity among his subjects of the upper provinces, by this sacrifice to the prejudices of the Magian religion.

Such was the conclusion of the expedition of Xerxes, after two campains, wonderfully glorious to Greece, and, both in themselves, and for their know consequences, perhaps the most remarkable and important in the annals of mankind.

CHAPTER X.

View of the People of the Western Countries politically connected with the GREEKS, and of the Grecian Settlements in SICILY and ITALY.

SECTION I.

Of Carthage. Of Sicily: Agrigentum: Phalaris: Syracuse: Gelon: Invasion of Sicily by the Carthaginians: Battle of Himera.

DURING those great transactions in Greece and its eastern colonies, which decided, for the time, the fate of Europe and Asia, and then first displayed that superiority of the former over the rest of the world which it still maintains, events, less important indeed for their consequences, and less intimately affecting the interests of the mother-country, less accurately also related to us, yet upon sufficient evidence great and glorious, were taking place among the western settlements of the nation.

The warlike and enterprizing spirit of the Greeks had long ago driven the industrious and informed Phenicians from all their antient establishments in the Grecian seas; had then wrested from them the distant and large iland of Cyprus, whose situation would seem to allot it rather to the Phenician than the Grecian dominion, and had appropriated all that valuable part of the African coast which, after the powerful kingdom of Egypt, lay nearest to the Phenician shore. But in maritime skill, and still more in commercial system, in the spirit of commercial adventure, and in those manufactures which formed the principal and most advantageous basis of commerce, the Phenicians stood yet unrivalled. On the coast of Africa, from the deserts bounding the Grecian colonies on the west, they had extended their settlements

ments to the western extremity of the Mediterranean, penetrated into the ocean beyond, and, according to some not unsupported accounts, carried their traffic across all the dangers of the bay of Biscay to the distant shores of Britain, then the extreme of the known world, and, excepting the Phenicians, unknown among civilized nations. Wherever the Greeks did not interfere, the Phenicians were superior, in arms as in arts, to all maritime people. But, confined at home within a narrow territory; pressed, on the land, first by the power of the Jewish kingdom, then by the more overbearing weight successively of the Assyrian and Persian empires; and, on the sea, interrupted by the Grecian spirit of war, and, it must be added of piracy, they were equally prevented from becoming a great nation on their own continent, and from assuring their dominion over their distant maritime settlements.

In their voyages westward, the large projection of AFRICA, over-against Sicily, could not fail, by its position to attract, and by its circumstances to fix, the attention of the Phenician navigators. At a very early period, accordingly, some settlements were formed there, among which Utica had the fame of being the most antient. Afterward the princess immortalized by Virgil's poetry, driven to seek refuge, with her adherents, from the tyranny of her brother the king of Tyre, is said either to have founded or increased the colony which, in process of ages, became the powerful and renowned CARTHAGE. The era of these transactions is very uncertain. The more received system places Dido two centuries later than the Trojan prince, whose intercourse with her the Roman bard hath so interestingly described: Newton's calculation, reducing the age of the Trojan war, makes them cotemporary. Carthage, however, situate nearly midway between Phenicia and the ocean, happy in its climate and territory, and preferable to Utica for its port, was a most eligible situation for a place of arms, to command the communication with the invaluable western settlements, with Spain, the country of silver and gold mines, the Indies of the old world. For, in the eastern part of the Mediterranean, navigation was exposed to continual piracy from the Greeks, who possessed the northern and southern shores; and in the western from the Tuscans. Thus princi-

Vell. Paterc. l. 1. c. 2. Justin. l. 18. c. 4 & 5. Strab. l. 17. p. 832.

Strab. l. 5. p. 219.

pally

pally Carthage seems to have risen early to eminence, and to have become, in some degree, the capital of the Phenician colonies. The troubles of Phenicia, and the wars which, with its very scanty territorial strength, it was obliged to sustain against the force of the Assyrian empire, seem to have given to its dependencies an emancipation which perhaps they did not desire; for which, at least, it does not appear that any struggle was made. Probably, on the reduction of Tyre by Nabuchodonosor king of Assyria, many Tyrian families would migrate to the colonies; and Carthage was likely to attract the greatest number. Carthage, however, then, profiting from its strength and its situation, appears to have taken decidedly the lead. It is remarkable that, excepting Assyria and Egypt, whose extreme antiquity, together with the uncertainty of their early history, makes them exceptions to all rule, none of the antient people, who florished by arts, arms, and policy, were great nations, like those which form the states of modern Europe; but each a small society of men, inhabiting one city, and there served by slaves, who made commonly by much the larger portion of the population. The Carthaginian government, established, like all the Grecian, upon these principles, in taking the lead among the sister colonies, did not associate, but subjected them.* Even the towns in its immediate neighborhood were not admitted to a share in the government: each had its own municipal administration; and so far each was a separate commonwealth; but all were held under political subjection, and that apparently a severe subjection, to Carthage; while Carthage itself had one of the best balanced and wisest constitutions known to antiquity.

Hist. des Anc. Colonies, par le baron de S. Croix, p. 32. Ch. 6. s. 2. of this Hist.

S. Croix, p. 32 & 37. Aristot. Polit. l. 2. c. 11. Polyb. l. 6. p. 493.

As long as the Phenician settlements remained under the authority and protection of the mother-country, few or perhaps none were more than factories; for the government of Tyre was little able to maintain armies and make conquests at the farther end of the Mediterranean. But when Carthage was become the independent capital of those colonies, greater views than the meer acquisition of riches by commerce began to animate the ambition of her citizens. Along the coast of Africa, as far as the Atlantic ocean, and on the extensive shores of Spain, having only ignorant barbarians to contend with, they established

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 2. S. Croix.

blished their dominion, apparently with little difficulty, wherever they chose to exert their force. But on the nearer coast of SICILY, the Phenician factories, some of them probably as old as Carthage itself, had been disturbed by the successive arrival of Grecian adventurers; skilled as well as daring in the practice of arms, and who, tho not always averse to commerce, generally preferred piracy Against those new occupants of that fruitful country, other precautions were necessary than had sufficed against the simplicity of the native barbarians.

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 2. Uniting therefore their factories, which had been scattered all around the iland, the Phenicians confined themselves to three settlements; Soloeis and Panormus (now Palermo) on the northern coast, and Motya at the western extremity; and they began to cultivate more attentively

Ch. 5. s. 2. of this Hist. the friendship of the antient inhabitants, particularly of the Elymians, that mixed people, Greek, Trojan, and Sicel, who held the towns of Eryx and Egesta. This easy acquiescence of the Phenicians, which, till the age of Xerxes, allowed no opportunity for the Greek historians to boast of a single feat of arms to the honor of their nation in Sicily, sufficiently proves that tho the foundation of the city of Carthage may have been as antient as it was pretended, yet the power of the Carthaginian state was comparatively of late growth. The Phenician colonies then, thus assembled toward the western part of the iland, might readily receive such protection as Carthage could give; and their need of protection would lead them to admit willingly its superintending authority. As soon therefore as Carthage itself became independent, the Phenician settlements in Sicily would become appendages of its dominion; and disputes between Carthage and the Greek settlements would be consequently unavoidable.

Little remains for history concerning the GRECIAN COLONIES in Sicily, till toward that splendid period which has been treated in the preceding chapters; and indeed it appears that, before that period, the Sicilian and Italian Greeks had no important transactions, and little political connection with the mother-country, unless with the one commercial commonwealth of Corinth. Some of the towns, however, we find, were populous and wealthy; Selinus, Agrigentum, Gela, Camarina, divided between them the southern coast, beyond the rest of that

fruitful iland productive in grain; Syracuse had one of the finest ports of the Mediterranean, in a situation very advantageous for trade, and surrounded also by a territory of uncommon fertility.

Already in the age of Solon, AGRIGENTUM, originally a colony from Gela, was become a considerable independent commonwealth, when Phalaris, a Cretan, acquired the sovereinty. Crete had been, jointly with Rhodes, the mother-country of Gela. Phalaris, whose history, on more than one account, excites curiosity, is represented as a monster in human nature; possessing, with very extraordinary abilities, the most opposite virtues and vices, the most abominable cruelty, with the most exalted magnanimity and generosity. But tho all traditions concerning that famous tyrant are extremely dubious and imperfect, yet the contradictions concerning his character are not wholly unaccountable. He fell, we find, a victim to the party in opposition to his government, and that party held the sway in Agrigentum, under a democratical form of administration, for sixty years. What happened in Athens, on the expulsion of the Peisistratids, would, during this period, from the same causes, happen in Agrigentum. To render odious the character of the deceased tyrant would tend to weaken the credit of his party, and proportionally to strengthen the situation of the ruling party and advance their power. Nothing, therefore, that could produce such effects would be neglected.

B. C. 560 to 570. Ol. 54. nearly.

Cic. de Off. l. 2.

Ch. 7. s. 5. of this Hist.

SYRACUSE was already considerable, yet we do not find it particularly eminent among the Sicilian Greek cities till, toward the age of Xerxes, it was raised to power and fame by its great and beloved tyrant Gelon. That illustrious man was born of an antient and noble family, of Rhodian origin, established at Gela. The Sicilian colonies, beyond all other Grecian states, were remarkable for frequent revolutions, the sudden elevation and downfal of tyrannies, and every change of government and every calamity which faction and internal war could occasion. Cleänder, tyrant of Gela, being killed by Sabyllus, a Geloän citizen, was nevertheless succeeded in the sovereinty by his brother Hippocrates. Gelon, already of reputation for abilities and bravery, was appointed by the new tyrant commander-in-chief of the Geloän cavalry: for in Sicily, a country much more generally adapted than Greece to the

Herod. l. 7. c. 153.

c. 154. Ol. 74. 1. B. C. 484. Dodw. Ann. Thuc.

breeding of horses and the operations of cavalry; that service was early and extensively cultivated[1]. Hippocrates, an ambitious and able prince, made successful war upon some of the Sicel tribes, and upon the Grecian states of Syracuse, Callipolis, Naxus, Leontini, and Messena; all of which, excepting Syracuse, he compelled to acknowlege his sovereinty. The Syracusans, defeated in a great battle and reduced to extremity, applied to Corinth, their metropolis, for assistance. The interference of that rich maritime commonwealth, in conjunction with its powerful colony of Corcyra, procured an accommodation; by which, however, the town of Camarina, then subject to Syracuse, was yielded to the Geloän prince. Hippocrates was soon after killed in an action with the Hyblæan Sicels. Gelon, who had distinguished himself very advantageously in all the late wars, was left guardian of his infant sons, and administrator of their government. To this trust, according to Herodotus, Gelon was unfaithful: making a pretence of some commotions among the Geloäns, which were repressed by arms, he assumed the sovereinty to himself. At Syracuse, about the same time, in the prosecution of that contest for power between the higher and lower citizens, which was nearly perpetual in almost every Grecian commonwealth, the leaders of the populace, ingaging the slaves of the rich in the party against their masters, compelled these to seek their personal safety by flight. Finding refuge at Casmenæ they applied to Gelon, who readily undertook their cause. The Syracusans in possession dreaded the power of that prince; but, according to the same historian who imputes to him treachery against the sons of Hippocrates, they had confidence in his character. The result is highly remarkable. They professed themselves not unwilling to reädmit the refugees, and to restore their property, provided only security could be given that an equal government should be established, that an act of amnesty for what had passed should be strictly observed, that the nobles, on being restored to wealth, honor, and authority, should neither exert their power and influence to the persecution of individuals who had been active in expelling them, nor to the subversion of the constitution of

Herod. l. 7. c. 155.

[1] Arduus inde Agragas ostentat maxima longe
Mœnia, magnanimum quondam generator equorum. Virg. Æn. l. 3. v. 704.

the

the commonwealth, and the establishment of oligarchal despotism. The expedient in which both parties concurred, was to appoint Gelon supreme moderator between them, by making him king of Syracuse.

This important acquisition of dominion thus extraordinarily made, it became the object of Gelon to mold into one the many little states which acknowleged his authority. The circumstances of every Grecian government required that the capital should be strong, and all the dependent towns weak. For, on account of the universal narrowness of territory, as we have heretofore had occasion to observe, it was necessary that every cultivated spot should have its fortified town at hand for refuge and protection; and, on account of the universal scantiness of public revenue, it was necessary that the inhabitants of every town and its district should be the garrison. If then these were able to defend themselves against an enemy, they might also defy the authority of their own capital. The interest, or the ambition of individuals would often lead the municipal government to aspire to independency; and the interest or ambition of neighboring states would seldom fail to afford incouragement for such views. But if it was necessary for every Grecian government to attend to these circumstances, it was peculiarly so for Gelon, whose dominion was composed of so many conquered cities. It comprized now, with a small part of the northern, and the greatest part of the southern, the whole eastern coast of the iland. Vol. 1. c. 4. s. 1.

Among the towns of this range of country, Syracuse possessed advantages which attracted the notice of Gelon. His native city, recommended by its territory, the celebrated Geloän plain, eminent even among the Sicilian fields for fruitfulness, was near one extremity of his dominion, and without a port. A central situation, the completest harbour of the iland, the largest town, a rich surrounding country, and a people of whose favor he was apparently most secure, determined Gelon to make Syracuse the seat of his government. This being decided, he proceeded to the arduous business of forming the heterogeneous parts which composed his dominion, into one harmonized whole. His measures, in the present circumstances of Europe, would appear violent and extravagant; yet, if we may judge from what we Strab. l. 6. p. 270. Thucyd. l. 6.

learn of their effects, they were wisely accommodated to the times in which he lived; and perhaps beyond any other that could have been devised, productive of happiness to his subjects, as well as of security to his own authority. Without a distribution of powers legislative, judicial, and executive among a favoring party, a tyranny could hardly subsist. Of that favoring party it was necessary to have in the capital a decided majority; and it was also necessary that the other towns should want the protection of the capital, and be unable to resist its force. With these views, destroying Camarina, Gelon established all its people in Syracuse: he removed thither more than half the Geloäns: of the Eubœans in different towns, he gave the higher ranks only to injoy the privileges of the capital[a]; leaving the poorer, with their several municipal administrations, to cultivate the country: but the lower people of the Megarians of Hybla he sold for slaves, with an express obligation on the purchasers to transport them out of Sicily, as the last resource against those disturbances which their mutinous disposition, and rancor against their superiors, would, if they lived within the same country, perpetually occasion.

Herod. l. 7. c. 156. Thucyd. l. 6. c. 5. Strab. l. 6. p. 268. & l. 10. p. 449.

The state of Sicily when Xerxes invaded Greece then was this: the barbarian Sicans and Sicels yet held the center of the iland, and the Elymians the western corner. A part of the northern coast was possessed by the Carthaginians; never, probably, in perfect friendship with all the Greeks, and lately in open hostility with some of them; for, while Cleomenes, king of Sparta, was yet living, his half-brother Dorieus, elder brother of the renowned Leonidas, conducting a fleet with the view to settle a colony in Sicily, was defeated and killed in action with a Carthaginian fleet. Gelon commanded a dominion, very small, compared with the kingdoms of modern Europe, and still more below comparison with the Persian empire then existing, but considerably larger than was united under one government elsewhere among the Greeks; and this he ruled with such wisdom, uprightness, and vigor, that he was equally beloved by his subjects and respected by all neighboring powers. Agrigentum was, at the same time, administered

Herod. l. 5. c. 41 & 46. & l. 7. c. 158.

Thucyd. l. 1: c. 17. Herod. l. 7. c. 165. Diod. l. 9. c. 20 & 77.

[a] Πολιήτας ἐποίησε. Herod. l. 7. c. 156. Πολίτης δ' ἁπλῶς οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁρίζεται μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ μετέχειν κρίσεως καὶ ἀρχῆς. Aristot. Polit. l. 3. c. 1.

by

by Theron, a man also of high merit, who had raised himself to the tyranny; and he had lately reduced Himera on the northern coast, ejecting its tyrant Terillus.

This circumstance gave immediate occasion to the first considerable effort of the Carthaginians toward extending their dominion in Sicily; the first important transaction in which they were ingaged with the Greeks, while the Romans, afterward conquerors of Carthage, Greece, and the known world, had yet scarcely a name among nations. It is therefore to be regretted that Herodotus has treated this part of history so slightly, and that little satisfactory remains upon it from any other writer. The narrative of Diodorus is the injudicious, and sometimes even ridiculous attempt of a man unversed in political, and still more in military business, to exalt his fellowcountrymen, the Sicilian Greeks, above the fame of Lacedæmon and Athens. Circumstances enough, however, remain, either reported or confirmed by better authority, whence a general idea may be gained of the principal events.

It was a solace, among the miseries occasioned by the frequent revolutions in the little Grecian republics, that, as every state had always enemies, open or secret, the exiled of every state could generally find protection somewhere. But beside the resources within Greece itself, the Persian empire had been, for some time, a common refuge for the unfortunate who were of any consideration in their own country: Tuscany also had afforded settlements to some; and now Carthage, rising to new importance among forein powers, offered prospect of new relief. Here the expelled prince of Himera applied, and found a favorable reception. The opportunity was inviting for the Carthaginians to extend and secure their own dominion, by crushing that of the Greeks in Sicily; while the collected force of the Persian empire, on the point of overwhelming Greece itself, would effectually prevent any assistance from that quarter. Under pretence therefore of reïnstating their ally in his dominion, they assembled a very powerful armament. By a treaty with the Tuscans they ingaged the naval force of that people in their service; and, according to the practice which we find afterward usual with them in their wars with the Romans, they collected mercenary landforces from many of the barbarous nations with which they had

Herod. l. 7. c. 165.

Pindar. Pyth. 1. & Ephor. ap. Schol.

had commercial intercourse. Beside those of Phenician blood, Herodotus mentions Africans, Spaniards, Ligurians, Elisycians (a name not occurring elsewhere) Sardinians, and Corsicans. The command in chief was committed to Hamilcar, one of the two magistrates who, with the title of Suffete, presided over the Carthaginian commonwealth, and whose eminence of dignity and authority was such, that the Grecian writers, generally averse to forein terms, not unusually styled them kings.

Herod. l. 7. c. 165. Polyb. l. 6.

In the same summer in which Xerxes invaded Greece, Hamilcar passed into Sicily, and immediately laid siege to Himera. Theron, unable with his own forces to cope with the Carthaginian armament, applied to the king of Syracuse for assistance. Tho the war was professedly intended only against the Agrigentine prince, yet the whole Grecian interest in Sicily was too evidently concerned in the event for Gelon to remain a quiet spectator. Putting himself therefore at the head of his army, which, according to the most probable accounts, consisted of about ten thousand heavy-armed foot, and two thousand horse, and, with the usual addition of light-armed slaves, might be in all perhaps twenty-five thousand men, he marched to join the Agrigentine forces. His fleet, more powerful, as we are assured by Thucydides, than that of any other Grecian potentate of his age (according to Herodotus two hundred trireme galleys) he committed to his brother Hieron. This prince met, and defeated the combined fleets of Carthage and Tuscany. About the same time the united armies of Syracuse and Agrigentum ingaged the Carthaginian army near Himera, with the most complete success. Hamilcar himself fell; a large proportion of his army was destroyed, and almost the whole remainder were made prisoners.

The concurring testimony of antient writers to these glorious events, which appear to have at once terminated the war, little as we are assured of any particulars, is confirmed by the irrefragable evidence of the growing greatness and lasting splendor of Syracuse and Agrigentum. The prisoners, according to the practice of the times, were all condemned to slavery. The larger share, we are told, was acquired by the Agrigentines, who employed great numbers on public works, which remained to late ages, and some even yet remain, proofs both of the greatness

greatness of the victory, and of the taste of the victors. Here, however, on considering the account given by the Sicilian Diodorus, the zealous eulogist of his country, a suspicion cannot but arise, that all those prisoners were not Carthaginian soldiers. For the battle was fought near Himera, on the northern coast of the iland. The Carthaginians, in the confusion of their defeat, says Diodorus, fled in great numbers up the country, and mostly toward the Agrigentine territory, where they were afterward taken by the Agrigentines. It seems much more probable that they would have directed their flight toward their own garrisons of Soloeis and Panormus, which were not far distant on the coast; or, if they were cut off from these, and compelled to take an inland road, Egesta, the strong hold of their Elymian allies, would have been their object, rather than the Agrigentine territory. But if they fled up the country, and did not reach Egesta, they would get among the highlands held by the Sicans and Sicels; and would be much more likely to stop there, than pass on into the Agrigentine lands. It seems farther improbable, that the powerful Gelon would permit his people to be defrauded of their fair share of the booty, by those who owed to them, not only the victory, but perhaps even their existence as a people. Upon the whole, therefore, it seems more than probable, that the Agrigentines took advantage from the blow given to the Carthaginian power, perhaps making a pretence of some shelter afforded to fugitives, for oppressing the Sicans and Sicels of their neighborhood; and that the stupendous works of art, which travellers yet admire at Girgenti, were in large proportion the produce of the labor and the misery of those unfortunate barbarians. It is the purpose of history to represent men, not such as they should be, but such as they have been: and thus learning what they should be, through observation of what they should not be, far more valuable instruction, both political and moral, may be gathered than from any visionary description of perfection in human nature. Thus, at least, Herodotus and Thucydides and Xenophon and Polybius and Sallust and Tacitus thought; tho some other historians, Greek, Roman, and modern, have written upon a different plan. It is indeed little allowable for the historian to go beyond authority; yet when some important facts are certain,

certain, with some attending circumstances dubious, it will be his business to lead his reader as near to the whole truth as he can. The general spirit of the Grecian commonwealths, and even the doctrine of the Grecian philosophers, the methods ordinarily practised among the Greeks to obtain slaves, the full assurance we have of the great works executed at Agrigentum, and the account even of Diodorus, partial as he is to his fellowcountrymen, compared with the known state of Sicily at the time, all concur to mark the conjecture ventured concerning the prisoners made by the Agrigentines, as very likely to be true, and, at least, very near the truth.

Among the deficiencies of Sicilian history, however, nothing is so much to be regretted as the scantiness of information about the form of government established by Gelon, and the civil occurrences of his reign. It is not the number of prisoners he made, nor the buildings he erected, that excite curiosity, so much as the general prosperity of the country under his administration, and the lasting popularity of his character. Of the former some valuable testimony remains transmitted by the arts, which the litterature of his age, much less proportionally advanced, does not afford. There are gold coins yet existing of Gelon and his immediate successors, tho no commonwealth of Greece, not Athens itself, coined gold, as far as can now be discovered, for more than a century after. Nor are the coins of Gelon more remarkable on this account than for the beauty of the design and workmanship; which are of a perfection at any rate surprizing, and which would appear almost miraculous, if we did not learn from an author living so near the time, and so possessing means of information, as Herodotus, that the western Greek colonies had constant communication and intimate connection with those of Asia. With regard then to the government of Gelon, comparing what remains from Herodotus with the anecdotes reported by later writers, we can but gather some general ideä. Power, it appears, was committed principally to the higher ranks of citizens, yet Gelon was always the favorite of the lower; and in this he appears to have been singular among the Grecian political leaders, that he could reconcile the jarring pretensions of the two, and maintain concord between them. Probably the forms of a mixed

republic were observed, as at Athens under the Pisistratids, and an impartial administration of just laws assured property and civil liberty to all. We are told that, after the defeat of the Carthaginians, and the return of the Grecian forces to their several homes, the people were summoned to a general assembly at Syracuse, with a requisition that they should come completely armed, as for a military expedition. Gelon attended in the habit of a private citizen, unarmed and without guards. The assembly being formed, he mounted the speaker's stand, and after giving a detailed account of his administration in peace and in war, concluded with observing to the people, that he was now in their hands; if he had done well, they would reward him with their good words and good wishes; if he had done ill, his doom was in their power. He was answered with loud acclamation; styled benefactor, deliverer, and king, and required to continue the exercise of the supreme authority; and a decree was passed, directing that a statue should be erected at the public expence, representing him, in memory of this transaction, habited as a private citizen. Nor was this meer flattery to the living prince: above a hundred and thirty years after, when, in circumstances most likely to excite democratical fury, a decree was proposed for the demolition or removal of all statues of tyrants, the surviving fame of the just and beneficent administration of Gelon had such weight with the popular mind, that an exception was made in favor of his statue, which was accordingly preserved in its place.

Diod. l. 11. c. 26. Æl. Var. Hist. l. 13. c. 37.

Demetr. de eloc. s. 312. Plut. vit. Timol.

The history of Carthage, where litterature never florished, is still more defectively transmitted than that of Syracuse; so that we know not to what should be attributed the total inexertion of its government in Sicily, for near a century after the battle of Himera. The testimony of Aristotle to the lasting internal quiet of that wisely-constituted commonwealth, seems to warrant our belief that no domestic trouble impeded; and this tends to corroborate the presumptive evidence, arising from other circumstances, that Carthage had yet no great resources. She was providing them by the successful extension of her commerce, and of her settlements on the western shores of the Mediterranean; and accordingly between sixty and seventy years after, we find Carthage accounted by Thucydides, not formidable as a warlike state,

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 34.

but the richest commonwealth known. Her factories in Sicily therefore, where less profit was to be acquired with far greater difficulty and risk, were neglected; and Motya thus became an Agrigentine garrison. Panormus and Soloeis appear to have remained to the Carthaginians, who, as we learn from Thucydides, continued to hold establishments in the iland; but among the various wars of the Sicilian Greeks, between themselves, and with the barbarians, in whose number Thucydides reckons the Elymians of Egesta, for more than seventy years no mention occurs of any interference of the Carthaginian government[3].

Diod. l. 9. c. 90.

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 46.

c. 11.

[3] Scarcely any equally important transactions in Grecian history remain so unsatisfactorily related as those of the Himeræan war. Herodotus says the Carthaginian army was of three hundred thousand men. This, the only improbable circumstance (indeed nearly an impossible one) in his concise narrative, and expressly given, not as what he would vouch for, but only as a Sicilian report, is the only one in which he has been followed by Diodorus and some later writers, who have added largely to the tale from stores with which we are unacquainted. They say the fleet consisted of two thousand galleys; nearly double the number reported of the fleet of Xerxes, which has passed with some for incredible. (Diod. l. 11. c. 20.) The Carthaginians never, in the most florishing times of their empire, sent out an army of half three hundred thousand men, and still less a fleet of two thousand galleys. They say then that Gelon led from Syracuse fifty thousand foot and more than five thousand horse; neglecting the account of Ephorus, a much earlier writer than Diodorus (which has been preserved to us by the scholiast on Pindar), who says Gelon's army was of ten thousand foot and two thousand horse. Neither has the confident assertion of Diodorus, that the Carthaginian invasion of Sicily was made in consequence of a treaty between the Carthaginian commonwealth and the Persian court, merited the credit that has been paid to it. Herodotus evidently had never heard of such a treaty: indeed his account virtually contradicts its existence. Not that it was impossible but, through the medium of Tyre, there may have been communication between the Carthaginian commonwealth and the Persian court. It was however widely alien from the temper of that court at that time, to make treaties with little, distant, and almost unheard-of republics, upon the terms mentioned by Diodorus. Herodotus sufficiently expresses it as Gelon's opinion, that the only terms upon which alliance could be made with Persia, were submission, not only to the humiliating ceremony of delivering earth and water, but also to the payment of tribute (Herod. l. 7. c. 163.) That the Carthaginians were not, in that age, powerful enough to attract the notice of Persia upon a footing at all approaching to equality, the annoyance which the disunited little piratical Grecian republics in Sicily were always capable of giving them, and the success of the distant colony of Massilia against their fleet, amply indicate. (Herod. l. 1. c. 166. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 13.) Justin, in reporting a treaty between Carthage and the Persian court, which however he attributes to the reign of Darius (Justin, l. 19. c. 1.), describes terms that could only be imposed on a subject people, and would never be acceded to by a state capable of raising at the same time an army of three hundred thousand men, and a fleet of two thousand ships of war. But what Herodotus relates of the leading steps to the Carthaginian expedition into Sicily, is perfectly consistent with

SECTION II.

Of Italy: Tuscany: Rome: Latium: Sybaris: Crotona: Pythagoras: Thurium: Pæstum: Cuma: Campania: Lucania.

AMONG the early inhabitants of Italy, the people whom the Romans called Etruscans, or Tuscans, and the Greeks Tyrrhenes, or Tyrsenes, became eminent, not only by their military prowess, and the extent of dominion which they acquired, but by their policy, their knowlege of letters, and their proficiency in arts. Concerning their origin, which the existing monuments of early art among them principally makes an object of reasonable curiosity, Strabo agrees with Herodotus in tracing it from Lydia[4]. Dionysius of Halicarnassus dissents; yet a concur-

Herod. l. 1. c. 94. Strab. l. 5. p. 219. Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. l. 1.

with everything that we learn on best authority of the circumstances of the times, and fully sufficient to account for the undertaking, without any assistance from fancied treaties with the court of Susa, by which the merchants of Carthage were to share the conquest and spoil of Europe with the monarch of the Persian empire. Finally, the silence of Thucydides concerning the immensity of the Carthaginian armament, and the splendor of the victory of Gelon, where, in treating of the principal military actions of the Greeks in general, he speaks of the power of the Sicilian tyrants of that age in particular (Thucyd. l. 1. c. 14.), sufficiently proves that, if any such reports were in his time current, he thought them unworthy of notice. The account which Diodorus proceeds to give of the terrors at Carthage, lest Gelon, with his victorious army, should immediately cross the sea and lay siege to that city; of the tears of the Carthaginian ambassadors, and the generosity of the Syracusan prince, who scorned to conquer Africa, while he was really unable to drive the Carthaginians out of Sicily; all these, with some other circumstances in the course of his narrative of this war, are too puerile for serious criticism. The naval victory is not noticed by either Herodotus or Diodorus, but remains reported in a quotation from the historian Ephorus by the scholiast on Pindar, and is mentioned by Pindar himself in his first Pythian ode, which is addressed to Hieron. Some notice of it also occurs in Pausanias, b. 6. c. 19. p. 499. The value of these authorities has been very ably discussed by Mr. West, in a note to his translation of the ode above-mentioned.

[4] The antient vases, which of late years have so much excited the attention of the lovers of antiquity and the arts, seem to have contributed in some instances to give a celebrity to the Etruscan name which is not its due. The proof however of the proficiency of the Etruscans in the arts does not rest only upon the merit and the authenticity of the vases attributed to them. The sepulchral monuments of the antient city of Tarquinii, give more unquestionable and more complete information upon the subject. It is to be regretted that these are not yet better known by the publication, long promised, of the accurate delineations and description of Mr. James Byres.

rence of antient testimony makes it appear probable that the Tuscans migrated from the shores of the Ægean sea, where the Tyrrhene name, we learn, was once extensive, and where, so late as the age of Thucydides, it was retained by a people on the Thracian coast. These were of acknowleged Pelasgian origin; and notwithstanding the declared opinion of Dionysius, the weight of evidence collected by him tends strongly to prove that the Tuscans, like the Greeks, were at least in part of Pelasgian race[5]. The question however is not important enough in Grecian history to be allowed long discussion here: and it may suffice that, according to every report collected on the subject by Dionysius and Strabo, and everything remaining from the Roman writers, traditions of some authenticity were preserved of migrations from the countries around the Ægean sea, at different times of the early ages, into Italy; and of settlements in Tuscany, and on its northern and southern borders. The Ligurians were supposed a colony from Greece; Pisa and Cære in Tuscany, Formiæ, Antium, Aricia, Ardea, Tibur and Præneste in Latium, and Rome itself were held to be Grecian towns.

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 109.

T. Liv. Hist. Rom. l. 1. c. 1 & 5.

Fab. Max. & C. Sempron. ap. Dion. Hal. c. 1. p. 9. Strab. l. 5. p. 220. 222. 228. 232 & 233. Virg. Æn. l. 6. v. 96. & l. 8. v. 54. 313. Cecil. ap. Strab. p. 230. & Liv. Hist. Rom. ut sup.

A colony however of later date, and concerning which testimony is more ample and more precise, may have carried science and the arts into Tuscany, in a state of at least as much advancement as they seem ever to have attained there. It was led by Demaratus from Corinth, upon occasion of the revolution in that city, through which the democratical party, under Cypselus, became masters of the government; when the oligarchal chiefs, and particularly the family of the Bacchiads, of which Demaratus is said to have been, would find it desirable, or perhaps necessary, to seek settlements elsewhere. Demaratus found in Tarquinii, the principal city of Tuscany, a safe and honorable retreat for himself, his friends and dependants: he married a lady of high rank there, and died in the peaceable possession of wealth, then esteemed extraordinary. A son of that marriage, inheriting the wealth, became, with the name of Tarquinius Priscus, king of Rome, by election of

Strab. l. 5. p. 220. Dion. Hal. l. 3. p. 136. T. Liv. Hist. Rom. l. 1. c. 34. Chap. 4. s. 1. of this Hist.

[5] According to Thucydides the antient inhabitants of Athens, and according to Sophocles those of Argos, were Tyrrhene Pelasgians. Thucyd. l. 4. c. 109. Sophoc. ap. Dion. Hal. Antiq. Rom. l. 1. p. 17. This indeed is testimony only to a name; but from such early authors it is remarkable testimony.

the

the Roman people. The concurrence of testimonies, Greek and Roman, to these facts, tho of so early an age, seems to go far toward proving one of two things; either that the Tuscans, and it might be added, the Romans, esteemed the Corinthians a kindred people, or that they found them a people superior to themselves in arts and general knowlege.

For the history of Etruria materials are very scanty. We find that its people, like the Greeks, but unlike the other Italians, applied themselves much to maritime affairs. Like the Greeks also they were at the same time a piratical and a commercial people. While they remained united under one government, their power by land and sea was formidable; they extended their arms with success into Lombardy; they conquered Campania, and the shores of Sardinia and Corsica became appendages of their dominion. Afterward, separating into several commonwealths, power sunk, arts declined, and while the growing strength and growing ambition of Rome gave constant alarm on the land-side, the Etrurian maritime force went into neglect and decay. Thus, except in one instance, which will be spoken of hereafter, they were prevented from interfering very materially with the interests of the Grecian colonies in Italy. It appeared, nevertheless, proper, to take thus much notice of a people, of some name in antient times, and of much revived, with perhaps some new renown in modern, who, in the progress of this History, must occasionally occur to mention. Herod. l. 1. c. 196. Strab. l. 5. p. 219. & 232. & l. 6. p. 267.

In the decline of the power of Tuscany the Carthaginians succeeded to a more intire command of the western parts of the Mediterranean: the shores of Sardinia and Corsica passed from the Tuscan to the Carthaginian dominion; and, but for the newly risen power of Rome, there would have been Carthaginian garrisons on the Latin coast. Of this we are assured by that remarkable treaty between Carthage and Rome, in the time of the first consuls, twenty-eight years before the invasion of Greece by Xerxes, the original of which, ingraved on a brazen tablet, remained to the time of Polybius, among the archives in the Capitol. What gave cause to the treaty, its own words, assisted by a passage of Strabo, sufficiently explain. The maritime towns of Latium carried on some little commerce, but were more addicted to piracy. Even after their subjection to Rome, associating themselves Polyb. l. 3. p. 177. Strab. l. 5. p. 232.

themselves with the corsairs of Tuscany, they pushed maritime depredation sometimes as far as the African coast; but they were principally annoying to the commerce with the new Carthaginian settlements in Sardinia and Corsica. At the same time Rome itself, powerful enough to hinder those strong measures of coercion by land, which the Carthaginian government had apparently attempted, was also rich enough to be an object for the Carthaginian merchants. Hence the equality established for the subjects of the two republics by some articles of the treaty, while the general tenor of it is accommodated intirely to secure and promote the peculiar interest of Carthage; and nothing in it affords the least ground for supposing, with some modern writers, in opposition to all the Roman historians, that Rome had then any naval establishment.

While therefore the Sicilian Greeks, by their success against the Carthaginians, earned a glory which we want means justly to estimate, their fellowcountrymen in Italy, unassailed by any formidable forein power, had no opportunity to acquire any similar fame. Their republics have nevertheless become objects of curiosity to posterity by the residence of the philosopher Pythagoras, and some of his principal disciples among them, and by the wonderfully beneficial effects, political and moral, attributed to the propagation of his doctrine there. Unfortunately, however, Pythagoras living while writing was little practised in Greece, both the doctrine and its effects, notwithstanding very assiduous researches of many learned men, remain very deficiently and uncertainly known; and the reports of the extraordinary populousness of some of the Italian Greek cities, and of the military force which, for want of a forein foe worthy of it, they exerted against oneanother, tho supported in some degree by authority so far respectable that they excite wonder, will not be found, upon examination, to deserve belief.

We learn however on sufficient authority, that about the age of Solon and the Peisistratids, some of the Italian Greek cities were considerable. SYBARIS had twenty-five towns within its territory, and held four neighboring tribes of barbarians in subjection. The luxury of its citizens became proverbial. Indeed the application of the term luxury to anything that could exist among the little republics of

Strab. l. 6. p. 263.
Athen. l. 12. c. 6.

that

that age, has been ridiculed by some eminent modern writers; yet, if we sufficiently consider the circumstances of those republics, we shall perhaps find reason to think the charge of luxury against them may have been founded, tho the accounts of their military force are evidently fabulous. The luxury indeed of a narrow society, where manual labor is the business of slaves only, will differ from that of a great nation where all ranks are free; and it will be likely to differ particularly in this, that while general elegance in the style of living of persons in easy circumstances will be very inferior, particular indulgences will be carried to greater extravagance. We are told by Diodorus that, in consequence of the victory of the Sicilian Greeks over the Carthaginians near Himera, the number of slaves acquired by the Agrigentines was so great, that many individuals shared each five hundred; and it is to be presumed, from his account, that no citizen would be without a share. Allowing here largely for exaggeration, we may still have a probable fact, so involving with it a sudden, general, great, and most pernicious change of manners, that, among the modern nations of Europe, nothing can be imagined within the bounds of possibility parallel to it. Indeed if we would see examples of the character of luxury among the antient republics, we must seek them perhaps rather in our colonies than in our capitals. Upon the whole then, tho the luxury of Sybaris remains chiefly recorded by writers who lived not till some centuries after Sybaris ceased to exist, for Herodotus mentions only one Sybarite remarkably luxurious, yet we may not unreasonably believe that luxury was extravagant there. It may have been even elegant, through the intercourse, which we learn was intimate, with the Asiatic Grecian cities; and in regard to some points we are assured of its elegance; for some of the Sybarite coins, yet existing, are of a beauty that modern art will with difficulty rival. Indeed the Lydian court might communicate, among the Greeks of its neighborhood, many refinements little known in Proper Greece, which yet from Miletus might pass to the wealthy towns of Italy.

Diod. l. 11. c. 25.

Herod. l. 6. c. 127.

l. 6. c. 21.

The government of Sybaris however was not better established than that of many other Grecian states. In the usual contest of the aristocratical and democratical factions, the lower people under the conduct of

Diod. l. 12. c. 9.

of a demagogue named Telys, expelled the richer citizens, to the number of five hundred, and shared their property. The exiles found refuge in the neighboring city of CROTONA. The Sybarite people under Telys, confident in their strength (for the population of Sybaris far exceeded that of any other Italian city) demanded the fugitives, and on refusal, made war upon Crotona. Herodotus, in his account of this war, speaks with little confidence of any particulars, tho, within little more than half a century after, he resided upon the spot. The current reports were evidently known to him, and his history appears to have been finished in Italy: yet he mentions neither the philosopher Pythagoras, whom some later writers have made the counsellor of the Crotoniats upon the occasion, nor his disciple, the celebrated athlete Milo, who is asserted, on the same authority, to have been their general and hero. The event, which alone we learn with certainty, was, that the Sybarites were defeated, their city taken and destroyed, their commonwealth annihilated, and the very name lost.

Such is the account that can now be collected of Sybaris; and it involves almost the whole political history of the rival and conquering city Crotona. But the fame of Crotona does not rest on its political eminence only. We have already had occasion to observe that, in many points of art and science, the Grecian colonies went before the mother-country. The medical school of Crotona, probably derived from Pythagoras, who is universally said to have applied himself, and to have directed his scholars, much to the study of nature, was of reputation, before the first Persian war, superior to any then in the world: its fame reached the court of Susa, where the Crotoniat Democedes became principal physician, and was in high favor with Darius. It is indeed remarkable that not any school within Greece, but that of the distant colony of Cyrenë, held even the second rank in medical reputation. But Crotona acquired extraordinary renown also in another line: its air was esteemed singularly salubrious; whence the natives were supposed to derive a peculiar firmness of muscle, with a general superiority of strength and agility; and no city boasted so many victors in the athletic contests at the Olympian games. Of the political system established in Crotona, by Pythagoras, or the scholars

Herod. l. 3. c. 131.

of

of Pythagoras, we have little or nothing on any good authority. The later Greeks alone mention it; while the earlier agree in ascribing all that was most valuable in legislation among the Italian and Sicilian cities to Zalcucus and Charondas. That the arts however florished, the Crotoniat medals, yet remaining, testify; and the reputation of the physical school alone, in the want of authentic information more precise, would mark Crotona for a populous, wealthy, and well-regulated city, where security and leisure were injoyed for the pursuit of science, and means for its incouragement [6].

The

[6] The accounts given by Diodorus, and other antient writers, of the wonderful populousness of Crotona, and still much more of Sybaris, in themselves utterly improbable, are not only unauthorized, but virtually contradicted by the earlier Greek authors. They have therefore been rejected from the text; yet, as they have not only been followed by all modern writers on the subject, but are countenanced by the respectable authority of Strabo among the antients, it may be proper to take some farther notice of them in a note. The Sybarites, according to Diodorus, marched against Crotona, forming an army of three hundred thousand citizens. The Crotoniats met them with only one hundred thousand; but their general Milo, habited and armed in the wild manner ascribed by the poets to Hercules, was himself equal to half an army; and the astonishing slaughter which he made with his club, was a principal cause of the victory, in consequence of which Sybaris was destroyed. Strabo also reports that the Sybarite army consisted of three hundred thousand men: but he does not, like Diodorus, call them citizens; so that admitting his account, the greater part might be slaves. Before this event, according to Justin (l. 20. c. 3 et 4.), tho he makes no mention of the event itself, but after it, as it should seem from Strabo, (l. 6. p. 261.), a hundred and thirty thousand Crotoniats were defeated by the Locrians and Rhegians. But Strabo informs us that Herodotus, the historian, accompanied the Athenian colony which raised Thurium on the ruins of Sibaris, about sixty years, according to Diodorus, after its overthrow. And there is a passage in the history itself of Herodotus which has manifestly been written in Italy, and for the Italian Greeks. The traditions preserved among the descendants of the Sybarites concerning their city, as well as those of their conquerors, have evidently enough been known to him. But if only a report remained of such a superiority of population in the Italian cities over those of Greece, it must have been striking. Herodotus never had the reputation of being backward to relate reports; and yet, tho he mentions the destruction of Sybaris, with some disputed circumstances concerning it, he has not a syllable of the extraordinary numbers of the Sybarite and Crotoniat armies. Herodotus and Thucydides are very seldom found in contradiction; and the silence of the latter upon this occasion strongly confirms the negative testimony of the former. Where Thucydides professedly enumerates all the Grecian states which had been eminent for military power, and mentions the naval strength of the Silician tyrants, far inferior to what Athens afterward possessed (Thucyd. l. 1. c. 14.), he could not have omitted all notice of those immense armies

The other Italian Greek cities, of which Cuma, Rhegium, Locri-Epizephyrii, Tarentum, Brundusium, were populous and rich, are scarcely objects for history, but as they become occasionally connected in transactions with states of greater political importance. To avoid interruption therefore in the account of the affairs of the leading republics of Greece, it may be convenient here to look forward to

of the Italian Greeks, to which no other Grecian state ever had anything comparable, had such armies existed. It is farther observable, that Aristotle mentions Sybaris only to quote an instance of sedition. The name I believe never occurs in Plato's works, and the name of Crotona is mentioned by neither of them: an omission utterly unaccountable but upon the supposition that the effects attributed by later writers to the doctrine of Pythagoras, were, for some ages after the time to which they are ascribed, unheard of. We may indeed wonder where later writers, and particularly Cicero (Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. 16. and 4. 1.), had their information. Herodotus, who mentions Pythagoras, son of Mnesarchus (l. 4. c. 90.), as an eminent sophist in Samos, has not taken the least notice of his residence in Italy. Plato, in the same passage in which he speaks of Charondas as the admired legislator of the Sicilian and Italian Greeks, mentions Pythagoras in contradistinction to the great reformers of republics, as a private teacher, singularly beloved and respected indeed by his disciples, but the mere founder of a sect. (Plat. de Rep. l. 10. p. 599, 600. v. 2.) It is there only in Plato's works that his name occurs. Aristotle (Ethic. l. 1. c. 1.) mentions him as the first who attempted to teach moral philosophy among the Greeks, and refers to his physical and metaphysical doctrines, but nowhere gives the least hint that he was even a speculative politician. Isocrates (Busir. encom. p. 402. t. 2.) also affirms that he was the first who brought philosophy into Greece, and that he introduced new magnificence in religious ceremonies; but of his politics he says nothing. The earliest testimony, in any extant author, to the Pythagoreans of Italy, is that of Polybius (b. 2. p. 126.): of Pythagoras himself that author makes no mention. In short, what remains from earlier writers concerning this celebrated philosopher is next to nothing; later accounts are contradictory, and abound with gross and palpable fictions. 'Ne' libri che si leggono,' as the learned Florentine doctor Antonio Cocchi, in his treatise concerning the Pythagorean diet, observes, 'ci si vede far figura, or di ope-'rator di miracoli per la sua bontà, ed ora 'di mago ridicolo e d'impostore.' That the Samian Pythagoras was eminent among the earliest fathers of Grecian philosophy is clearly established; but that he was a legislator, the silence of all the earlier writers, and especially of Aristotle, seems very strongly to confute.

The passage of Herodotus which proves that a part of his history was written in Italy, and for the Italian Greeks, is in his fourth book; where, after describing some circumstances of the Tauric Chersonese, he illustrates them for the inhabitants of proper Greece, by a comparison with some circumstances of Attica; but as this might be no illustration for many of those among whom he then lived, he proceeds thus: Ὃς δὲ τὴς Ἀτλικῆς ταῦτα μὴ παραπέπλωκε, ἐγὼ δὲ ἄλλως δηλώσω· ὡς ἐς τῆς Ἰηπυγίης ἄλλο ἔθνος, καὶ μὴ Ἰήπυγες, ἀρξάμενοι ἐκ Βρενδισίου λιμένος, ἀποταμοίαλο μέχρι Τάραντος, καὶ νεμόναλο τὴν ἀρχὴν. l. 4. c. 99.

some

some of those transactions of the Italian states which principally deserve attention.

Among the consequences of the conquest of Sybaris by the Crotoniats, one is recorded, which particularly merits notice; because now of extraordinary appearance, yet, in the early ages, so far from uncommon, that it forms one among the characteristical marks of difference between the political state of the antient and of the modern world. The Sybarite territory, chiefly a plain, watered by the little rivers Sybaris and Crathis, of no great extent, but uncommon fertility, scarcely forty miles from the conquering city Crotona, and adjoining, or nearly so, to its domain, lay fifty-eight years unoccupied. The Crotoniats were unable to protect their own people in the cultivation of it, and their jealousy, perhaps a reasonable jealousy, deterred others. At length some Thessalians ventured to attempt a settlement there; but were quickly expelled by the Crotoniats. Not thus however totally discouraged, associating such remnant of the Sybarite people as they could collect, they applied first to Lacedæmon and then to Athens for support. It was little in the general disposition of the Lacedæmonian government to ingage in such enterprizes; and, its circumstances at the time being adverse, as we shall have occasion to observe more particularly in the sequel, nothing was obtained there. The circumstances of Athens, on the contrary, made such an application welcome. Under authority of the Athenian government, a proclamation was published over Greece to ingage volunteers for the colony. To give efficacy to this, an incouraging response was procured from the oracle of Delphi; and Lampon and Xenocritus, with ten ships of war under their orders, were appointed to command the expedition. The adventurers became numerous, and some were of eminence; particularly Herodotus the historian, Protagoras the philosopher, scholar of Democritus, and Lysias, son of Cephalus the friend of Socrates, himself afterward the celebrated rhetorician whose orations remain to us. Measures were wisely taken; and the colony was established, as far as appears, without opposition. The chosen spot was at a small distance from the antient site of Sybaris, where the fountain Thuria afforded the advantage of a plentiful supply of water. The town was built on a regular plan, with three streets

Diod. l. 12. c. 10. Strab. l. 6. p. 263.

Strab. l. 14. p. 656. Diog. La. v. Protag. Lys. or. con. Eratosth.

crossing four others at right angles; and, the antient name being rejected, as of ill omen, the colonists assumed the appellation of Thurians, and the town was called Thuria or Thurium[7]. A constitution was framed for the new state, according to Diogenes Laertius, by Protagoras. Probably he took the system of Charondas for his model, and thence may have arisen the mistake of Diodorus, who attributes to Charondas the honor of having founded the Thurian constitution.

When we consider the advantageous circumstances under which this colony was established, the uncommon abilities and uncommon power of the patron of the undertaking (the great minister of Athens, Pericles), the superiority of the men ingaged in it, and the celebrity of the laws under which it long florished, and then look forward to what remains of its history, we cannot but be shocked to find how little personal security was injoyed under the best political constitutions of that age; how much less than under those governments of modern Europe, which we are accustomed most to reprobate and despise; and then, while we exult in the singular blessings which we ourselves injoy, we shall be less disposed to blame others, who in political circumstances far less fortunate, chuse yet rather to rest under the lot derived from their ancestors, than risk the horrors of civil war, to obtain, with final success, perhaps only a revival of those miseries with which most of the antient republics abounded, and from which the happiest were never secure[8]. All the wise regulations of Protagoras could not prevent the growth of sedition in Thurium. Disputes arose early between the forein colonists and the Sybarites who were associated with them; and those disputes ended only with the massacre of a part, and the final dispersion of the rest, of that remnant of unfortunate people.

Aristot. Polit. l. 5. c. 3. Strab. l. 6, p. 263.

A remnant of the Sybarite people nevertheless survived, and it may

[7] Αἰγίδαι δὲ Θουρία καὶ Θούριοι. Schol. in Aristoph. Nub. v. 331. Diodorus has transmitted to us the ichnography of Thurium and the names of the streets. The four parallel streets were called Heracleia, Aphrodisias, Olympias, Dionysius; or Hercules-street, Venus-street, Olympia-street, and Bacchus-street. Instead of favorite deities, an analogous superstition, in the same country, in modern times, would have named them from some favorite saints. The other streets were called Heroa, Thuria and Thurina.

[8] This sentiment was deduced simply from Grecian history; having been long written, and some time published, before France began to exhibit horrors beyond all recorded example.

be ventured even to add that they florished; tho antient history has scarcely left three words about them. We are uninformed whether it was in the exuberance of the population of Sybaris that the colony was sent out, or in the calamity of the city that a portion of its people fled, to that extensive bay on the western coast of Italy, now called the gulph of Salerno; where the Greek city of POSEIDONIA, otherwise named PÆSTUM, acknowledged Sybaris for its mother-country. To this day the magnificent remains of the public buildings of that place, amid the desolation surrounding them, interest as they astonish the curious traveller, whether antient political history, or the history of the arts, or art itself be his object; while the obscurity, and almost nullity, of tradition concerning them, afford endless room for conjecture.

It were difficult to say what advantage the world may or may not derive from those speculations on the antient state of mankind, those visionary inquiries into antient history, in prosecution of which so much ingenuity hath of late been employed, to overthrow every traditionary testimony transmitted by the earliest writers. But when, on one side, we see it asserted that what have been four thousand years the finest climates of our globe, were in its first ages uninhabitable through excess of heat, and that all science had its birth in the now frozen regions of Tartary, then alone, by their height above the ocean, affording that temperature of air in which men could live; when, on the other, we find not less force of erudition or of reason ingaged in the attempt to show that the progress of things has been the reverse; and that the first civilized nations lived on a portion of the globe now covered to the depth of many hundred fathom by the Atlantic ocean; it seems probable that, these militating systems destroying one another, the fashion of all will pass; and that learned men, however wishing for better information about the early state of mankind than the oldest authors furnish, may nevertheless come to acknowlege that better is not likely to be obtained. In the spirit of inventive history it has been a supposition of late cherished, by some among the curious and learned, that the noble piles whose ruins remain at Pæstum, as well as the various existing monuments of the arts of antient Etruria, have been

been the produce of science and improvement, not derived from Greece or the Eaſt, but the native growth of Italy; or, however, that, whether Italy received the arts from the lofty plains of Tartary, or from the submerged Atlantic continent, she had them before Greece, and at least assisted the eastern nations in communicating them to that country. I would avoid long discussion of matters which are rather of the province of the antiquarian; and indeed upon the subject in question it seems enough for the historian, that neither Cicero, with all his partiality for Italy, and all his diligence, and all his means of inquiry, nor Horace, with all his desire to gratify his Etruscan patron, nor Virgil, nor Livy, nor Pliny, had the least suspicion that their fellow-countrymen had any claim to the priority in science and art, which it has been proposed by some learned moderns to attribute to them. Without therefore adding anything to what has been already said about Tuscany, I shall proceed to state some circumstances, not alien from the purpose of Grecian history, which may afford grounds for estimating the state of civilization and improvement among the inhabitants of the middle and southern parts of Italy, previous to the migration of the first Grecian colonies thither.

C. 5. s. 2. of this Hist.

Occasion has heretofore occurred to mention that CUMA, situated a few miles northwest of the present city of Naples, was esteemed the oldest Grecian colony westward of the Ionian sea. The distance of Cuma from its mother-country Eubœa, and the extent of barbarian shores that, in the coasting navigation of the age, must be passed to reach it from any part of Greece, here deserve consideration. Of the course that was usually, or, it may be said, constantly held, if storms did not force the navigator out of his way, we are perfectly informed. The shores of Greece were measured, in fair weather, from headland to headland; but along the windings of the coast, if the sky threatened, as far as the iland of Corcyra. The navigator then became particularly anxious for a serene sky and quiet water to cross the Ionian gulph. Having made the Iapygian promontory, if fair weather continued, he would avoid the circuit of the gulph of Tarentum, and stretch away for the Lacinian promontory, whence the coast would conduct him to the Messenian strait. The antients seem to have little known the art

Thucyd. l. 6. c. 34. et al. Xen. Hel. l. 6. c. 2. s. 17, 18.

of

of profiting from any wind that did not blow nearly in their course. The wind therefore which had favored the navigator from Eubœa to the southern capes of Peloponnesus, would oppose his progress toward the Epirot coast. In proceeding then to Messena, he would want another change; and to hold his way thence, between two and three hundred miles northward to Cuma, a third; or, in defect of these, weather so calm as not to impede his oars. The course from the nearest part of Greece to Cuma would be, even with favoring weather, about six hundred miles, and from Eubœa near a thousand.

With this length of navigation, and these difficulties inseparable from it, difficulties with which the Mediterranean coasting seamen are to this day well acquainted, the settlers at Cuma, it is evident, must rest their safety upon their own strength, compared with that of those who were likely to oppose them, and not upon any assistance to be expected from Greece. Those adventurers then, so risking themselves out of all reach of support from home, chose for their settlement no barren and worthless corner, likely to be neglected in a country which had any civilized inhabitants, but a critical post, on the verge of the CAMPANIAN plain, emphatically named the happy Campania, the richest, and, from earliest ages, the most coveted part of Italy. The local circumstances deserve notice; and the whole Cumæan territory is so trodden by travellers, for the sake of the antiquities, the natural curiosities, and the picturesk beauties with which it abounds, that in speaking of it I shall speak of what is more familiar to many English readers than most parts of their own country; and its features are so characteristical, that, to those who never saw it, a good map may give sufficient assistance.

Polyb. l. 3. p. 336. Strab. l. 5. p. 243.

At the foot of the mountains, which occupy so large a portion of the interior of Italy, the Campanian plain stretches about fifty miles in length, from the Massic hills to those which divide the bay of Naples from that of Salerno, and sometimes twenty in width, from the Appennine to the sea. The inclination of the ground suffices, in most parts, to give course to the streams which cross this plain, and yet scarcely any visible inequality interrupts the apparent level of the surface, except where a series of volcanoes has given form to the coast, from the

the bay of Cuma to the bay of Stabia. Of the hills however in this tract, except Vesuvius, none are too high for cultivation; and the subterranean fires, which produced them, had long been quiet before the Greeks became acquainted with them; even Vesuvius having been unknown to any antient writer as a burning mountain, till the eruption happened which destroyed Herculaneum and Pompeii [9].

When Megasthenes, with his band of Eubœan adventurers, arrived on the Campanian coast, the bay of Baiæ, one of the best roadsteds that the Italian shores afford, presented harbors so commodious for the vessels of the age, that they might have fixed the choice of those whose object was either commerce or piracy. But Megasthenes looked to greater things. The Oscans, who then held the Campanian plain, are said to have won it by arms from the Ausonians; yet the evident weakness of those barbarian conquerors excited the hope that so rich a possession might be ravished from them. This view seems to have directed the founder in chusing the site of his town: and for the three purposes of security to a garrison, of commanding an extent of coast abounding with harbors, and of carrying on enterprize against the possessors of the plain, a spot could not perhaps have been more judiciously selected than the rocky summit, toward the western end of the volcanic hills, and at some distance from the shore, where the ruins of the castle of Cuma still remain. Immediately below is a small plain, guarded on the land side by the castle and by the hills themselves; and so protected toward the sea, by marshes, lakes, and broken ground, that a small force might easily defend it against a large one. This plain, in the infancy of the colony perhaps nearly sufficing to supply it with bread, became, in its increase, as relics everywhere still to be discovered testify, in large proportion covered by the city. For his port Megasthenes chose, not the harbor of Misenum, whose superior advantages, considered by themselves, decided the Romans afterward to make it their principal naval arsenal, but a spot preferable for his purpose, on account of its readier communication with Cuma, where

[9] The Cumæan territory was however known to be volcanic ground as early as Pindar's time, as we learn from his first Pythian ode. Perhaps Mount Epomeus, in the neighboring iland of Ischia, might then emit flame. See Strabo, b. 5. p. 248.

the

the town of Dicæarchia was built, better known afterward by the Roman name Puteoli.

The early success of the Eubœan adventurers answered the prudence with which their measures appear to have been concerted; for, tho at what time, and through what struggles, we are uninformed, they conquered the Campanian plain. But they were not allowed the quiet injoyment of so valuable an acquisition: the Tuscans, then in the height of their power, whether solicited by the oppressed Oscans, or incited meerly by ambition and avarice, carried their arms thither, and the force of Cuma was unequal to the contest. The Tuscans made themselves complete masters of the plain; they founded the city of Capua, which became its capital; and from them, according to Strabo, descended the people afterward known by the name of Campanians. Strab. l. 5. p. 242.

The Cumæans, after this reverse, which extinguished their hope to become a considerable power by land, nevertheless prospered as a maritime colony. They extended their maritime settlements, and, in spite of the force of Campania, vindicated to themselves the possession of the hills on the coast, at the eastern extremity of which they built the town of Naples. It was not till after they had florished some centuries, that faction, the common bane of Grecian cities, at length superinduced their ruin. The Campanians, with whom they seem to have had almost perpetual warfare, thus first got footing in Naples, and afterward reduced Cuma itself[11]. p. 243 & 246.

Such then having been the weakness and barbarism of the Italian tribes, the Tuscans alone excepted, that, according to every testimony of Greek and Roman writers, wherever almost a Grecian pirate chose to form a settlement on the coast, he found no force among the natives capable of preventing his purpose, it seems needless to seek for other proof that such people were not the founders of those edifices at Poseidonia, which have existed now between two and three thousand years, and survived, near nine centuries, the total destruction of the city. It appears from Strabo that, when the Sybarite adventurers arrived there, they found a town, either unfortified, or fortified so slightly, that the p. 251.

[11] According to Diodorus, in the fourth year of the eighty-ninth Olmpiad, the twelfth of the Peloponnesian war, and 420 before the Christian era. Diod. l. 12. c. 76.

barbarous inhabitants abandoned it almost without resistance, and betook themselves to the neighboring mountains. The local circumstances were not such as the Greeks generally coveted for a settlement, yet such as they sometimes accepted. The place was strong, not by a lofty rock offering itself for a fortress, but by a marsh on which it bordered, and by a stream with which a surrounding ditch might be floated. These, with the neighborhood of the sea, and the extent and fertility of the adjacent plain, were the advantages of the situation. The inconveniencies at the same time were great. The neighboring marsh infected the air, and the water of the stream is brackish and unwholesome. But security and sustenance were the great objects of the Sybarites. Having fortified the town, they thence commanded a large portion of the plain; and how they florished, their works, now remaining amid wide desolation melancholy monuments of past human grandeur, largely testify.

Ch. 1. s. 3. of this Hist.

Strab. l. 5. p. 251.

But tho, in the early ages, a small body of Sybarites, not the most renowned in arms among the Greeks, was superior to any force the barbarian Italians could oppose to them; tho a few fugitive Phocæans from Asia Minor could establish themselves, and florish in their settlement of Velia on the LUCANIAN coast, which became one of the earliest seats of philosophy; yet in process of years, arts and knowlege introducing themselves among the Italians, their population and their political strength increased; and those who had been unable to oppose the infancy of the Grecian towns, could overpower their maturity. Thus not only the Campanians, who came originally fraught with all the arts of Etruria, reduced Cuma and its dependencies, but the once savage Lucanians conquered Poseidonia and Velia[12]. Afterward, under Roman protection, Poseidonia prospered again with the name of Pæstum, survived the Roman empire in the west, and about the beginning of the

Ch. 7. s. 1. of this Hist.

Strab. l. 6. p. 254.

[12] Virgil, who expressly brings civilization to Italy from Asia Minor,

(Æneas——
Bellum ingens geret Italiâ, populosque feroces
Contundet, moresque viris et mœnia ponet.) Æn. l. 7. v. 268.

attributes barbarian cruelty and ignorance particularly to the tribes in the neighborhood of Velia. Æn. l. 6. v. 359. 366.

tenth

tenth century, in one unhappy hour, received its total ruin from the destructive hands of the Saracens [13].

[13] The style of the ruins of Pæstum, nearly resembling that of most of the temples remaining in Sicily, and of one of which small relics only are left at Pompeii, differs from what is found common in Greece, and among the Grecian settlements in Asia, by greater massiveness, and a characteristical simplicity. Hence some have been disposed to infer that the Pæstan, Sicilian, and Pompeian buildings have all been anterior to the age to which they are commonly attributed, and that they are Italian and not Grecian architecture. But, not to say any more of the total want of testimony to the existence of an Italian people capable of teaching architecture to the Greeks, the following considerations, I think, may sufficiently account for the difference between the style of the Attic, and that of the Sicilian and Pæstan buildings. Sybaris was destroyed about eighteen years before the invasion of Greece by Xerxes, and the buildings of Agrigentum, where the noblest ruins of Sicily remain, were raised, according to Diodorus, immediately after that event, when Athens was also to be restored, after its complete destruction by the Persians. It is likely that the Agrigentines and Sybarites would build in the style of their forefathers: but we are well informed that the Athenians did otherwise. Themistocles who superintended the rebuilding of Athens, splendid in his disposition, rather to excess, acquainted with the elegancies of Asia Minor, and possessing power to command the science, art, and taste of that country, would not restore when he could improve. Cimon, who succeeded him in the administration, was also remarkable for his magnificence; and he too had seen whatever the Asiatic coast possessed of great and beautiful. But the ornamental buildings of both those great men were comparatively little to what were afterward raised under the superintendence of Pericles and the direction of Pheidias. The fame of the buildings of Athens then spreading over Greece, a new style of architecture was introduced gradually everywhere. The Ionic order had been imported into Attica from Asia; the Corinthian was soon after invented by an Athenian architect; and the Doric itself began to change its antient simple and massive grandeur, for more embellishment, lightness, and grace.

Mistakes about things often arise from mistakes about names. The order of architecture called Doric, has been supposed, even by Vitruvius, originally peculiar to the Dorian Greeks; but apparently, indeed almost evidently, without foundation. For till after the age of Xerxes, only one order of architecture, as we are well assured, was known in Greece; and that is not likely to have had a name; because names arise only from the necessity of distinguishing in speech two or more things of the same kind. But when the Ionic order was imported from Ionia in Asia by the Athenians, who were themselves original Ionians, the term Ionic would naturally grow into use as the distinguishing name for the new order; and then, and not before, a name was wanted for the old one. Ionic and Doric being the two great distinctions of the Greek nation, and the old style of architecture holding its vogue among the Dorian cities, for some time after the new one had been adopted by the Athenians, the Doric name thus would as naturally adhere to the one as the Ionic to the other.

CHAPTER XI.

Affairs of GREECE, from the Conclusion of that commonly called the PERSIAN WAR, to the Establishment of Security for the Greeks against the Barbarians by the Successes of CIMON.

SECTION I.

State of the known World at the time of the Retreat of Xerxes from Greece. Dedications, Festivals, and Monuments in Greece, occasioned by the Victories over the Persians. Restoration of Athens: Jealousy of the Peloponnesians: Administration of Themistocles: Parties at Athens: Banishment of Themistocles.

RETURNING then to the period whence we digressed, and looking over the world, as far as history will carry the view, this nearly was the state of things: Toward the east, the Persian empire, crippled for external exertion by immense waste of men and treasure, nevertheless continued to spread its power over almost all that was known of the Asiatic continent; for Scythia, tho its formidable hords had military fame, as a country, may be called almost unknown. In the west, the rising power of Carthage was checked by the great defeat received from the Greeks in Sicily; Tuscany, divided into several republics, was in a kind of natural decay; the growing strength of Rome, ingaged in continual struggles with little states in its immediate neighborhood, was scarcely heard of beyond them; the southern Italians, excepting the Campanians, lived unpolished among their mountains; the Greek cities on the Italian coast, unconnected, and thus, in the concerns of nations, inconsiderable, were nevertheless prosperous and wealthy seats of science and arts; the Sicilian Greeks, united under the abilities of Gelon, were the most powerful and florishing people of the Grecian name. Civilization had hitherto moved in a line

a line eastward and westward, in the climate most favorable for the first exertions of man in society; and was confined there to the countries most favorably circumstanced. It could not penetrate the mountainous and frozen continent immediately north of Greece. Under a more genial sky, Spain, tho a great object for Carthaginian commerce, affords nothing for history; and of the extensive country of Gaul, little was known beyond the small portion of its coast washed by the Mediterranean, the most inviting spots of which were occupied by the Massilian Greeks. Britain, esteemed almost beyond the limits of the world, was heard of only through uncertain reports of Carthaginian or Phenician navigators[1]; and Germany was one vast forest, impenetrable to civilized man.

Such was the state of the known world, when the Persian monarch withdrew from those great scenes of action where his immense armies and fleets had been destroyed, leaving to his officers, instead of the splendid views of conquest with which the war had been undertaken, the melancholy care to defend the maritime provinces of his vast

[1] When the British ilands first became known to the Greeks, we are not informed. Already in Aristotle's time, however, Great Britain with the name of Albion, and Ireland with that of Iernë (the same evidently with the modern Celtic name Erin) were known to be ilands, larger than any in the Mediterranean, with many smaller ilands near their shores; and all together were called the BRETANIC ILANDS. Aristot. de Mundo, c. 3. Apparently with the fall of Carthage the commerce of the Mediterranean shores with the Britannic ilands was greatly narrowed; for in the Augustan age, the information of both Diodorus and Strabo about them was very scanty, neither seeming to have known more than Aristotle, except what was learnt, principally of the southwestern part, through Cæsar's invasion. Ireland, unnamed by Diodorus, is called by Strabo 'Bretannic Ierne.' All the ilands, great and small collectively, are called by both writers, as by Aristotle, the Bretanic Ilands. Diod. l. 3. c. 38. Strab. l. 2. p. 63 & 129.

When the crowns of England and Scotland were united, James the first wisely promoted the abolition of habitual antipathies, and assisted the foundation laid for uniting the people, by affording them one common name, through the elegant title he assumed, of king of Great Britain. When the union was lately formed with Ireland, it may seem that the same just policy, and a similar sense of elegance, led to the Latin title which his Majesty's ministers recommended. Why the English title should so differ, has never been declared, and is not obvious. Its unwieldy frame seems calculated for nothing but to exclude the Irish from community in a name, to which they have so old and clear a title, and to prevent the advantages of such a community, which are important for people living under one government.

empire.

empire. Among the Greeks on the other hand the late events, at once dispelling those terrors of subjection to a forein yoke which had been long impending, gave them, in the security of peace, to injoy at leisure their exultation in the wonderful and glorious deliverance, which, under divine providence, their own valor and skill in arms, and the wholesome institutions, prevailing for a time against the vices of their governments, had procured for them.

Ol. 75 ⅔. B. C. 478. Plut. vit. Aristid.

The usual piëty of the Grecian people, exerting itself upon this great occasion, was not limited to the dedications, made or decreed, as already related, immediately after the division of the Persian spoil. Eighty talents of silver, allotted to Platæa, were employed by that heroïc little commonwealth in building a temple to Minerva, and adorning it with paintings, by the most eminent artists of the time, which were preserved with so much care that they remained perfect, above six hundred years, to the age of Plutarch. A funeral solemnity was at the same time instituted, to be annually performed by the Platæans; in which the first-fruits of their country were offered to the gods, preservers of Greece, and to the souls of the heroes who had died in its defence; and this also remained in Plutarch's time. A festival repeated every fifth year, in commemoration of the victory, probably not instituted till after the age of Thucydides, who mentions only the annual ceremony, was of similar duration.

Thucyd. l. 3. c. 58. Plut. vit. Aristid.

After thanks to the gods, the merits of the men who had fallen in their country's service, were taken into consideration. Means had not hitherto been open for paying due honors to the heroïsm of those who, in the preceding year, had fallen in the extraordinary action under Leonidas. The care of their obsequies, and of erecting monuments to perpetuate their well-earned fame, was now committed to the Amphictyonic Assembly. Two structures of marble marked the place of the ingagement, with inscriptions, which remained many ages; and which having been recorded by Herodotus, will probably be secured by the press against perishing while the world shall last. One was in honor of the Peloponnesians collectively, without mentioning the other Greeks, who, under Leonidas, defended the pass; the other commemorated only the Lacedæmonians who fell with their prince. The

Herod. l. 7. c. 228. Lycurg. or. con. Leo. rat. p. 215. or. Gr. ed. Reiske. Strab. l. 9. p. 429. Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 33. Anthолog.

simplicity of these inscriptions characterizes the manners of the age, and the partiality to Peloponnesus and Lacedæmon marks the prevalence of Peloponnesian influence in the assembly. They were, as was then usual, in verse. The former may be litterally translated thus: 'Here four thousand men from Peloponnesus fought with three 'millions:' the other, 'Stranger, tell the Lacedæmonians that here we 'lie in obedience to their laws[2].'

More pressing cares meanwhile ingaged the Athenians; the restoration of their country laid waste, and of their city reduced to ruins and ashes: yet now, according to Diodorus, they also instituted their public funeral anniversary; to which the superior genius of their orators, who pronounced the praises of the deceased, together with the political eminence which their commonwealth acquired, gave afterward a celebrity unequalled in other parts of Greece. Public funerals indeed in honor of those who had merited highly of the commonwealth, as we learn from higher authority, were of earlier date; yet the ceremony may have been now first established in that form which became the rule for following times. Now also probably were raised the columns or terms, which remained many ages, on the barrows covering the bodies of those who fell in the field of Marathon; for it is little likely that monuments erected for such a purpose would have escaped the destructive hands of the Persians, and of those Greeks who sided with the Persians, while they possessed the country. Pausanias, visiting the spot above six

Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 33.

Thucyd. l. 2. c. 34.

Pausan. l. 1. c. 32.

[2] Strabo says the monument, with the inscription, was in his time still in its place. The inscription remains reported by Herodotus, the Athenian orator Lycurgus, Strabo himself, Diodorus, and others, with some little variations, which show that some of them at least have trusted to memory. Cicero says it was composed by Simonides and he has given a Latin translation of it thus:

Dic, hospes, Spartæ nos te hic vidisse jacentes,
Dum sanctis patriæ legibus obsequimur.
M. T. Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. 1. n. 101.

The original is thus variously reported:

Ὦ ξεῖν' ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇδε
Κείμεθα, τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασιν πειθόμενοι.—Herodot.

Ὦ ξεῖν' ἄγγειλον Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇδε
Κείμεθα, τοῖς κείνων πειθόμενοι νομίμοις.—Lycurg. & Diod.

Ὦ ξεν' ἀπάγγειλον, κ. τ. ε.—Strab.

hundred

hundred years after, found them, with the inscribed names of the slain, still perfect. One barrow covered the Athenians, another the Platæans, together with the slaves; and to make some amends to the memory of Miltiades for the severity with which he had been treated when living, tho he had not fallen in the field, a particular monument to his honor was erected there[3].

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 89. The Athenians, in retaking possession of the site of their city, found only a small part of the walls standing, with a few houses which had been reserved for the residence of the principal Persian officers. During the past summer, Themistocles appears to have been in no public situation. Some jealousy excited by the high distinction shown him at Sparta, and too boastful a display of his own glory, had given disgust; and the chief commands had been committed to Aristeides and Xanthippus. In the following autumn however, when the reparation of the ravages of war came under deliberation, Themistocles again stepped forward, again found means to acquire the favor, and through that favor to become the ruler of the Athenian people. In restoring the city, which was the most urgent business, the late events would impress strongly upon their minds the necessity of providing, in the most effectual manner possible, for its future security. What others were anxious for, each with a view to his domestic ease, Themistocles urged to promote the political greatness of his country, to which he looked for the foundation of his own greatness. At his instigation therefore it was determined to postpone everything to the completion of the fortifications; and these were put under his direction. A larger space was marked out than had been included within the former walls, and the work was prosecuted with the most zealous diligence.

Herod. l. 8. c. 125. Diod. l. 11. c. 27. Plut. vit. Themist.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 93.

While the Athenians were thus employed in repairing the past mischiefs of war, and providing against the future, the Lacedæmonians,

[3] The inscription on the Athenian barrow remains reported by the orator Lycurgus, thus:

Ἑλλήνων προμαχοῦντες Ἀθηναῖοι Μαραθῶνι,
Χρυσοφόρων Μήδων ἐσόρεσαν δύναμιν.

'The Athenians, fighting at Marathon as the advanced guard of the Greek nation, overthrew the force of the goldbearing Medes.'

who

who had suffered nothing but the loss of a very inconsiderable proportion of their citizens, had full leisure to contemplate the state of things around them, and the probable consequences of the late events. They had long been accustomed, not only to esteem themselves, but to be esteemed by all Greece as the superior state, intitled by a kind of prescriptive right to take the lead in all common concerns of the nation. This right had been disputed hitherto only by the Argians, who still claimed hereditary preëminence, transmitted, as they urged, from the Danaïd, Perseid, and Pelopid monarchs, through the elder branch of the Heracleid family. But Argos, continually torn by internal faction, and weakened by almost every external war in which it had been ingaged, wanted force to support its claim; while Sparta had the advantage, in public opinion, of boasting the regular descent of its reigning princes from Hercules, Pelops, and Perseus, with the more solid advantage of possessing superior military strength; and this farther supported by the confidence of the Peloponnesian states in the wisdom and steddiness, which, through the superiority of its constitution, seldom failed to appear in its counsels. But the late transactions had brought forward a people, hitherto of very inferior political weight among the Grecian states, of very inferior military power, and of the Ionian race, far inferior, in general estimation, to the Dorian. This rising state had been nearly crushed under the overwhelming pressure of the Persian arms; but what had threatened its annihilation, had in effect only directed its strength to a new mode of exertion, through which it had acquired a new kind of power, to an amount that Lacedæmon could not hope immediately to rival. A jealousy thus unavoidably arose, and every motion of the Athenians was watched with suspicious attention; which some of the allies, according to the candid Thucydides, carried farther than the Lacedæmonians themselves.

Isocrat. ad Philip. p. 340. t. 1. ed. Auger.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 90.

No sooner therefore were the new fortifications of Athens begun, than the Æginetans, whose antient enmity had been smothered, not extinguished, by the terrors of the Persian invasion, sent ministers to excite the interference of Sparta. A remonstrance came in consequence

Ol. 75 ¾.* B. C. 477. Diod. l. 11. c. 39. Plut. & Corn. Nep. vit. Themist. Justin. l. 2. c. 15.

* This date and the next are conjectural. Dodwell is evidently wrong in supposing the walls completed, as well as all the negotiations about them, within the year.

to Athens. 'Experience,' it was urged, 'had proved, that Athens, 'however fortified, could not withstand the force of the Persian empire. 'The erection therefore of fortifications, beyond Peloponnesus, was but 'forming a strong hold for the enemy; and the common interest of 'Greece required rather that all fortified places, so situate, should be 'dismantled. Peloponnesus would suffice as a temporary retreat for 'all who should be obliged to quit their possessions in the more exposed 'part of the country.' Such, we are told by Thucydides, was the avowed policy, not of the Lacedæmonians only, but of all their Peloponnesian allies. If these arguments should immediately be inforced by arms, Athens was not in condition to resist: to temporize was necessary; and the conduct of Themistocles, upon this occasion, has been celebrated as a masterpiece of policy, where nothing was omitted by which a genius equally fertile, pliable, and daring could prosecute its purpose. To the Lacedæmonian ministers, who brought the remonstrance, it was answered, 'That their government must certainly have been misin- 'formed, both of what was doing and what was intended by the Athe- 'nian people. Athens was not, like Lacedæmon, an inland town: near 'as it lay to the coast, if totally unfortified, it would be liable to insult 'from every daring pirate. But, for their own sakes, not less than for 'the common interest of Greece (for which of all Grecian people surely 'the Athenians least merited the suspicion of deficient zeal) they would 'be careful not to form strong holds for the common enemy. Ambas- 'sadors should however be immediately sent to Lacedæmon, who should 'account satisfactorily for the proceedings of the Athenian govern- 'ment.' With this reply the Lacedæmonians were dismissed, according to the usual practice of the Greeks, the jealous temper of whose little commonwealths did not readily admit any long residence of foreiners in a public character.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 90.

Themistocles himself undertook the embassy to Sparta; and to give it all possible weight and dignity, as among the antients an embassy commonly consisted of more than one person, Aristeides was appointed to accompany him, together with Abronychus, who is otherwise known to us only as the officer commanding the vessel stationed at Thermopylæ, to communicate between the army under Leonidas and the fleet at Artemisium.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 91. Ch. 8. s. 4. of this Hist.

Artemisium[5]. Themistocles hastened his journey; but he provided that his collegues, or at least one of them, should be detained till the walls of the city were of such a height as to give some security to a garrison. In the prosecution of the work, the zeal of the people fully seconded the policy of their leader: freemen did not scruple to toil among slaves; the very women and children would assist for whatever their strength and skill were equal to; reliefs were established, so that no hour of the day or night was the business intermitted; and, to save the time which the preparation of materials would have consumed, whatever could serve the purpose was taken, wherever it could be found, from the remains of buildings public and private, and even from the tombs. The patchwork, thus occasioned, Thucydides observes, was evident in his time, in the external appearance of the walls of Athens.

Themistocles, meanwhile, arriving at Sparta, was in no haste to open the business of his embassy. When at length urged by the Spartan ministry, he excused himself by saying, 'he waited for his collegues, 'who had been detained by some business for which their presence was 'indispensable; but he expected them hourly, and indeed wondered they 'were not yet arrived.' The Lacedæmonians, we find, even at home, notwithstanding the severity of their institutions, were not universally inaccessible to bribery; and of the expertness of Themistocles in the use of that engine of policy, instances are recorded. Plutarch mentions it as reported by the historian Theopompus, that he found means to corrupt even some of the Ephors. Certain it is that, through his management, time was gained for the Athenians to execute a very great work. The progress made, however, could not remain intirely unknown at Lacedæmon, and Themistocles was reproached with it. In reply, he denied that the Lacedæmonians had any just information upon the subject, and urged that it ill became them to found their proceedings upon unauthenticated reports. 'Let men of sufficient rank,' he said, 'and unimpeachable character be sent to Athens, whom the Athenians 'may respect, and in whom yourselves may place intire confidence. I

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 131.

Plut. vit. Themist.

Thucyd. ut ant. Demosth. in Leptin. p. 478. t. 1. ed. Reiske.

[5] The name of his father, Lysicles, mentioned both by Herodotus and Thucydides, identifies him.

'will remain a hostage in your hands, to insure the proper conduct of 'the Athenian people.' This requisition, boldly put, and in itself not unreasonable, was complied with. Three persons, of the first consequence in Lacedæmon, were sent to Athens; where, in pursuance of directions from Themistocles, they were received and treated with the utmost respect, but secretly watched, and effectual measures were taken to prevent their departure, if any violence or restraint should be put upon the Athenian ambassadors.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 91.

Not till the walls of Athens were advanced to that height which was, according to the expression of Thucydides, most indispensably necessary to give due advantage to a garrison, Aristeides and Abronychus joined Themistocles at Sparta. The senate being then assembled, gave audience to the embassy; and Themistocles, laying aside that dissimulation which was no longer necessary, declared that 'by the last intel-'ligence received, he had the satisfaction to learn that Athens was 'now sufficiently fortified for its security. The Lacedæmonians,' he added, 'and their allies, whenever they communicated with the Athe-'nians by embassies, ought to consider them as a people capable of 'judging both what their own interest and what the common cause 'required. With regard to the object of their present meeting, all 'Greece surely ought to rejoice in the restoration of a city, whose 'people, by their counsels, their actions, and their sufferings, had 'demonstrated that they consulted the interest of the whole nation 'not less than their own: nor would the Lacedæmonians themselves 'blame what had been done, unless they would prove to the world 'that, not the welfare of Greece, but the extension of their own com-'mand was the object of their solicitude.' Whatever the Lacedæmonians might feel upon this occasion, the steddy wisdom, usual in their administration, showed itself in the suppression of all appearance of resentment. No reproaches of any kind were vented; but, on the contrary, a civil apology was made, for the interference of the Lacedæmonian government, in a matter concerning which the Athenian people, it was acknowleged, were to decide for themselves; tho, it was added, admonition (which was all that had been intended) to an ally, and concerning a point in which it was supposed the common interest and that of the

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 92.

the Athenian people were one, could not be improper. The ambassadors of each state then returned home: and thus, by a train of conduct hazardous to comment upon, admirable for its policy, but dubious in its morality, yet commendable at least for its patriotism, Themistocles delivered his country from imminent danger of falling under the yoke of Lacedæmon, immediately after, and almost as a consequence of, its glorious exertions and heroïc sufferings in the common cause against Persia.

This important and difficult negotiation thus successfully concluded, the views of Themistocles were yet but opening. Amid all her sufferings from the Persian war, Athens, through the superior abilities of her leaders, had been gradually rising to a rank far above what she had formerly held among the Grecian states. It had been the antient policy, we are told, of the Athenian government, to discourage maritime commerce, and a turn to naval affairs, among the people; relying upon agriculture as the source of wealth, and the landforce as the means of being secure and respectable. Themistocles had already successfully combated this policy, with the highest, most undeniable, and most flattering advantage to the commonwealth; for Athens not only owed the preservation even of its existence to its navy, but for the last two years had existed almost only in its navy; and this navy was become, not only superior in strength to that of any other Grecian state, but superior, by the glory of its actions, to any the world had yet seen. It was now the purpose of Themistocles, after having given security to the Athenian people, to lead them to empire; and with this view he extended his favorite policy to a very extraordinary length. The circumstances of the times had indeed already gone far in preparing the business, for they had made almost all the Athenian people seamen; his object was to keep them so always.

The first thing wanting was a sufficient port. The Attic shore, in the part nearest to the city, had three nearly adjoining inlets, named, from three adjacent villages, Phalerum, Munychia, and Peiræus. Phalerum, nearest of the three to the city, had been hitherto the principal harbour and arsenal; and it had sufficed for all the purposes of the state, when, without assistance from Corinth, Athens could not Thucyd. l. 1. c. 93.

not meet at sea the inhabitants of the Æginetan rock. But it was insufficient for the present navy, and still more unequal to the great views of Themistocles. Munychia, much the smallest, was also otherwise comparatively incommodious. Peiræus, most distant, but far most capacious, might, with some labor, be so improved as to form, for vessels of the antient construction, drawing little water, the completest harbour of Greece. It was naturally divided into an inner port and an outer; the former capable of being made a perfect bason, fortified so as effectually to prevent the entrance of an enemy's fleet. Within this bason is a smaller bason, now, according to the report of travellers, choked with sand, but in the age of Themistocles, in a different state; whence Thucydides describes Peiræus as having three natural harbours. Adjoining to the outer port, on the southwest, is an excellent roadsted, protected by the ilands Psyttaleia and Salamis, which would be inestimable for a modern navy, and was not without its value to the antients.

Diod. l. 11. c. 41.

Descr. Geogr. du Golfe de Venise, &c. par Bellin. Wheeler's & Chandler's Travels in Greece.

B. C. 481. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 93. Ann. Thu. ad ann. Diod. l. 11. c. 41.

The natural advantages thus offered did not escape the penetrating eye of Themistocles. When in the office of archon, in the year, it is supposed, before the expedition of Xerxes, having already meditated to make Athens a naval power, works had been under his direction begun for improving the port of Peiræus, and constructing a naval arsenal there. He would now pursue the plan, but he still feared interruption from the jealousy of Lacedæmon. This he would have precluded by secresy in preparation; but a democratical government little admits secresy: it was absolutely necessary to have the sanction of the assembled people. To obtain this therefore, without betraying his project, he declared that he had measures to propose, of the utmost importance to the prosperity and greatness of the commonwealth; but a public communication of them would defeat the purpose. He therefore wished that two men might be chosen, who should be thought best to deserve public confidence, to whom he might propose his plan; and who, if they judged it for the public good, might be authorized to direct the execution. Aristeides and Xanthippus were accordingly named; popular jealousy itself favoring so advantageous a choice; for those two great men were generally political opponents of Themistocles.

Ol. $\frac{75}{78}$. $\frac{4}{1}$. B. C. 476. Diod. ut ant.

They nevertheless declared their approbation of his present proposal. But fresh jealousy seized the people; they suspected that apparent coälition of the leaders of opposite parties, and nothing less would satisfy them than the communication of the project to the council of fivehundred, who should be bound to secresy. The council however also approved, and then the business was committed to Themistocles.

Preparations were made with the utmost dispatch, while the purpose remained a profound secret. Whatever the keenest politician could devise was practised; first to lull the Spartan government, and then to gain its approbation of the measure; which tended, it was asserted, to nothing more than the forming of a port fit for the combined navy of Greece, and not at all to interfere with the views of the Lacedæmonians, who never affected maritime power. Fortifications, meanwhile, much more complete than those of the city, arose around a space sufficient for a town almost equal to the city; the walls, of a thickness to admit two carriages abreast, were formed of large blocks of marble, squared, and exactly fitted, without cement, but the outer stones firmly connected by cramps of iron fixed with lead. Only half the intended height was ever accomplished; the purpose of Themistocles having been to make the place defensible with the smallest possible garrison, old men and boys, so that every citizen capable of more active service might be spared, and the whole force of the commonwealth exerted at sea; yet such as Peiræus under his care became, it was the completest naval arsenal that the world had yet seen [6].

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 93. Plat. Gorgias, p. 455. t. 2.

Meanwhile

[6] Plutarch delighted in telling a good story, and, for what is here related, he has substituted one so brilliant, that among modern writers of Grecian history (the diligent compilers of the Antient Universal History, as far as my observation goes, are alone to be excepted) it has quite eclipsed the simple and probable narrative of Diodorus. The Athenian assembly, says Plutarch, (vit. Themist.) directed Themistocles to communicate his proposal to Aristeides alone. Aristeides declared that nothing could be either more advantageous or more wicked; upon which the people commanded that it should be no more thought of. Whether Aristeides was the rogue, or Themistocles the fool afterward to divulge the secret, Plutarch, with a thoughtlessness ordinary with him, omits to inform us: but he asserts, with perfect confidence, that the proposal of Themistocles was to burn the allied Grecian fleet assembled in the bay of Pagasæ; and with a farther thoughtlessness, which has justly excited the indignation of the

Meanwhile the disappointment, rather a disgracing disappointment, which had attended the attempt to prevent the fortifying of Athens, had not damped the ambition or changed the policy of the Lacedæmonian government. Ever attentive to strengthen and extend their ascendancy over the other Grecian commonwealths, and now more than ever jealous of Athens, yet cautious of farther inteference in its internal concerns, they directed their intrigues to another quarter. In the council of Amphictyons it was, at their instigation, proposed that every Grecian state, which had taken part with the Persians in the late war, should be deemed to have forfeited all its Amphictyonic rights. This was particularly aimed against the Argians and Thebans; in the well-grounded hope that, two of the most powerful states, and most inimical to Lacedæmon, being excluded, Lacedæmonian influence would thenceforward govern the assembly. But the vigilance and activity of Themistocles here again thwarted them. Inciting the sluggish and incouraging the cautious, he procured a decision, 'That 'it would be utterly unjust to deprive any Grecian state of its antient 'privileges, on account of the crimes of those who, at any particular 'time, had directed its councils.'

Plut. vit. Themist.

the good Rollin, he appears to give his approbation to such an infernal project as a great ideä. But the evident impolicy of the measure, without taking anything else into consideration, might reasonably lead us to doubt the truth of the tale. Had it been executed, the Athenians indeed alone would have had a fleet; but where would they have found an ally? What would have been their prospect of command, and what even the security of their country, a continental territory, against the united resentment of Greece?

Thucydides mentions neither Plutarch's tale, nor what is related by Diodorus. But it was not his purpose to give a connected history of this period; and tho Diodorus might perhaps stretch a point to favor his fellow-countrymen the Sicilian Greeks, or to tell a story of a hero with a club and a lion's skin, yet it was not his disposition, without authority, to relate a simple fact, meerly illustrative of the inconvenience of democracy and of the temper of the Athenian people. We find however in Tully's Offices, b. 3. c. 2. the very story which Plutarch has told, but with the material difference, that the proposal of Themistocles was to burn, not the fleet of the whole Grecian confederacy in the bay of Pagasæ, where, after the battle of Salamis, we may venture to affirm, that fleet never was, but only the Lacedæmonian fleet in the port of Gythium. This indeed appears not at all an improbable project for Themistocles to have conceived, when the forcible interference of Lacedæmon, for preventing the fortifying of Athens and Peiræus, was apprehended; but we still want information how, consistently with the other circumstances of the story, it could be publicly known.

Thus

Thus successful in his political administration, Themistocles took the command of the fleet; and going round the Ægean, collected the subsidies apportioned to the iland and Asiatic states toward carrying on the war against Persia. In the course of this business he was attentive to strengthen and extend the influence of Athens; but he is accused of having been here, as upon many other occasions, too attentive to his own interest. The factions, between which almost every little Grecian commonwealth was divided, would furnish abundant opportunity for both public service and private lucre. In one place nearly balanced, and each party, beyond all things, afraid of the other, they would contend for the favor and support of the Athenian government: in another, some wealthy citizens, banished, would be ready to pay largely for the interest of the Athenian admiral to procure their restoration. Loud complaints of partiality were circulated against Themistocles; and Plutarch has transmitted some fragments of poems on the occasion, by Timocreon, a principal man of Ialysus in Rhodes, valuable as genuine relics of political invective, of an age prior to the oldest remaining Greek historian. Timocreon had been banished for treason to the common cause of Greece, or, as the Greeks termed it, for Medizing; and he had gone far, for we find by his own free confession, that he had bound himself by oath to the Persian cause. He hoped, nevertheless, through his interest with Themistocles, with whom he was connected by hospitality, to procure his restoration. Being disappointed, he exerted his poetical talents in revenge. 'Let 'others,' he says, 'extol Pausanias, or Xanthippus, or Leotychidas: 'my praise shall be for Aristeides, the best man of sacred Athens. For 'Latona detests Themistocles, the false, the unjust, the traitor; who 'for paltry pelf deserted the interest of Timocreon, his friend and host, 'and refused to restore him to his native Ialysus. Money guided the 'destructive course of the fleet: while the corrupt commander, restor-'ing unjustly, persecuting unjustly, some into banishment, some to 'death, as the larger bribe persuaded, filled his coffers. Most ridicu-'lously then at the isthmus he courted favor with his entertainments; 'those who feasted on his dainties wished his ruin.' From the concluding

Plut. vit. Themist.

Plut. ut. sup. Herod. l. 8. c. 111, 112.

Plut. vit. Themist.

sentence it appears that a splendid hospitality was among the means by which Themistocles endevored to extend his influence in Greece.

Tho we should not, perhaps, give intire credit to the angry Rhodian, yet imputations against Themistocles are too numerous, and too general among antient writers, to permit the supposition that he supported a rigid integrity. Openings were thus found for giving efficacy to intrigue, which was always busy against every great public character in Athens. The superiority which Themistocles was not contented to possess, but would ostentatiously display, excited heart-burnings among the old Athenian families. In political opposition to him, Aristeides had been scrupulously just; Xanthippus moderate; but Alcmæon, head of the long powerful house of his name, became violent. He was warmly supported by all the influence of the Lacedæmonian government. Aristeides and Xanthippus, tho not disposed to entire concurrence with him, were among his friends: Xanthippus, was his near relation. To gain the zealous coöperation of Cimon son of Miltiades, seemed the one thing wanting to acquire to the party a decisive superiority. Cimon, yet a young man, was, however, of young men, by far the first in Athens; great by his father's greatness; powerful by his large possessions, and the inherited influence of his family; of eminent abilities; of rough yet condescending and popular manners; with a supercilious neglect of elegant accomplishments, the reverse of the general Athenian temper, but marking him as a man to be connected with the Lacedæmonians. The house of Alcmæon had indeed been the principal agents in procuring the condemnation of Miltiades. To overcome the repugnance which a generous young mind would feel at the proposal of a coälition with that house, much diligence was used to stimulate the ambition of Cimon. To connection with the Lacedæmonians he did not object, but it was only by a union with the powerful house of Alcmæon that he could hope to rise to the first situations in the commonwealth. Flattery, ably and assiduously applied, gained him to their party, while his openness, simplicity, and unbending integrity, not less than his abilities and influence, recommended him to Aristeides; who wanted his support against the overbearing ambition of Themistocles.

Plut. vit. Themist.

Plut. vit. Cim.

But

But another party in Athens, more formidable than all the rest, was growing adverse to Themistocles. The party of the lower people, by whom he had raised himself, and whose power therefore it had been his policy to favor, had increased its importance, by the events of the Persian war, beyond what even Themistocles wished. The temporary ruin of the country, the destruction of houses and estates, the ceasing of all revenues, the community of lot among families in the removal beyond sea, and the still nearer equality among men long ingaged together in one common military service, from which no rank gave exemption, had tended strongly to level distinctions. Flattery and indulgence to the multitude had often been necessary, toward keeping order and persuading to patience under hardship and misfortune. The extraordinary success afterward of their arms elevated and imboldened them. Victory they would then consider not as their leaders' but as their own. Did the commonwealth require their arms by sea or by land, they were ready to serve the commonwealth, because they were the commonwealth: having fought for their existence, they were ready still to fight for riches, power, and glory; but it must be for themselves, not for others as their superiors. Argument, such as will weigh with the people, and orators to urge it, may always be found in favor of the popular cause; and so irresistible the torrent of popular ambition became, that even Aristeides was reduced to temporize, so far as not only to admit, but to promote a very great change in the constitution of the government. The laws of Solon had gone far to level distinctions of birth: all Athenian citizens were thought sufficiently noble to execute the highest offices in the commonwealth, the priesthood only excepted; tho for civil offices a qualification by property was still required. This restraint was now totally done away. In the actions of Marathon, Salamis, and Platæa, the poor had contributed equally with the rich to save and to innoble their country. All civil and military offices were therefore laid open, not only to those of meanest birth, but to those totally without property; and the most important of the civil offices being conferred by ballot, tho the expensiveness of most of them generally deterred the indigent from seeking them,

Plut. vit. Aristid.

Aristot. Polit. l. 2. c. 12.

Ch. 5. s. 4. of this Hist.

them, yet the scrutiny of the Dokimasia, often perhaps a vain form, remained the only legal check.

While this condescension of Aristeides, to the ambitious requisition of the multitude, increased his popularity and strengthened his situation, the various clamors of the allies reached Athens against Themistocles. Occasional sallies of that ostentation in the display of his glory, which had before injured him, again gave umbrage. The intrigues of Lacedæmon were at the same time taking effect; reports were circulated of secret correspondence with the Persian satrap, and it was insinuated that Themistocles carried his views to the tyranny of Athens, if not of all Greece. This probably was calumny; for Aristeides, we are told, refused to join in any severe measure against him. But Alcmæon, taking the lead of the opposition, ingaged Cimon in his purpose. A capital accusation was not yet ventured; but that less invidious attack of the ostracism, against which the integrity and modesty of Aristeides had formerly been insufficient protection, all the policy of Themistocles proved now unable to resist, and he was compelled to leave Athens.

Plut. vit. Aristid.

When this took place we are with no certainty informed. The summary account remaining from Thucydides, of transactions in Greece from the Persian to the Peloponnesian war, inestimable for the authority with which it ascertains most of the principal facts reported by later writers, does not always distinguish their dates, or even the order in which they happened; and tho we have the lives of Themistocles, Aristeides, and Cimon, written with much detail by Plutarch, and in a more abridged manner, with the addition of the life of Pausanias, by Cornelius Nepos, tho we have the history of the times by Diodorus, distinguishing, as far as his information and judgement inabled him to distinguish, the events of every year, marking the year by the names of the archons of Athens and the consuls of Rome, and stating both the number of the olympiad and the name of the victor in the stadion, yet the chronology of these times remains very imperfect[7]. The removal of Thucydides would seemingly be the removal of

[7] Tandem aliquando ad Pausaniæ, Themistoclis, et Cimonis chronologiam constituendam accingimur, quæ omnis est in Diodoro vitiosissima. Dodw. Ann. Thuc. ad ann.

of an obstacle to that concert, which we find was renewed, between Lacedæmon and Athens, for the prosecution of hostilities against Persia. But the great works executed at Athens under his direction, required considerable time. His policy might incline him to yield something to Spartan jealousy, rendered more dangerous by the state of parties at home; and not only to acquiesce in, but perhaps even to desire the appointment of his rivals, Aristeides and Cimon, to a distant command. His own residence at Athens would inable him the better to prosecute those great public works, by which he meant to establish his country's power and his own glory; and it may have been desirable either for the prosecution of the projects of which he was accused, or to counterwork the calumnies of his accusers.

SECTION II.

War prosecuted against Persia under Pausanias and Aristeides. Treason of Pausanias: Athens head of a new Confederacy composed of the Greeks of the Ægean Ilands, Asia Minor, and Thrace.

CIRCUMSTANCES meanwhile still called for exertion against Persia. The efforts of that empire had indeed been severely checked by the late glorious successes of the Greeks; but its disposition to hostility remained, and its resources were immense; its spirit was damped more

ann. A.C. 470. The faults in the chronology of Diodorus are evident and gross, and the labors of Dodwell to elucidate the order of the transactions of these times are highly valuable. His assistance indeed is so great a relief to me, that I can never willingly reject it: but he has certainly trusted too much to Plutarch, Justin, and other late writers, sometimes giving authority to meerly constructive evidence from them. Plutarch seldom aims at exactness in the course of events. When he means to be exact indeed, he generally quotes his authorities, and thus gives additional value to his testimony. But taking Thucydides for my polar star, and trusting later writers only as they elucidate what he has left obscure, and for the rest, comparing circumstances, and considering the probable, or even the possible connection and course of things, I cannot but sometimes differ from Dodwell. I never quit him, however, but with regret, and always put myself under his guidance again, the moment I can regain the same track.

than

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 94. Diod. l. 11. c. 44. Plut. vit. Arist. et Cim. Ol. 77 ⅔. B. C. 470. Ann. Thu.

than its strength was reduced; and many Grecian towns, not only in Asia, but even in Europe, remained yet under its dominion. A fleet was therefore assembled, to the command-in-chief of which Pausanias was appointed: Aristeides, attended by Cimon, commanded the Athenian squadron. They sailed first to Cyprus. The Persian garrisons there, cut off from all support, through the mastery which the Greeks possessed of the sea, were apparently more solicitous to obtain favorable terms for themselves than to defend the iland for their prince. Most of the Grecian cities were rescued from the Persian dominion with so little effort, that historians have left no particulars of the transactions. The fleet then proceeded to the Hellespont and the Propontis. The extraordinary advantages of situation which Byzantium possessed, had not escaped the observation of the Persian commanders. It was made their principal place of arms for those parts, and the key of communication with their Europeän dominions. After sustaining a siege for some time against the forces under Pausanias, the garrison capitulated; and several Persians of high rank, among whom were some connected by blood with the royal family, were made prisoners.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 94 & 128.

Herod. l. 9. c. 64.

The mind of Pausanias was not of strength to bear his fortune. The lustre of his own glory won by the victory of Platæa (the greatest yet known on the records of Europeän fame) had dazzled him; the splendor of Persian magnificence, and the sweets of Persian luxury, laid open to his view, allured him; and, in the comparison, the austere simplicity of Spartan manners began to appear sordid and miserable. But beyond all things his haughty temper could least support the consideration, that, after shining the first character in the known world, the leader of the glorious confederacy which had brought the pride of the Persian empire to crouch beneath it, he must yield the reins of command to the young king his relation, and sink into the situation of a private citizen of Sparta. Early after the victory of Platæa, he had displayed a very indiscreet instance of vanity and arrogance: On the golden tripod dedicated at Delphi, in pursuance of a common decree of the confederates, an inscription was by his order ingraved, which may be literally translated thus; 'Pausanias, general of the Greeks, having

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 132. Corn. Nep. vit. Paus.

'destroyed

'destroyed the Persian army, dedicated this memorial to Apollo.' By order of the Spartan government this was afterward erased, and a new inscription ingraved, attributing the dedication to the cities of the confederacy, without any mention of the general.

But his communication in Asia, and the circumstances attending the conquest of Byzantium, completed the corruption of the mind of Pausanias, and decided his future views. He observed his kinsman, Demaratus, the banished king of Lacedæmon, lord of the Æolian cities of Pergamum, Teuthrania and Halisarnia, the present of the Persian monarch to himself and his heirs, living in ease and splendor that might leave, in most minds, little regret of the parsimonious and jealously-watched dignity of Spartan royalty; perhaps a more independent soverein than a Spartan king, living in Sparta. He became acquainted with an Eretrian, named Gongylus, whose treachery to his country, at the time of the invasion under Datis and Artaphernes, had been rewarded, by the liberality of the Persian court, with the hereditary lordship of four towns, also in Æolia. On the capture of Byzantium, he became, through the Persians of rank, his prisoners, more intimately acquainted with Persian manners; the pomp of command, the wide distinction between the higher and lower people, and all the refinements of the table, the bath, and every circumstance of Asiatic luxury. Gongylus, already master of the Persian language, and versed in Persian manners, was the person he most trusted. To this man he committed the government of Byzantium, together with the custody of the principal prisoners. These were all permitted, at several times, to make their escape; and then Gongylus himself was dispatched to the Persian court. He carried proposals from Pausanias, offering his services, but stipulating for very high conditions. On one side it was proposed that all Greece should be reduced under the Persian dominion; on the other, that a daughter of Xerxes should be given in marriage to Pausanias, with every advantage of rank, command, and fortune, that might become such lofty alliance. Not only this proposal was very favorably received, but Artabazus was sent to supersede Megabates in the Phrygian satrapy, purposely to prosecute the

Xen. l. 3. c. 1. s. 4.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 128. Xen. Hel. l. 3. c. 1. s. 4. Diod. l. 11. c. 44. Corn. Nep. vit. Paus.

the negotiation. Pausanias was no sooner assured of this than he became elated beyond all bounds of moderation and discretion. As if already a Persian satrap, and son-in-law of the great king, his manners, dress, table, and his whole style of living and communication, became immediately Persian: he even formed a guard of his Median and Egyptian prisoners, who became his constant attendants.

The highest discontent quickly arose in the armament under his command. The allies were incensed by his tyrannical haughtiness; the Spartans were disgusted by his splendid and luxurious manner of living: his affectation of Asiatic pomp was both offensive and suspicious to all. Consultations were held among the principal officers; Pausanias was publicly insulted by some of them; and shortly all agreed no longer to submit to his arrogance. The Peloponnesian allies sailed to their respective homes; the Asiatics, Hellespontines, and ilanders, offered to follow Aristeides, if, in taking them under his command, he would assure them of his protection. The Lacedæmonians, neither able nor desirous to support their chief in his extravagant and odious conduct, sent home charges against him. He was in consequence recalled, and Dorcis came commissioned to supersede him.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 95. Diod. l. 11. c. 44.

But the Lacedæmonian command had received a wound not of easy cure. The allies, whose affections the great and amiable characters of Aristeides and Cimon had firmly conciliated, refused obedience to Dorcis. That commander therefore, with his principal officers, judging that to act in an inferior situation neither became themselves, nor would be satisfactory to the Spartan government, withdrew their forces from the allied armament, and returned home. The principal men in the Lacedæmonian administration seem to have thought, and perhaps justly, that the present was not a moment either for resenting the conduct of the allies, or for making any farther attempt to resume their lost authority. By a most sudden, unprojected and unforeseen revolution thus, that superiority among the Grecian states, which all the energy of the administration of Themistocles had been unable to procure for his country, was gratuitously given to the mild virtues, accompanying great abilities, in Aristeides and Cimon.

The moderation of the Lacedæmonian government upon this occasion, like that of the Athenian when the confederate fleet was first assembled to oppose the invasion of Xerxes, has been a subject of eulogy among antient and modern writers. Commendation is certainly due to the wisdom of the leading men of both states; but it may be useful toward obtaining an insight into Grecian politics, as we have observed the causes of that moderation among the Athenians upon the former, to advert also to what appears to have influenced the conduct of the Lacedæmonians upon the present occasion. The Lacedæmonian administration was evidently weak; probably distracted by party. Of the kings, the aged Leotychidas, under imputation of taking bribes when commanding an expedition in Thessaly, and Pleistarchus son of Leonidas, scarcely arrived at manhood, neither could stand in any competition, among the allies, with the great and popular characters of Aristeides and Cimon. Even at home the small power which the constitution gave them was overborne by the influence and the intrigues of Pausanias. The change of the seat of war, moreover, was unfavorable to the Lacedæmonian command. Led, or rather forced, by the circumstances of the times, to exertions toward the establishment of a marine, little congenial either to the temper of the government or the disposition of the people, Lacedæmon was yet so inferior as to be almost without a hope of equalling the naval power of Athens. If therefore weakness and distraction had not prevented exertion, policy, even an ambitious policy, might have induced the Lacedæmonian administration quietly to let the rival republic waste itself in distant warfare, and in making precarious distant acquisitions; while Sparta, nourishing her force at home, might watch opportunities for extending her power and influence in Greece itself, where her former connections remained intire, and no subordination to Athens was acknowleged. Thus Lacedæmon wisely yielded to the necessity of the moment, while the weak ambition of Pausanias, assisted Aristeides and Cimon to make Athens, for the purpose of prosecuting the war beyond sea against Persia, the leading state of Greece.

Herod. l. 6. c. 72. Diod. l. 11. Pausan. l. 3. c. 8. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 132.

But probably neither the Lacedæmonian, nor even the Athenian

administration, was immediately aware of all the extent of advantage about to accrue to Athens from this revolution. No great dissatisfaction, we are assured, appeared in Lacedæmon upon the occasion. Themistocles was obnoxious there; but the Athenian people, whatever jealousies existed among some warmer politicians, were not generally so. On the contrary, there was virtue enough among the bulk of the Lacedæmonian people to induce them to admire and esteem the Athenian character for the noble spirit shown during the Persian invasion. They were besides generally desirous to avoid being further ingaged in the prosecution of a war which must now lead them far from home; and they were therefore not displeased to have the Athenian government undertake the direction of those operations, whether for protecting Greece against attacks by sea, or for prosecuting hostilities offensively beyond sea, in which the superiority of its fleet to that of all other Grecian states gave it so fair a claim to command.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 95.

c. 75.

The wise moderation of Aristeides and Cimon meanwhile, in the direction of the Athenian affairs, tended greatly to prevent occasion of jealousy among the Lacedæmonians and their adherents, and to strengthen the attachment of the other Grecian states to Athens. A system of executive command, and in some degree, even of legislation, for the new confederacy, was necessary. It had been usual for deputies from all the allied states to meet at Lacedæmon, as a common capital. Aristeides would summon no such assembly to Athens, but appointed, for the place of meeting, the little iland of Delos; venerated all over Greece as sacred ground, the favorite property of Apollo, and of whose people no state could have any political jealousy. The temple itself of the deity was made the senate-house, and the treasury. Some indication however of a disposition to arrogate dangerous superiority, seems to have appeared in the appointment of treasurers; who with the name of Hellenotamiæ, Treasurers of Greece, became a permanent magistracy, at the election, and under the control, of the Athenian people. But the wisdom and equity of Aristeides, who was first placed at the head of that board, if, in the want of another, we may use the term, satisfied all the allies in present, and blinded them to

c. 43. Diod. l. 11. c. 45.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 96. Diod. l. 11. c. 47. Plut. vit. Arist.

consequences. The sum agreed upon to be annually raised was four hundred and sixty talents, about a hundred and fifteen thousand pounds sterling; and this was assessed upon the different states with such evident impartiality, that not a murmur was heard upon the occasion; but, on the contrary, every part of Greece resounded the fame of the just Aristeides.

The extraordinary success of that truly great man, in the execution of so hazardous and invidious an office, is the last public act in which history has noticed him. Probably he died soon after; but we are without certain information of the time, the place, or any of the circumstances of his end. It is generally said that, employed as he had been in the most important offices of the Athenian commonwealth, civil and military, and vested with its highest honors, he lived and died in extreme poverty; insomuch that he did not leave sufficient even to pay the expence of a funeral. The commonwealth therefore, in honor of his virtues and in gratitude for his services, took upon itself the charge of his obsequies and the care of his family. A monument to his memory was raised in Phalerum, which remained in the time of Plutarch: an allotment of land, a sum of money and a pension were given to Lysimachus, who seems to have been his only son, and suitable marriage-portions to his daughters. Lysimachus never put himself forward in public business, but was a respectable character in private life. He lived in intimacy with Sophroniscus, the father of Socrates; and in advanced years, after the death of his friend, we find him mentioned by Plato as the companion in leisure of the first men of the commonwealth.

Plut. v. Aristid. Demosth. in Aristocr. p. 690.

Plat. Laches. p. 180. t. 2.

SECTION III.

Administration of Cimon. Death of Xerxes, and Accession of Artaxerxes to the Persian Throne. Successes of the Confederate Arms under Cimon: Battle of the Eurymedon.

THE banishment of Themistocles, and the death of Aristeides, left Cimon without an equal in favor and authority with the Athenian people; at a time when, through the exertions of a succession of great men amid favoring contingencies, to be the first citizen of Athens was nearly to be the most important personage in the world. No state ever before had such a fleet, such naval arsenals, such naval skill and discipline as Themistocles had formed for his country, to promote her glory and his own, and had left in the hands of his rivals. With these advantages, in addition to those of high birth, hereditary fame, and great talents, in the ninth year after the battle of Platæa, Cimon took the command in chief of the confederate forces by sea and land.

Ol. 77 $\frac{2}{3}$. B. C. 470.

The circumstances of the Persian empire, at this time, invited attempts against it. Xerxes, disgusted with public affairs through the miserable failure of his great enterprize against Greece, had abandoned himself to indolence and debauchery. In one of those intrigues of the palace, often so full of horrors in despotic countries, but of which the final catastrophe commonly alone becomes with certainty known to the public, the monarch and his eldest son were murdered; each under the shocking imputation of having at least intended the murder of the other. A civil war insued; and it was not till after a bloody contest that peace was restored to the interior of the empire, by the establishment of Artaxerxes, third son of the late king, upon the throne.

Diod. l. 11. c. 69. Ctesias. Persic. Justin. l. 3. c. 1. Aristot. Polit. l. 5. c. 10.

It was important for the Greeks to avail themselves of this opportunity for strengthening their confederacy, by rescuing from the Persian dominion the many Grecian cities yet remaining under it. Those of Europe attracted the first attention. Cimon led the confederate armament against Eion on the river Strymon in Thrace, formerly the settlement of the unfortunate Ionian chiefs, Histiæus and Aristagoras,

goras, and now commanded by a Persian noble, whose name, variously written by Greek authors, was, in the orthography of Herodotus, Boges. Cimon, having reduced the garrison to extremity, offered permission for their retreat into Asia. But Boges, with that ferocious heroïsm which is sometimes found in sultry climates and under despotic governments, obstinately refused all terms; and, when provisions totally failed, scattering all the gold and silver within the place into the Strymon, he caused a vast pile of wood to be formed, killed his wife, concubines, children and slaves upon it, and then, setting fire to it, killed himself, and all were consumed together. The garrison, in no condition to stipulate, surrendered at discretion; and, according to the common practice of the Greeks of that age, were made profitable by being made slaves.

Herod. l. 7. c. 107. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 98. Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 60. Plut. & Corn. Nep. vit. Cim.

Mascames, the Persian governor of Doriscus, either was more able than Boges, or commanded a stronger garrison. He baffled all the many attempts made by different Grecian commanders against him, and, while he lived, held Doriscus for the Persian king. Herodotus alone, among the Grecian historians remaining to us, has had the candor to mention this, or to acknowlege that a Persian garrison continued to exist in Europe: but these events, being posterior to the period which he had fixed for the term of his history, he has noticed them only incidentally; so that we are without information of any further particulars concerning that remarkable defence of Doriscus by Mascames. Every other garrison, both in Thrace and on the Hellespont, a name under which the early Grecian writers commonly included the whole water from the Ægean sea to the Euxine, with the shores on each side, yielded to the Grecian arms.

Herod. l. 7. c. 106.

From the Trojan war to the invasion of Xerxes, Greece had never seen a fleet assembled from its several maritime states; nor had any extensive confederacy been formed among them. It had depended therefore upon every state by itself to take the measures which its own convenience required, or its power admitted, for repressing those piracies which had never ceased to disturb the navigation of the Ægean. The inhabitants of the little iland of Scyrus, of Thessalian origin, had made themselves particularly obnoxious by their maritime depredations.

depredations. The Amphictyonic assembly, according to Plutarch, demanded that the armament which Cimon commanded should put an end to such enormities, and give peace to the Grecian seas, as well against domestic ruffians as forein enemies. From Thucydides we have no mention of the Amphictyons. The Scyrians, however, compelled to surrender at discretion, were sold for slaves, and their lands were given to a colony from Athens. The Carystians of Eubœa by some means also incurred the indignation of the confederacy, insomuch that war was made upon them; but they obtained terms of accommodation.

Plut. vit. Cim.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 98. Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 60. Corn. Nep. & Plut. vit. Cim.

Those great interests and urgent necessities which had given birth to the confederacy against Persia, now ceased to exist; for Greece could no longer be supposed in any immediate danger from the ambition or the resentment of that empire. Yet the maintenance of a powerful navy, to deter or to repel any future attacks from a neighbor still so formidable, might be highly advisable; and the private interest of individuals, who injoyed or hoped for commands, and the particular political interest of the Athenian commonwealth, whose power and influence were so greatly increased by its situation at the head of the confederacy, would concur both to inforce the maintenance of the navy, and to keep that navy employed. Many of the inferior states, however, when danger no longer pressed, became first lukewarm, then averse to the continuance of the war and the burthens with which it loaded them. The citizens grew tired of an endless service on shipboard, under what they esteemed, in some measure, a forein command, and to promote no obvious interest of their own commonwealth. Their several administrations, accustomed to perfect independency, would still determine, each for itself, when it would no longer exert itself in the irksome and invidious office of taxing its citizens for the expences of the navy, and the still more invidious office of compelling them to take their turn of personal service. The Athenian government, on the other hand, at first modest, and, under the administration of Aristeides, scrupulously just in the exercise of its supremacy, began to grow first rigid, and then imperious[s]: and some of the subordinate common-

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 97 & 99. Plut. vit. Aristid. & Cim.

[s] Ἀκριβῶς ἐπρασσον καὶ λυπηροὶ ἦσαν, is the candid confession of the Athenian historian. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 99.

wealths,

wealths, either by some public interest, or by the interest and influence of a party, induced to concur in the measures of Athens, were jealous of the defection of others, and ready to join in compelling adherence to the confederacy.

The first to venture opposition were the people of the rich and populous island of Naxos. Confiding in that strength with which they had once baffled the force of the Persian empire, they sustained war, for some time, against the confederate arms; but were at length compelled to capitulate, upon terms by which they surrendered their independency, and, contrary to the articles of confederacy, were reduced under subjection to the Athenian commonwealth[9].

This example being made of the Naxians, some exertion against the common enemy became perhaps necessary, to prevent clamor, and to keep up that spirit of enterprize, without which the confederacy could not long exist in vigor; and circumstances arose to call for the efforts of its arms. For, in the Grecian states bordering on the Persian empire, all who had been or who aspired to be tyrants, all, and they were often very numerous, whom faction had banished, all who were discontented at home with the government under which they lived, and bold enough to be active in attempting a change, but too weak to depend for success upon themselves alone, still looked to Persia for patronage. The prospect of revived vigor in the councils of that empire, under the administration of the new king, gave incouragement to such views; and most of the Cyprian towns had already renounced the Grecian confederacy. There were moreover Grecian cities in Asia Minor which had never yet been rescued from the Persian dominion. In Caria the confederate arms had not appeared; and the people of Phaselis, a Grecian settlement in the adjoining province of Pamphylia, did not scruple to profess a preference of the Persian dominion to the Grecian alliance. Plut. vit. Cim.

These considerations directing the Athenian councils, Cimon led his forces to the Carian coast; and such was the terror which the fame of their uninterrupted success inspired, many of the towns were deserted by their garrisons before any enemy came in sight; and the spirit of Ol. 77 $\frac{3}{4}$. B. C. 469. Ann. Thu.

[9] Παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἐδουλώθη, is again the free confession of Thucydides.

the

the confederate troops, directed by the abilities of Cimon, quickly brought all the rest to surrender. Conquest was still pursued: the army entered Pamphylia, and laid siege to Phaselis. But here was experienced the common bane of confederacies, discordant interests and jarring affections. The friendly connection between the people of Phaselis and of Chios had been such, that the Chians of Cimon's army still considered the Phaselites (attached as they were to Persia, and consequently inimical to Greece) as friends to Chios. To save them therefore from the ruin which now threatened, they gave information by letters, fastened to arrows, of all measures taking against the town. The treason however was discovered, and Phaselis was at length compelled to submission.

The government of Artaxerxes was not yet sufficiently established, in the capital, to admit any great exertion on the frontiers, but it was beginning to acquire steddiness. The command of so many maritime provinces, especially Phenicia, gave means to be still formidable at sea. For the purpose of defence, however, rather than of conquest, a numerous fleet had been assembled in the river Eurymedon on the Pamphylian coast, and an army, to coöperate with it, incamped on the banks: a reinforcement of eighty Phenician triremes was expected, upon the arrival of which it was proposed to begin operations.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 100. Diod. l. 11. c. 60, 61, 62. Corn. Nep. & Plut. vit. Cim.

Intelligence of these circumstances determined Cimon to quit the objects before him on the continent, and endevor to bring the enemy to action by sea, before they were strengthened by the expected squadron. Imbarking therefore a considerable part of his forces, for, among the antients, naval operations were almost always intimately connected with those by land, he sailed for the Eurymedon. On his arrival the enemy's fleet, already much more numerous than his own, came out to meet him. An ingagement immediately insued; but the Persians, disheartened by the repeated ill success of their arms, sustained the action with no vigor: quickly retreating with much confusion into the river, the crews immediately landed to join the army drawn up on the shore. The ships were thus abandoned to the enemy: no less than two hundred trireme galleys, little damaged, are said to have been taken; some were destroyed, and a very few escaped.

The

The Greeks, elate with this easy victory, joyfully received their commander's orders immediately to land, and attack the Persian army. Here the contest was more obstinate; and in the exertion of the Athenian leaders, anxious to support a reputation equal to the new glory of their country, many men of rank fell. After a long and bloody struggle, however, the Greeks obtained the most decisive success; what survived of the Persian army was dissipated, and its camp became the prey of the conquerors. Thus Cimon acquired the singular glory of erecting two trophies, for two victories, one at sea, the other at land, gained by the same armament, in one day. Receiving intelligence, then, that the reinforcement of Phenician galleys, which had been expected to join the Persian fleet, lay in the port of Hydrus in Cyprus, he hastened thither with a sufficient squadron of his best ships, and every trireme was either destroyed or taken[10].

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 100.

Plut. vit. Cim.

By this great success the naval strength of Persia was so broken, its landforces so disheartened, and the spirit of enterprize, which had formerly animated its councils and excited its commanders, was so depressed, that offensive operations against Greece were totally intermitted; and it became the boast of the Greek nation, that no armed ship of Persia was to be seen westward of the Chelidonian ilands on the coast of Pamphylia, or of the Cyanean rocks at the entrance of the Euxine; and that no Persian troops dared show themselves within a horseman's day's journey of the Grecian seas[11].

Isocr. Panath. & Areiop. Diod. ut sup.

[10] This fact I have ventured to relate on the authority of Plutarch; for Thucydides, in his concise mention of the affair of the Eurymedon, says nothing of it. According to Diodorus, the Athenian fleet went twice to Cyprus: but his account altogether is both romantic and blind, and appears indeed to have been written with little consideration of what was possible.

[11] In aftertimes report arose that a treaty of peace was regularly made between the Persian monarch and the Athenian commonwealth, in which it was forbidden for any Persian forces of land or sea to come within the limits mentioned in the text. Plutarch, in his life of Cimon, speaks of it as the immediate result of the battle of the Eurymedon. Diodorus reports confidently that it took place twenty years later, in the fourth year of the eighty-second Olympiad; and he asserts it to have been stipulated, that no Persian ship of war should appear between Phaselis and the Cyaneans; that no land-forces, nor even a satrap, should approach within three days journey of the Grecian seas; and that all Grecian towns should be free.

Plutarch however will deserve farther attention; for he has treated the subject in his best manner, warning his reader that the existence of such a treaty was not undisputed, and giving authorities on both sides.

SECTION IV.

Treason and Death of Pausanias. Prosecution and Flight of Themistocles: his Reception at the Persian Court: his Death.

WHILE the power and renown of Athens were thus wonderfully advancing under the conduct of Aristeides and Cimon, a train of circumstances

Craterus, he says, in a collection of state papers which he published, inserted a copy of the treaty in question, as a genuine deed. But Callisthenes affirmed that no such treaty was ever concluded: Persian subjects, indeed, he said, avoided navigating the Ægean sea, and approaching its shores by land; but it was only through fear of the Greeks, and not in consequence of any treaty. In the sequel of this history occasion will occur to observe that pretended state-papers, among the Greeks, were not always to be trusted.

But, beyond the doubt that may thus arise, supported by the positive denial of credit by Callisthenes, powerful objections remain from the highest authorities. From the informed and accurate Thucydides we have a summary of the principal transactions of the Grecian republics before the Peloponnesian war. It is not imaginable that one so remarkable as such a treaty should escape his knowlege, or that he should leave one so important unnoticed; but in his history no mention of any such appears. Nor is his testimony simply thus negative: a degree of positive proof is involved in his narrative; for it shows that hostilities between the Greeks and Persians, tho at times remitted, never intirely ceased; and that the Persian court, tho perhaps not the worst patron of the free constitutions of the Asian Greek cities, yet, far from admitting the perfect independency asserted by the pretended treaty, never desisted from its claim to a paramount dominion over all their territories, or from a requisition of tribute from all. Thucyd. l. 8. c. 5 & 6. Consonant testimony is found in a summary of the transactions of the same age by Plato, or however an author of Plato's age. No such treaty as Diodorus and Plutarch describe is mentioned, but the existence of such a treaty is virtually contradicted, in the boast, that Greece owed its freedom from forein attack to the perseverance of Athens in active hostilities against Persia, far from home, in Cyprus especially and in Egypt. Plat. Menex. p. 241. t. 2. To the same purpose also, after them, Isocrates has spoken: The Ionians, he says, never ceased to wage war with the barbarians, whose lands they held in spite of them. Isocr. Paneg. p. 246. t. 1. ed. Auger.

Nevertheless it may be proper to observe that two of the most eminent Athenian orators, Lycurgus and Demosthenes, mention a treaty in some degree corresponding in character with that reported by the authors beforementioned. They do not indeed pretend stipulations so disgraceful and injurious to Persia: they describe the treaty only as generally advantageous and honorable to Greece, and commonly allowed so among the Greeks. The negotiator, Callias, is named; but the time is not indicated. It seems however to have been long after that

to

circumstances continued long to deprive the Lacedæmonian government of the ability to take any leading part in the common concerns of the Greek nation. Pausanias, when recalled from his command, had been brought to trial: but his interest had sufficed to procure his acquittal from all public crimes; tho suspicion, and, as it should seem from Thucydides, even proof was strong against him. He was however convicted of injuries to individuals, and condemned to amends. But this did not suffice to repress his rash and extravagant ambition. The king his nephew was yet a minor, and himself still in the high office of regent. Without commission or authority from the government, hiring a Hermionian trireme galley, he went again to the Hellespont, and renewed his negotiation with Artabazus. As a more commodious situation for communicating with the satrap, he ventured even to proceed to Byzantium, then occupied by an Athenian garrison; hoping perhaps to find the more favor there as he had less in his own country: but he was quickly compelled to quit that place, and he passed

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 96.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 131, 132.

to which Plutarch and Diodorus attribute the treaties they describe, and apparently not long before that concluded by the Lacedæmonians, which became so well known by the title of the treaty of Antalcidas. Probably some treaty was made by Callias with some of the satraps, which may have afforded some ground for the assertions of Lycurgus and Demosthenes. But had a treaty of the tenor reported by Diodorus and Plutarch ever been concluded, its existence would not have been left doubtful by Grecian writers; it would not have had less notoriety than the treaty of Antalcidas; it would not less have been blazoned with panegyric than that treaty has been with reproach. The treaty of Callias, we may be pretty sure, from its being so little noticed, afforded really little ground for boasting.

But the fact, that Persian subjects dared not navigate the Ægean sea, that at times they could not even by land approach its shores, was, not unreasonably, matter of great national pride among the Greeks, and especially the Athenians. It would be a favorite topic for orators, desiring to cultivate popularity, or to put the people in good humor; and we find even the sober Isocrates, when his purpose was to improve the joy of the Panathenaïc festival, pushing the boast to great extravagance. Not contented with asserting the exclusion of Persian subjects from the Ægean sea and its Asiatic shore, he says, as if he would imply, tho he could not venture to state a treaty, that the Persians were not allowed to come with arms westward of the river Halys. We must yield to the judgement of Isocrates for what might become the orator of the Panathenaïc festival: but it could not be too much to pronounce such an assertion, from a historian, a monstrous extravagance; since it would make Sardis, with all Lydia and Phrygia, Grecian conquests, whereas it is abundantly evident, from Thucydides and Xenophon, that no Grecian force, before that under Agesilaüs, could ever venture fifty miles from the shore, and Agesilaus himself never was within a hundred of the Halys.

to Colonæ in Troas. The Lacedæmonian government, meanwhile, informed of his procedure, and both irritated and alarmed by the audaciousness of it, sent a herald bearing a scytalë to Colonæ. The scytalë was the ensign of high office among the Lacedæmonians, common to the general and the herald. It was a staff exactly tallied to another in possession of the ephors; and all orders and communications which required secrecy, were so written that, till applied in a particular manner to one of these, they were illegible [12]. By such an order Pausanias was commanded to accompany the herald whithersoever he should go; with a denunciation of the enmity of the Spartan state against him, if he disobeyed. His former indiscreet conduct had so baffled his own purposes, that his scheme was yet very far from ripe for execution: he could have no hope of prosecuting it with success, unless he could reïngratiate himself with his own country; and such was already the deviation from the institutions of Lycurgus at Lacedæmon, that, as Thucydides says confidently, he trusted in means of bribing the leading men, for security against accusation. Obeying therefore implicitly the order contained in the scytalë, he accompanied the herald to Sparta. On his arrival he was arrested by authority of the ephors, whose power now extended to the imprisonment even of the kings; but intrigue shortly procuring his liberty, he publicly defied accusers.

Plut. vit. Lysand.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 131, 132.

Imboldened now by repeated success in repelling crimination, he began again to seek means for prosecuting his treachery, and reälizing his dreams of injoyment in all the oriental splendor and luxury of royalty. The obstacles to his reïnstatement in that forein command which had formed his fairest ground of hope, appeared insuperable; but prospect of other means to accomplish his purpose was not wanting. The neighboring commonwealth of Argos not only bore the most inveterate enmity to Sparta, but had sought alliance with Persia; and at Argos resided Themistocles, whose banishment might induce him to join in a project for his own aggrandizement at the expence of his country. It appears that they actually corresponded on the subject;

[12] The Athenian proboulos, in the Lysistrata of Aristophanes (v. 985), mistook the scytalë borne by the Lacedæmonian herald for a spear. The staff and the written order communicated by it, seem equally to have borne the name of scytalë.

tho how far Themistocles acceded to the views of Pausanias remains uncertain. But in every Grecian state, and particularly in Laconia, the number of slaves, very far exceeding that of freemen, invited the attention of the seditious. Pausanias tampered with the Helots; proposing, not only freedom, but all the rights of Spartan citizens, as the reward of their successful support to him. Some of them betrayed his secret: but the deposition of slaves was esteemed insufficient ground for proceeding against a citizen. His correspondence with Artabazus meanwhile was continued, as opportunity offered; till a slave, charged with a letter to the satrap, suspecting danger in the service he was sent upon, from having observed that, of many messengers dispatched toward the same quarter, not one had ever returned or been heard of, opened the letter intrusted to him; and having thus assured himself both of his master's treason and of his own intended fate (for the letter mentioned that the bearer should be put to death) he carried it to the ephors. The extreme wariness which the Spartan institutions prescribed, and which the temper of the government disposed it to observe, in criminal prosecution against any Lacedæmonian citizen, but particularly against one of the blood of Hercules, uncle to the king, and actually in the high situation of regent, had very much favored the treason of Pausanias, and incouraged him in it. Even his own letter was not thought ground to convict him upon, the evidence to its authenticity being deemed incomplete.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 135. Plut. & Corn. Nep. vit. Them.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 132.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 133.

But the knowlege of his treasonable practices was now become too certain, and the danger of them too great and alarming, to allow the Spartan administration, however composed in part of those who were still his friends, any longer to neglect measures for putting an effectual stop to them. To obtain complete legal proof against him was the object, and the superstition of the age furnished the means. The slave, who brought the letter, must avoid the revenge of his master. While therefore his communication with the ephors remained yet unknown to Pausanias, he was directed to betake himself as a suppliant to the temple of Neptune on mount Tænarus; and, within its sacred precinct, to form a hut for his shelter, with a partition, behind which witnesses might be concealed. Pausanias, alarmed, as was foreseen, on hearing that

Thucyd. ibid. Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 45. Corn. Nep. vit. Paus.

that his messenger, instead of executing the commission intrusted to him, had fled to an asylum, hastened to the place; and the conversation insuing afforded the most unequivocal proof of his guilt. The ephors, who, with some chosen attendants, overheard all, proposed to arrest him on his return to the city; but one of them, more his friend than the rest, giving him some intimation of his danger, he fled to that highly-venerated sanctuary the temple of Minerva Chalcioeca. Religion forbidding to force him thence, and yet his execution appearing absolutely indispensable for the security of the commonwealth, a wall was built around the temple, and he was starved to death; but, to obviate profanation, when it was known that he was near expiring, he was brought without the sacred place, and he died in the hands of those who bore him. Superstition, however, being even thus alarmed, the Delphian oracle was consulted; and, in obedience to the supposed meaning of the obscure response, the body was buried in front of the temple[11], the spot remaining marked by a monument with an inscription in the time of Thucydides, and two brazen statues were dedicated to the goddess.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 134.

Thucyd. ibid. Lycurg. or. con. Leocr. p. 226. Ol. 77 ¾. B. C. 469. Ann. Thu.

The fate of Pausanias involved with it that of Themistocles. The Spartan administration pretended that, in the course of their inquiry into the conduct of the former, full proof was discovered of the participation of Themistocles in the concerted treason against the liberties of Greece; and they insisted that he ought to be brought to trial, not before the Athenian assembly, or any Athenian judicature, but before the Amphictyons or some other court of deputies from all the states composing the Greek nation. The party in opposition to him, which now ruled at Athens, acceded to the requisition; and, under the joint authority of the governments of Athens and Lacedæmon, persons were sent with orders to apprehend him, wherever he could be found. He had resided, since his banishment, principally at Argos; but he went occasionally to other parts of Peloponnesus, where he had cultivated an interest. Through his numerous friends and adherents, he received information of his danger, in time to pass to the iland of Corcyra; whose people, in gratitude for particular good offices done to their common-

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 135. Diod. l. 11. c. 55. Corn. Nep & Plut. vit. Them.

Ol. 78 ⅔. B. C. 466. Ann. Thu. Thucyd. ibid.

[11] Εν τῷ προτεμενίσματι.

wealth,

wealth, were disposed to show him kindness; but as they could not undertake, tho among the most powerful of the Grecian maritime states, to protect him in defiance of the united force of Lacedæmon and Athens, he proceeded to the coast of Acarnania: and, at a loss otherwise to evade his pursuers, he resolved to apply to Admetus king of the Molossians; trusting apparently in his knowlege of the magnanimity of that prince, from whom, otherwise, he had little reason to expect offices of friendship, having formerly been his open opponent in a transaction with the Athenian government.

The anecdote of his reception, reported by the authentic pen of Thucydides, affords a curious specimen of the relics then still subsisting, in that remote province, of the antient hospitality connected with religion, which, with some difference of ceremony, perhaps in different places, appears to have prevailed in the days of Homer throughout Greece. It happened that, when Themistocles arrived at the usual residence of Admetus, that prince was absent. He applied however to the queen; and having the good fortune to conciliate her favor, she furnished him with means to insure protection from her husband. Among the Greeks, some altar was the usual resource of fugitives; if they could reach one, their persons were generally secure against violence. But the queen of the Molossians delivered her infant son to Themistocles, and directed him to await the return of the king, sitting by the hearth, with the child in his arms. No manner of supplication was held by the Molossians so sacred; so to inforce attention as a religious duty. An audience being thus insured, Themistocles won Admetus to receive him, not only into protection, but into friendship. The Lacedæmonian and Athenian messengers arriving soon after, the Molossian prince, careful not to give unnecessary offence, urged the custom of his country, sanctified by religion, in excuse for a decisive refusal of permission to apprehend, within his dominion, a suppliant who had acquired a claim upon him so implicated with duty to the gods.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 137.

Aristoph. Lysistr. v. 1139.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 24.

Molossis was however not a situation for Themistocles to remain in. With assistance therefore from his protector, making the difficult journey across the mountains of Epirus and Macedonia, he proceeded to the seaport of Pydna, and imbarked, in disguise, aboard a merchant-

ship,

ship going for Asia. In the passage, he was forced by stress of weather to the iland of Naxos, where the confederate armament under Cimon then lay. Chusing among the dangers before him, he made himself known to the master of the vessel, alarmed him with the consequences of having so far favored the escape of a proscribed person, allured him with promises of large reward, and at length prevailed on him to put to sea again without permitting any of his people to go ashore. Arriving then safe at Ephesus, he proceeded immediately up the country, under protection of a Persian to whom his introduction had been prepared. All his property that could be discovered at Athens, when the order was issued for apprehending his person, had been confiscated; yet his faithful friends there and at Argos had found means to preserve effects to a large amount, which they remitted to him as soon as they learned that he was in a place of security. The sum confiscated, as Plutarch informs us, was, according to Theophrastus, eighty talents; but, as Theopompus reported, a hundred, about twenty-five thousand pounds sterling. What was the value of the effects preseved by his friends we are not informed, but before entering on public business his whole property, according to Plutarch, had not amounted to three talents.

Tho we are not assured that Themistocles was intirely innocent of the crime for which Pausanias suffered; yet that the prosecution against him was principally urged by party-spirit, is sufficiently evident; and it is therefore no wonder if it was conducted with an acrimony regardless of justice, of humanity, and even of policy. Plutarch reports, on the authority of the historian Stesimbrotus, that Epicrates, at the prosecution of Cimon, was condemned to death and executed, for procuring the escape of the wife and children of Themistocles from Athens, and conveying them in safety to the residence of Admetus. We should hope, for the sake of the generally amiable character which Cimon bore, that this was not strictly true, in the unqualified manner in which it is related to us; yet the report shows, at least, what was thought possible of the temper of party-spirit in Athens. No law surely could exist at Athens to make the friendly and humane action of Epicrates a capital crime. His condemnation could proceed only from a decree of the people; and tho Plutarch expresses himself dubious of the

Plut. vit. Themist.

authority

authority of Stesimbrotus, yet it appears not to have been because he thought the Athenian people incapable of making such a decree.

The sole hope therefore of security, remaining to Themistocles, against the most cruel persecution that party-spirit could urge, was in the chance of protection from the great enemy of his country, the king of Persia. He might indeed think himself, beyond all others, obnoxious to the Persians, as a principal cause of their disgraces and losses in their attempts against Greece. Yet, as it had long been the policy of the Persian court to protect and incourage Grecian refugees, he might hope that the acquisition of him as a future friend would be valued, in proportion as he had been heretofore a formidable enemy. The state of the Persian empire, scarcely yet restored to secure internal quiet, favored his views; and he ventured to address a letter to Artaxerxes, then lately settled on the throne. Receiving a favorable answer, he applied himself diligently to acquire the Persian language, and get information of the Persian manners; and, not till he had thus employed a year, he went to Susa. His reception at that court was such as no Greek had ever before experienced. After having been treated some time with the highest distinction, an extensive command in Asia Minor was conferred upon him, with a revenue far exceeding Grecian ideas of private wealth. In the usual style of oriental magnificence, three the most florishing of the Grecian cities, yet remaining under the Persian dominion, were, with their territories, assigned for the nominal purpose of supplying his table only: Magnesia was to furnish bread, Myus meat, and Lampsacus wine. According to Thucydides, the reduction of Greece under the Persian empire was the return, which he was expected to make to the king for such munificence.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 138.

Ol. 78 ¾. B. C. 465. Ann. Thu.

Thucyd. ibid. Strab. l. 14. p. 636.

Plutarch says that Themistocles lived long in this splendid banishment; but his account is not altogether coherent; and from earlier writers it rather appears that he did not live long: from all accounts it is evident that he did nothing memorable; and probably he had little real injoyment in all the advantages of high fortune, to which the bounty of the Persian monarch raised him. A temper warm like his, is likely to have been violently agitated by the consideration of the

Thucyd. l. 1. Diod l. 11. c. 57, 58, 59.

circumstances in which he stood, and the business he had undertaken. To raise his country to power and splendor had been the object that, through life, his mind had pursued with singular ardor. He had succeeded, and his success had covered him with no common glory. The thought of being ingaged, now in advanced years, in the purpose of bringing destruction on that country, of ruining his own great work, could not but imbitter his best hopes; while at the same time every fair hope was highly precarious; the envy and jealousy of his new friends were little less to be apprehended than the swords of his enemies; and defeat, in such a cause, must involve him in tenfold misery and disgrace. It is no wonder therefore reports should have gained that he procured a voluntary death by poison: but, tho the truth was not certainly known, Thucydides seems rather to have thought that his end was natural. A magnificent monument raised to his memory, in the agora of Magnesia on the Mæander, where had been his principal residence, is mentioned by Thucydides, and remained to the age of Plutarch; but his bones, in pursuance of his dying request, were carried to Attica, and privately buried there. This circumstance, to which, tho it seems not to have been fully authenticated, Thucydides evidently gave credit, would mark strongly the regret he had in undertaking the part against his country, to which the ruthless violence of his political opponents drove him [14].

Indeed we cannot but wish that the blemishes in character and conduct, attributed to this great man, could, with due regard to historical authority, be more completely done away: yet it may be owing to him to make large allowance for calumny, arising from that party-spirit from which, in Greece, beyond all other countries, high political worth

[14] Plutarch omits, in his life of Themistocles, to inform us at what time the death of that extraordinary man happened. In his life of Cimon, he says that Themistocles died about the time of the expedition into Cyprus under Cimon, and but little before the death of Cimon himself. Neither Thucydides nor Diodorus give any precise information upon the subject; but it is rather implied in their narrative, and seems upon many accounts more likely, that he died some years earlier.

Dodwell, following Plutarch, places the death of Themistocles in the same year with that of Cimon, B.C. 449. twenty after his banishment, and sixteen after his journey to Susa.

was

was wont to suffer[15]. In abilities, and by his actions, Themistocles was certainly one of the greatest men that Greece or the world ever produced. Not, like Leonidas and Pausanias, placed, by the accident of birth, at the head of the affairs of Greece, but born to an inferior station in an inferior commonwealth, he first raised himself to the head of that commonwealth, and then raised his little commonwealth, the territory of a single city, to be the leading power in the political affairs of the known world; and, even when afterward banished from that commonwealth and from Greece, and reduced to the simple importance of his own character, he remained still the most important political character of his time. Whatever relates to such a man is interesting. It appears, says Plutarch, by his statue still remaining at Athens in the temple of Diana Aristobulë, built under his direction, that his person and countenance announced something uncommonly great and heroïc. For the character of his understanding, we may best take it from Thucydides; who, by his own abilities, and by the age in which he lived, was most competent to form a just judgement. 'In the mind 'of Themistocles,' says that historian, 'seems to have been displayed 'the utmost power of human nature; for the evident superiority of his 'capacity to that of all other men was truly wonderful. His penetra-'tion was such that, from the scantiest information and with the most 'instantaneous deliberation, he formed the justest judgement of the 'past, and gained the clearest insight into the future. He had a dis-'cernment that could develope the advantageous and the pernicious in 'measures proposed, however involved in perplexity and obscurity; 'and he had not less remarkably the faculty of explaining things 'clearly to others, than of judging clearly himself. Such, in short, 'were the powers of his genius and the readiness of his judgement, 'that he was beyond all men capable of directing all things upon every 'occasion[16].'

He

[15] Plato and Xenophon, whose authority is weighty, from the age in which they lived, as well as from their characters, and whose united authority is the greater on account of their difference in political principles, both give very honorable testimony to Themistocles. Plato in Theages, p. 126. v. 1. and in Menon, p. 93. v. 2. and Xenophon in his Memorials of Socrates, b. 2. c. 6. s. 13. Nor is the eulogy of Aristophanes, in his comedy of the Knights, v. 812 & 884, of no consideration.

[16] From Lysias we have a corresponding eulogy of him in one short sentence—

He died, according to Plutarch, in his sixty-fifth year, surrounded by a numerous progeny, to whom a large share of the bounty of the Persian monarch was continued. Nor was a restoration to the privileges of their own country denied them, when, the interest of party no longer urging their persecution, the merits of Themistocles were remembered as far outweighing his failings. Some of his daughters were married to Athenian citizens; and Cleophantus, his third son, is mentioned by Plato as having resided at Athens, but remembered for no higher qualification than that of a most extraordinary horseman, such as might vie with those who in our days most excel in public exhibition. We do not indeed find that any of his posterity were eminent as political characters; but the estimation in which his own memory was held, contributed to their benefit to late generations. By a decree of the people of Magnesia, honors were granted to his family, which were still injoyed by Themistocles, an Athenian, the friend of Plutarch, above six hundred years after the death of his great ancestor.

Pausan. l. 1. c. 1.

Plut. vit. Themist.

Plat. Menon. p. 93. t. 2.

Plut. vit. Themist.

Στρατηγὸν μεν Θεμιστοκλέα, ἱκανώτατον εἰπεῖν καὶ γνῶναι καὶ πρᾶξαι, (Or. fun. p. 194 vel 105.) and from Cicero, in a still shorter phrase, a very high panegyric, Themistoclem, quem facile Græciæ principem ponimus. M. T. Cic. Lucullus, s. 1.

CHAPTER XII.

Affairs of GREECE, from the Establishment of its Security against PERSIA, to the TRUCE for Thirty Years between ATHENS and LACEDÆMON.

SECTION I.

Athens the Seat of Science and Arts. Extension of the Power of Athens: Jealousy of Lacedæmon. Earthquake at Lacedæmon: Revolt of the Helots: Assistance sent from Athens to Lacedæmon: Renunciation of the Lacedæmonian Confederacy by the Athenians. War of Argos and Mycenæ.

ATHENS, become, within a very few years, from the capital of a small province, in fact, tho not yet in avowed pretension, the head of an empire, exhibited a new and singular phenomenon in politics, a sovereín people; a people, not, as in many other Grecian democracies, sovereín meerly of that state which themselves composed, but supreme over other people in subordinate republics, acknowleging a degree of subjection, yet claiming to be free[1]. Under this extraor-

[1] Through alterations which have taken place in things, words are not always to be found in any modern language to express with precision antient ideäs. Perhaps the word *vassal*, most nearly of any in our language, expresses what the Greeks understood by their word Ὑπήκοος. Yet feudal vassalage, tho similar in many circumstances, differed so totally in the original ideä, from the kind of subjection by which the inferior Grecian commonwealths were bound to the more powerful, that the use of the term in Grecian history, however a term is wanting, would not be warrantable. We may observe similar difficulty about many other terms. Λιμὴν signified a port or harbor for shipping; but the antients often called by that name what our seamen would not allow to be a port or harbor. We are often at a loss to render the verb πλέω otherwise than by our verb *to sail*, tho they are far from being of the same precise import. The use of oars, so prevalent in Grecian navigation, is so little known in our seas, that *to sail* is our only general term for going by sea, and sailor is another word for seaman. Thus also for ἀνάγω and ἐξορμέω, we must risk the sea-phrase *to get under way*, or content ourselves with the inaccurate expression *to set sail*.

dinary

dinary political constitution, philosophy and the arts were beginning to make Athens their principal resort. Migrating from Egypt and the east, they had long been fostered on the western coast of Asia. In Greece itself they had owed some temporary incouragement principally to the tyrants; the Peisistratids at Athens, and Periander at Corinth. But their efforts were desultory and comparatively feeble, till the communication with the Asian Greeks, checked and interrupted by their subjection to Persia, was restored, and Athens, the head of the glorious confederacy by whose arms the deliverance had been effected, began to draw everything toward itself as a common center, the capital of an empire. Already science and fine taste were so far perfected that Æschylus had exhibited tragedy in its utmost dignity, and Sophocles and Euripides were giving it the highest polish, when Cimon returned in triumph to his country. Together with trophies, such as Greece had never before won in so distant a field, he brought wealth to a large amount, the fruit of his victories; part of which inriched the public treasury, part rewarded the individuals who had fought under him, and a large proportion, which he had had the virtue and the good fortune to acquire without incurring any charge of rapaciousness, became an addition to the large property inherited from his ancestors.

It was the peculiar felicity of Athens in this period, that, of the constellation of great men which arose there, each was singularly fitted for the situation in which the circumstances of the time required him to act; and none filled his place more advantageously than Cimon. But the fate of all those great men, and the resources employed, mostly in vain, to avert it, sufficiently mark, in this splendid era, a defective constitution, and law and justice ill assured. Aristeides, we are told, tho it is not undisputed, had founded his security upon extreme poverty: Cimon endevored to establish himself by a splendid and almost unbounded, yet politic liberality. To ward against envy, and to secure his party with that tremendous tyrant, as the comic poet not inaptly calls them, the soverein people, he made a parade of throwing down the fences of his gardens and orchards in the neighborhood of Athens, and permitted all to partake of their produce: a table was daily spred at his house for the poorer citizens, but more particularly for those of

Aristoph. Eq. v. 1111. Theopomp. ap. Athen. l. 13. c. 8. Corn. Nep. & Plut. vit. Cim & Plut. vit. Perie.

his own ward, whom he invited from the agora, the courts of justice, or the general assembly; a bounty which both inabled and disposed them to give their time at his call whenever his interest required their support. In going about the city he was commonly attended by a large retinue, handsomely clothed; and if he met an elderly citizen ill clad, he directed one of his attendants to change cloaks with him. To the indigent of higher rank he was equally attentive, lending or giving money, as he found their circumstances required, and always managing his bounty with the utmost care that the object of it should not be put to shame. His conduct, in short, was a continual preparation for an election; not, as in England, to decide whether the candidate should or should not be a member of the legislature; but whether he should be head of the commonwealth or an exile. In his youth, Cimon had affected a roughness of manners, and a contempt for the elegancies generally reckoned becoming his rank, and which his fortune inabled him to command. In his riper years, he discovered that virtue and grossness have no natural connection: he became himself a model of politeness, patronized every liberal art, and studied to procure elegant as well as useful indulgences for the people. By him were raised the first of those edifices, which, for want of a more proper name, we call porticoes, under whose magnificent shelter it became the delight of the Athenians to assemble, and pass their leisure in promiscuous conversation. The widely celebrated groves of Academia acknowleged him as the founder of their fame. In the wood, before rude and without water, he formed commodious and elegant walks, and adorned them with running fountains. Nor was the planting of the agora, or great market-place of Athens, with that beautiful tree the oriental plane, forgotten as a benefit from Cimon; while, ages after him, his trees florished, affording an agreeable and salutary shade to those who exposed their wares there, and to those who came to purchase them. Much, if not the whole of these things, we are given to understand, was done at his private expence; but our information upon the subject is inaccurate. Those stores, with which his victories had inriched the treasury, probably furnished the sums employed upon some of the public works executed under his direction, particularly the

the completion of the fortification of the citadel, whose principal defence hitherto, on the southern side, had been the precipitous form of the rock.

While, with this splendid and princely liberality, Cimon endevored to confirm his own interest, he was attentive to promote the general welfare, and to render permanent the superiority of Athens among the Grecian republics. The citizens of the allied states grew daily more impatient of the requisitions regularly made to take their turn of service on ship-board, and longed for uninterrupted injoyment of their homes, in that security against forein enemies which their passed labors had, they thought, now sufficiently established. But, that the common interest still required the maintenance of a fleet, was a proposition that could not be denied, while the Persian empire existed, or while the Grecian seas offered temptation for piracy. Cimon therefore proposed that any commonwealth of the confederacy might compound for the personal service of its citizens, by furnishing ships, and paying a sum of money to the common treasury; and the Athenians would then undertake the manning of the fleet. The proposal was in the moment popular; most of the allies acceded to it, unaware or heedless of the consequences; for while they were thus depriving themselves of all maritime force to make that of Athens irresistible, they gave that ambitious republic claims upon them, uncertain in their nature, and which, as they might be made, could now also be inforced, at its pleasure.

Thucyd. c. 99. Plut. vit. Cim.

Having thus at the same time strengthened themselves and reduced to impotence many of the allied states, the Athenian government became less scrupulous of using force against any of the rest who should dispute their soverein authority. The reduction of Eion, by the confederate arms under Cimon, had led to more information of the value of the adjacent country; where some mines of gold and silver, and a lucrative commerce with the surrounding Thracian hords, excited their avidity. But the people of the neighboring iland of Thasus, very antiently possessed of that commerce, and of the more accessible mines, insisted that these, when recovered from the common enemy by the arms of that confederacy of which they were members, should revert intire to them. The Athenians, asserting the right of conquest, on the

Herod. l. 6. c. 47. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 100. Diod. l. 11. c. 70. Corn. Nep. & Plut. vit. Cim.

as their own. The Thasians, irritated, renounced the confederacy. Cimon was commanded to lead the confederate armament against them. Venturing an action at sea, they were defeated; and Cimon, debarking his forces on the iland, became quickly master of everything but the principal town, to which he laid siege. The Athenians then hastened to appropriate that inviting territory on the continent, which was their principal object, by sending thither a colony of no less than ten thousand men, partly Athenian citizens, partly from the allied commonwealths. B. C. 465. Ol. 78 3. Ann. Thu.

The Thasians had not originally trusted in their own strength alone for the hope of final success. Early in the dispute they had sent ministers to Lacedæmon, to solicit protection against the oppression of Athens. The pretence was certainly favorable, and the Lacedæmonian government, no longer pressed by domestic troubles, determined to use the opportunity for interfering to check the growing power of the rival commonwealth, so long an object of jealousy, and now become truly formidable. Without a fleet capable of contending with the Athenian, they could not send succour immediately to Thasus; but they were taking measures secretly for a diversion in its favor, by invading Attica, when a sudden and extraordinary calamity, an earthquake which overthrew the city of Sparta, and, in its immediate consequences, threatened destruction to the commonwealth, compelled them to confine all their attention at home. Nevertheless the siege, tho carried on with great vigor, and with all the skill of the age, under the direction of Cimon, was, during three years, obstinately resisted. Even then the Thasians obtained terms, severe indeed, but by which they obviated the miseries, death often for themselves and slavery for their families, to which Grecian people, less able to defend themselves, were frequently reduced by Grecian arms. Their fortifications however were destroyed; their ships of war were surrendered; they paid immediately a sum of money; they bound themselves to an annual tribute; and they yielded all claim upon the opposite continent, and the valuable mines there. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 101. B. C. 465. Ol. 78 3. Ann. Thu. B. C. 463. Ol. 79 1.

The sovereinty of the Athenian people over the allied republics would thus gain some present confirmation, but, in the principal object, their ambition and avarice were, apparently through over-greediness, disappointed. The town of Eion stood at the mouth of the river

Strymon. For the new settlement a place called the Nine-ways, a few miles up the river, was chosen; commodious for the double purpose of communicating with the sea, and commanding the neighboring country. But the Edonian Thracians, in whose territory it was, resenting the incroachment, infested the settlers with irregular but continual hostilities. To put an end to so troublesome a war, the whole force of the colony marched against them. As the Greeks advanced, the Edonians retreated; avoiding a general action, while they sent to all the neighboring Thracian tribes for assistance, as in a common cause. When they were at length assembled in sufficient numbers, having ingaged the Greeks far within a wild and difficult country, they attacked, overpowered, and cut in pieces their army, and annihilated the colony.

Corn. Nep. & Plut. vit. Cim. B. C. 462. Ol. 79 2/3. [a]

Cimon, on his return to Athens, did not meet the acclamations to which he had been accustomed. Faction had been busy in his absence. Apparently the fall of the colony of the Nine-ways furnished both instigation and opportunity, perhaps assisted by circumstances of which no information remains. A prosecution was instituted against him, on the pretence, according to the biographers, that he ought to have extended the Athenian dominion by conquest in Macedonia, and that bribes from Alexander, king of that country, had stopped his exertions. The covetous ambition, indeed, of the Athenian people, inflamed by interested demagogues, was growing boundless. Cimon, indignant at the ungrateful return for a life divided between performing the most important services to his country, and studying how most to gratify the people, would enter little into particulars in refuting a charge, one part of which he considered as attributing to him no crime, the other as incapable of credit, and therefore beneath his regard. He told the assembled people, 'that 'they mistook both him and the country which it was said he ought 'to have conquered. Other generals had cultivated an interest with 'the Ionians and the Thessalians, whose riches might make an inter-'ference in their concerns profitable. For himself, he had never 'sought any connection with those people; but he confessed he 'esteemed the Macedonians, who were virtuous and brave, but not

[a] I am not perfectly satisfied with these dates assigned by Dodwell, but cannot undertake to correct them.

'rich;

'rich; nor would he ever prefer riches to those qualities, tho he had 'his satisfaction in having inriched his country with the spoils of its 'enemies.' The popularity of Cimon was yet great; his principal opponents apparently found it not a time for pushing matters to extremity against him, and such a defence sufficed to procure an honorable acquittal.

Meanwhile Lacedæmon had been in the utmost confusion and on the brink of ruin. The earthquake came suddenly at midday, with a violence before unheard of. The youths of the principal families, assembled in the gymnasium at the appointed hour for exercise, were in great numbers crushed by its fall: many of both sexes and of all ages were buried under the ruins of other buildings: the shocks were repeated; the earth opened in several places; vast fragments from the summits of Taygetus were tumbled down its sides: in the end, only five houses remained standing in Sparta, and it was computed that twenty thousand lives were lost. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 101. Diod. l. 11. c. 63, 64. Plut. vit. Cim.

The first strokes of this awful calamity filled all ranks with the same apprehensions. But, in the continuance of it, that wretched multitude, excluded from all participation in the prosperity of their country, began to found hope on its distress: a proposal, obscurely made, was rapidly communicated, and the Helots assembled from various parts with one purpose, of putting their severe masters to death, and making the country their own. The ready foresight and prudent exertion of Archidamus, who had succeeded his grandfather Leotychidas in the throne of the house of Procles, preserved Lacedæmon. In the confusion of the first alarm, while some were endevoring to save their most valuable effects from the ruins of the city, others flying various ways for personal safety, Archidamus, collecting what he could of his friends and attendants about him, caused trumpets to sound to arms, as if an enemy were at hand. The Lacedæmonians, universally trained to the strictest military discipline, obeyed the signal; arms were the only necessaries sought; and civil rule, dissipated by the magnitude of the calamity, was, for the existing circumstances, most advantageously supplied by military order. The Helots, awed by the very unexpected appearance of a regular army instead of a confused and flying multi-

tude, desisted from their meditated attempt; but, quitting the city, spred themselves over the country, and excited their fellows universally to rebellion.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 101. The greater part of those miserable men, whom the Lacedæmonians held in so cruel a bondage, were descendants of the Messenians, men of the same blood with themselves, Greeks and Dorians. Memory of the wars of their ancestors, of their hero Aristomenes, and of the defence of Ithomë, was not obsolete among them. Ithomë accordingly they seized and made their principal post; and they so outnumbered the Lacedæmonians, that, tho deficiently armed, yet, being not without discipline acquired in attendance upon their masters in war, they were capable of being formidable even in the field. Nor was it thus only that the rebellion was distressing. The Lacedæmonians, singularly ready and able in the use of arms, were singularly helpless in almost every other business. Deprived of their slaves, they were nearly deprived of the means of subsistence; agriculture stopped, and mechanic arts ceased. Application was therefore made to the neighboring allies for succour. The zealous friendship of the Æginetans, upon the occasion, we find afterward acknowleged by the Lacedæmonian government, and troops came from as far as Platæa. Thus reïnforced, the spirited and well directed exertions of Archidamus quickly so far reduced the rebellion, that the insurgents remaining in arms were blockaded in Ithomë. But the extraordinary natural strength of that place, the desperate obstinacy of the defenders, and the deficiency of the assailants in the science of attack, giving reason to apprehend that the business might not be soon accomplished, the Lacedæmonians sent to desire assistance from the Athenians, who were esteemed, beyond the other Greeks, experienced and skilful in the war of sieges.

Thucyd. l. 2. c. 27.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 101. Diod. l. 11. c. 64.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 102. Diod. ut sup. Plut. vit. Cim.

This measure seems to have been, on many accounts, imprudent. There was found at Athens a strong disposition to refuse the aid. But Cimon, who, with a universal liberality, always professed particular esteem for the Lacedæmonians, prevailed upon his fellowcountrymen to take the generous part; and a considerable body of forces marched under his command into Peloponnesus. On their arrival at the camp of the besiegers, an assault upon the place was attempted, but with so little

B. C. 461. Ol. 79 4. Ann. Thu.

little success, that recourse was again had to the old method of blockade. It was in the leisure of that inactive and tedious mode of attack that principally arose those heartburnings, which first occasioned an avowed national aversion between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, and led, not indeed immediately, but in a direct line, to the fatal Peloponnesian war. All the prudence and all the authority of Cimon could not prevent the vivacious spirit of the Athenians from exulting, perhaps rather insultingly, in the new preëminence of their country: wherever danger called, they would be ostentatiously forward to meet it; and a superiority assumed, without a direct pretension to it, was continually appearing. The Spartan pride was offended by their arrogance; the Spartan gravity was disturbed by their lively forwardness: it began to be considered that, tho Greeks, they were Ionians, whom the Peloponnesians considered as an alien race; and it occurred that if, in the continuance of the siege, any disgust should arise, there was no security that they might not renounce their present ingagements, and even connect themselves with the Helots; who, as Greeks, had, not less than the Lacedæmonians, a claim to friendship and protection from every other Grecian people. Mistrust thus arose on one side; disgust became quickly manifest on both: and the Lacedæmonians shortly resolved to dismiss the Athenian forces. This however they endevored to do, as far as might be, without offence, by declaring that 'an assault having been found ineffectual, the assistance of the Athenians was superfluous for the blockade, 'and the Lacedæmonians would not give their allies unnecessary 'trouble.' All the other allies were however retained, and the Athenians alone returned home; so exasperated by this invidious distinction, that, on their arrival at Athens, the party adverse to Cimon, proposing a decree for renouncing the confederacy with Lacedæmon, it was carried. An alliance with Argos, the inveterate enemy of Sparta, immediately followed; and soon after the Thessalians acceded to the new confederacy.

While Lacedæmon was ingaged with this dangerous insurrection, a petty war took place in Peloponnesus, which affords one of the most remarkable among the many strong instances on record, of the miseries to which the greater part of Greece was perpetually liable from

from the defects of its political system. Argos, the capital of Argolis, and indeed of Peloponnesus, under the early kings of the Danaïd race or perhaps before them, lost its preëminence, as we have already seen, during the reigns of the Perseid and Pelopid princes, under whom Mycenæ became the first city of Greece. On the return of the Heracleids, Temenus fixed his residence at Argos, which thus regained its superiority. But, as the oppressions, arising from a defective political system, occasioned very generally through Greece the desire, so the troubles of the Argian government gave the means, for the inferior towns to become independent republics. Like the rest or perhaps more than the rest, generally oppressive, it was certainly often ill-conducted and weak; and Lacedæmon, its perpetual enemy, fomented the rebellious disposition of its dependencies. During the antient wars of Sparta and Messenia, the Argians had expelled the people of their towns of Asinæa and Nauplia, and forced them to seek forein settlements; a resource sufficiently marking a government both weak and oppressive. Mycenæ was now a much smaller town than Argos; but its people, incouraged by Lacedæmon, formed lofty pretensions. The far-famed temple of Juno, the tutelar deity of the country, situated about five miles from Argos, and little more than one from Mycenæ, was considered by the Argians as theirs; and, from the time, it was supposed, of the Heracleids, the priestess had been appointed and the sacred ceremonies administered under the protection of their government. Nevertheless the Mycenæanans now claimed the right to this superintendancy. The games of Nemea, from their institution, or, as it was called, their restoration, had been under the direction of the Argians; but the Mycenæan government claimed also the prior right to preside there. These however were but branches of a much more important claim; for they wanted only power, or sufficient assistance from Sparta, to assert a right of sovereinty over Argos itself and all Argolis; and they were continually urging another pretension, not the less invidious to Argos because better founded, to merit with all the Greek nation for having joined the confederacy against Persia, while the Argians allied themselves with the common enemy of Greece. The favorable opportunity afforded by the Helot rebellion was eagerly seized by the Argians, for ridding themselves of such troublesome and dangerous neighbors,

Diod. l. 11. c. 65. Strab. l. 8. p. 377. Pausan. l. 2. c. 15. & l. 7. c. 25. & l. 8. c. 33.

whom they considered as rebellious subjects. With their whole force laying siege to Mycenæ, they took it, reduced the surviving people to slavery, and dedicating a tenth of the spoil to the gods, totally destroyed the town, which was never rebuilt. B. C. 464. Ol. $\frac{78}{79}$ $\frac{4}{1}$.

SECTION II.

Change of Administration at Athens, and Banishment of Cimon. Renunciation of the Peloponnesian Confederacy by Megara, and Accession to the Athenian. Difficulties of the new Athenian Administration: Ephialtes; Pericles; Depression of the Court of Areiopagus: Expedition to Egypt. War in Greece; Siege of Ægina; Relief of Megara by Myronides.

AT Athens, after the banishment of Themistocles, Cimon remained long in possession of a popularity which nothing could resist; and his abilities, his successes, and his moderation, his connection with the aristocratical interest and his favor with the people, seemed altogether likely to insure, if anything could insure, permanency and quiet to his administration. But in Athens, as in every free government, there would always be a party adverse to the party in the direction of public affairs; matters had been for some time ripening for a change; and the renunciation of the Lacedæmonian alliance was the triumph of the opposition. The epithet Philolacones, friends to Lacedæmon, was circulated as the opprobrium of the existing administration. Cimon had always professed himself friendly to the Lacedæmonians, and an admirer of their institutions. His partiality had gone so far as to induce him to name his eldest son Lacedæmonius; and the more completely to prove that he did not esteem the Athenian character a model of perfection (apparently by way of admonition, both to his family and to his country) he named his two other sons Thessalus and Eleius. All these circumstances were now turned to his disadvantage, with all the acrimony of party-spirit: a favorable moment was seized, while the popular mind was heated; the ostracism was proposed and carried; and by his banishment the party in opposition to him became fully possessed of the government.

Plut. vit. Cim.

Plat. Gorg. p. 516. t. 1. Plut. & Corn. Nep. vit. Cim.

In

In the divided state of Greece, meanwhile, circumstances were arising still to promote the power of the Athenian commonwealth. An antient dispute between Megara and Corinth, about the limits of their respective territories, led to hostilities, in which the Megarians were pressed by the superior strength of their enemy. Megara was of the Lacedæmonian confederacy, but so also was Corinth, and the leading Megarians could obtain no partial favor from the Lacedæmonian government. Under these circumstances the democratical party in Megara proposing to renounce the Peloponnesian for the Athenian confederacy, the oligarchal was obliged to yield. The situation and circumstances of their territory gave them importance. Almost wholly mountainous, it formed a very strong frontier for Attica against Peloponnesus: its situation against the isthmus completely commanded the communication by land between the peninsula and northern Greece: and its ports of Nisæa on the Saronic and Pegæ, on the Corinthian gulph, were valuable acquisitions to a maritime power; on one side depriving the enemy of means to annoy Attica: on the other affording opportunity to distress the Peloponnesians, and to extend the Athenian command in the western seas. The new Athenian administration, therefore, very gladly accepted the proposal of the Megarians; and under pretence of providing in the most effectual manner for the security of their new allies, they took the most effectual measures for holding them in subjection. Athenian garrisons were immediately put into the city of Megara and the port of Pegæ; those who led the Megarian affairs submitting to this through fear of domestic, far more than of forein foes; and fortifications, raised to connect the city with its port of Nisæa, brought Megara itself in some degree under the controul of the Athenian fleet.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 103.

These circumstances, employing the minds of the people and flattering their ambition, were favorable to the new administration of Athens. Probably also the party in Megara which effected the revolution there, would not so readily have connected themselves with the former Athenian administration, which was better disposed toward Lacedæmon, and less friendly to unbalanced democracy. But the liberality of Cimon was quickly missed: to equal it from their own stores was beyond their

Plut. vit. Cim. & Pericl.

their power; yet to find means for gratifying the people as they had been accustomed to be gratified, or even more, was absolutely necessary to those who took the lead in public affairs, if they would hold their situation, or if they would avoid the risk even of taking the place of Cimon in banishment. The public treasury tempted; but all issues thence were under the control of the court of Areiopagus, a large majority in which was of the aristocratical party, adverse to them and friendly to Cimon. No resource occurred but in that despotic power which the people in assembly might arrogate: the people might probably be persuaded to consent to the prostitution of the public money to their private emolument; and while thus, in reality, they bribed themselves, popular favor would accrue to the advisers of the gratifying measure. This was indeed hazardous in extreme: the great barrier established by the constitution against excess of popular caprice would be done away: but the necessities of the administration were pressing; and the leading men, it was hoped, might still be able, by their influence, or their oratory, to guide the proceedings of the general assembly.

It was indeed not by ordinary men that Cimon was removed from his situation at the head of the commonwealth, and that these violent and hazardous changes were made. The ostensible head of the party was Ephialtes; but Pericles, son of Xanthippus, had lately been gaining a superiority in popular estimation. Pericles possessed extraordinary advantages from nature and from fortune. His father, a man of one of the first families of Athens, and of large property, had distinguished himself in the prosecution of the great Miltiades, and had afterward much more advantageously distinguished himself in the command of the Athenian forces on the glorious day of Mycalë. He married Agaristë, niece of Cleisthenes, chief of the Alcmæonid family, and leader of the party that expelled the Peisistratids. Their son, born with uncommon abilities, was educated under the ablest of those fathers of science and fine taste who at this time arose in Athens, or resorted thither from the various establishments of the Greek nation. Anaxagoras and Pythocleides are particularly mentioned as the instructors of his youth; Damon as the companion of his riper years. It was

Plut. vit. Pericl.

Corn. Nep. & Plut. vit. Pericl.

Plut. ibid. Plat. Alcib. 1. p. 118. t. 2.

Plat. ibid.

observed by old men that, in person, manner, and voice, he remarkably resembled Peisistratus: and this circumstance, communicated among a superstitious people, infused a jealousy that long deterred him from putting himself forward in public business. In his youth, therefore, arms employed his active hours, and science was the pursuit of his leisure. But when, Aristeides being dead, Themistocles banished, and Cimon mostly absent on military commands, no superior man remained to take the lead in the popular assembly, Pericles was induced to show himself. His powers of eloquence far exceeded those of any orator of his age; and his speeches were distinguished by a new polish of style and manner, which singularly captivated the Athenian people. His family-interest and his party-connections joined to put him in unavoidable opposition to the aristocratical interest; which his private judgement and private inclination otherwise disposed him to support. He had taken a part in the prosecution instituted against Cimon, on his return from the conquest of Thasus: yet the moderation with which he conducted himself in it, showed private esteem in the midst of political opposition. The banishment by ostracism being reputed not a punishment, or at least no disgrace, he did not scruple to concur in such a measure, when its consequence would be to give his own party complete possession of the government. He was then induced, by the necessities of that party, to concur in the proposal, so fatal to the Athenian constitution, for contracting the powers, and reducing the dignity of the court of Areiopagus. Ephialtes was the instrument to bring forward the measure. What Ephialtes proposed, the people willed, and it was done: the more important of those causes which, by the constitution of Solon, were cognisable by the court of Areiopagus only, were in future to be brought before the assembly of the people; and the assembly of the people was to direct without controul, issues from the public treasury[s]. This was the finishing stroke to form at Athens that union of all the powers of government, legislative, executive, financial, and judicial, in the same hands, which, according

Plut. vit. Pericl.

Aristot. Polit. l. 2. c. 12. Diod. l. 11. c. 77. Plut. vit. Cim. & Pericl.

[s] Dodwell refers this transaction to the year B.C. 462, the year, according to him, preceding the banishment of Cimon: but his proof is very deficient. I think Diodorus more probably right, in placing it in the first year of the 80th olympiad. B.C. 460.

to

to the sage Montesquieu, constitutes the essence of despotism; and hence the term Tyrant was, even in that age, applied to the assembled Athenian people[4].

An individual despot has generally his favorites, who govern him, but a despotic multitude must necessarily have its favorites to guide its measures. The favorite of the multitude then becomes the real despot; whence, among the Greeks, demagogues were so frequently qualified with the title of tyrant. Under the direction of Ephialtes, Pericles, and some other leading men, new or increased pay was given to the people for attendance upon the general assemblies and the courts of judicature: amusements the most elegant were provided for their leisure; the sublime dramas of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, and the jocose satire of the comic poets, were alternately exhibited in magnificent theaters: the religious festivals were increased in number and celebrated with new splendor: on days of business the pay for attending the courts and assemblies fed the many; on holidays the numerous victims of the sacrifices feasted them. But to support the increased expences new supplies were necessary. The commanding power of the Athenian people, and the depression of the allies were thought now so established, that the former might exercise, and the latter must bear, any tyranny. Not only therefore the common treasury of the confederacy was removed from Delos to Athens[5], but the moderate assessment of Aristeides, to which all the allies had chearfully submitted, was greatly advanced. To the tribunals of Athens recourse must be had if any dispute arose; and hence new profit, new power, and very flattering distinction to even the meanest of the Athenian people, with most grievous humiliation and oppression to the people of those subject states which were still called allies. Xenoph. Rep. Athen.

These circumstances superinduced new necessity for maintaining

[4] Πάνλες ἄνθρωποι δεδίασί σ', ὥσπερ ἄνδρα τύραννον.—Aristoph. Equit. v. 111.

Ὥσπερ τυράννῳ, τῷ δήμῳ χαριζόμενοι.—Aristot. Polit. l. 2. c. 12. Quotations from Thucydides, equally strong to the same purpose, will be found in following notes.

[5] That this removal took place, and about this time, seems unquestionable, tho Thucydides has not particularly mentioned it. Plutarch, in his life of Aristeides, quotes Theophrastus for its being the act of Aristeides, with whose character it seems less congenial. In his life of Pericles he makes that able but less scrupulous statesman apologize for it as his act, and with this the account of Justin would correspond.

the navy in vigor. But to be maintained in vigor it must be employed: and it was highly desirable that it should be employed, as under Cimon it had been, so as to bring new gratification to the people, and at the same time to acquire something toward the expence of its own maintenance. Cyprus appeared at present the most inviting object, and a fleet of two hundred trireme galleys was sent thither under Charitimis[6]. But shortly a more alluring field of action presented itself.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 104. Diod. l. 11. c. 71.

In the relaxation of the Persian government during the last years of Xerxes, and the confusion which followed his death, Inarus, chief of some African tribes on the western borders of Egypt, ingaged the greater part of that rich country in rebellion. But when the empire became again settled under Artaxerxes, apprehensive that he should be unable to withstand its collected force, which would probably be soon directed against him, he looked around for forein alliance. The little Athenian commonwealth, commanding the navy of the Grecian confederacy, was, at this time, by far the first maritime power in the world: and the difficulty of approach to Egypt by land, together with the command which the Persian monarch possessed of the Phenician navy, made a maritime ally of great importance to Inarus. The Grecian infantry of this age was also not less beyond all other in esteem; and tho, among themselves, the Peloponnesian, and especially the Lacedæmonian, had the reputation of superiority, yet among foreiners, no Grecian name was of higher renown than the Athenian. Inarus therefore sent to Athens proposals of alliance; offering very advantageous returns for assistance to complete the deliverance of Egypt from the Persian dominion.

Thucyd. l. 4. c. 33.

Hist. of the World. b. 2. c. 7. s. 5.

Sir Walter Raleigh, who looked upon this part of history certainly with a master's eye, but with too transient a glance, imputes folly to

[6] Barthelemi (Anacharsis, p. 269. v. 1. ed. 8°.) gives the command of this expedition to Cimon, and quotes Thucydides and Plutarch. He has probably trusted to his memory, which has deceived him. Neither Thucydides, nor Plutarch, nor Diodorus has mentioned the commander's name. It is here given on the authority of Ctesias. I will however say for Barthelemi that, for myself, I prefer a writer who, if he makes a mistake, may be corrected from the authority which himself quotes, to those who fastidiously require their readers to believe all on their own assertion.

the

the Athenian government for their conduct; when, having it in their power to make the valuable acquisition of Cyprus, which their naval force would have inabled them to keep, they quitted so desirable an object for the wild project of acquiring dominion on the continent of Africa. If indeed the Athenian empire, as the confederacy under the controul of the Athenian commonwealth is often called by antient writers, had been connected by any regular and settled form of government, or if the constitution of Athens itself had been such as to be capable of carrying any steddy command, the observation would certainly have been just. But the existing circumstances of Athens, to which we have been adverting, offer at least an apology for those able men, for certainly there were able men in its administration, who promoted the expedition to Egypt. For, however valuable an acquisition Cyprus might in time have been made, under such a course of prudent and steddy management as the constitution of Athens seemed utterly to deny, the wealth of Egypt was a far more tempting present object. There, it was hoped, victories might be obtained to rival those of Cimon: which, through the ransom of wealthy prisoners, the spoils of Persian camps, and the produce of Thracian mines, had wonderfully inriched individuals and filled the public treasury. Charitimis therefore was ordered to lead the whole force under his command from Cyprus to the Nile. His rapid success appeared at first to justify the enterprize: all yielded before him till he arrived at Memphis, the capital of lower Egypt; and he possessed himself of two divisions out of three which composed that vast city. A numerous body of Persians, and of those Egyptians who had not joined in the revolt, retiring into the third division, called the White-castle, prepared for a vigorous defence.

B.C. 459.[7] Ol. 80 ½. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 102. Diod. l. 9. c. 73. Ctes. Persic. B.C. 458. Ol. 80 ¾.

Meanwhile the acquisition of Megara had involved Athens in war with the Corinthians, and in some measure with the whole Peloponnesian confederacy, of which Lacedæmon had always remained the

[7] I know not why, for the dates of the Egyptian war, Dodwell has given implicit credit to Diodorus, who, in regard to these, is as evidently contradictory to Thucydides, as he is clearly proved wrong by Dodwell himself, in regard to many preceding transactions. The account of Thucydides however, not sufficing to ascertain the dates we can assign them but by conjecture.

head,

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 105. Diod. l. 11. c. 78.

head, and Corinth was a principal member. In a descent at Haliæ on the Argolic coast, their forces were defeated by the Corinthians assisted by the Epidaurians. Shortly after, in a naval action off Cecryphaleia, the Athenians defeated the Peloponnesians. The Æginetan fleet, which was considerable, then joined the Corinthian; and the assistance of the other Peloponnesian allies being called in, the Athenians also collected the naval force of their confederacy. An action insued, in which the Athenians gained a complete victory, took seventy ships, and then landing upon Ægina, under the conduct of Leocrates, laid siege to the capital town. It was an object urged by Pericles, to subdue an iland, which from its situation, its naval strength, and the active and adverse temper of its people, he called emphatically the eyesore of Peiræus. The same circumstances made the Peloponnesians the more anxious to provide for its defence. Three hundred heavy-armed Corinthians and Epidaurians were introduced into the place. A larger reinforcement might have indangered a failure of provisions, while the Athenians commanded the sea; but to give more effectual relief, the Corinthians invaded the Megarian territory, seized the heights of Geraneia commanding the passage from the isthmus into northern Greece, and advanced towards Megara; in confidence that, while so large a part of the Athenian force was absent in Egypt, either Megara must be exposed, or the siege of Ægina raised.

Aristot. Rhet. l. 3. c. 10. Plut. vit. Peric.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 105.

While, from the division of Greece into so many little republics, great talents were mostly confined within a very narrow circle, whence they could scarcely by any possibility emerge, the circumstances of Athens, little favorable to private security or domestic happiness, gave singular opportunity and ample scope for genius, wherever it existed among the people, to come forward and exert itself: and Athens was fruitful of great men at this period. Among those less known to fame, but high in merit, was Myronides, who, upon the present occasion, was appointed to the command of the forces; for such was the general spirit of the Athenian people, while the leading men dreaded the unpopularity of a timid policy, that it was determined, with such an army as could yet be collected within Attica, old men chiefly and boys, to march to the relief of Megara, rather than recal their more vigorous troops

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 105.

troops from a favorite enterprize. Myronides, with the army, such as it was, under his command, did not scruple to meet the flower of the Corinthian youth; and tho the event would not justify the boast of a decisive victory, he remained master of the field, and erected on it his trophy. The Corinthians, retreating within their own territory, were ill received by their fellowcitizens; who upbraided them with their inglorious return from a fruitless expedition, in which they had yielded the honor of the day to an enemy unable to conquer them. Urged by shame, and under no good conduct, on the twelfth day from the battle, the Corinthian youth returned to the field; and, to vindicate their honour, erected their own trophy in claim of victory. The able Myrónides, taking his opportunity for issuing with his motley troops from the walls of Megara, cut in pieces the detachment employed to erect the trophy, and then attacking the supporting army, put it completely to rout. A large body of the vanquished, c. 106. pressed in their flight by the conquerors, and missing their road, entered an inclosure surrounded by a ditch, so wide and deep as to preclude passage. The Athenians, apprized of this, secured the only outlet with a sufficient body of their heavy-armed, and then disposing their light-armed around, plied their missile weapons so effectually that every Corinthian within perished. Corinth was so weakened by this severe blow as to be, for some time, incapable of any considerable exertion. We shall however little wonder if, after so cruel a use of the right of war, we find animosity and even hatred toward the Athenian people becoming popular passions at Corinth, and not dying with the existing generation, but passing to their children, and in the end bringing no small return of evil upon Athens.

SECTION III.

War between Doris and Phocis. Hostilities resulting between Athens and Lacedæmon: Battle of Tanagra. Affairs of Bœotia: Battle of Œnophyta: Successes of the Athenians under Myronides. Ægina taken. Successes of the Athenians under Tolmides: Messenians established in Naupactus. Conclusion of the Egyptian Expedition. War in Thessaly. Expedition under Pericles to the Western Coast of Greece.

LACEDÆMON, weakened by natural calamity, pressed by domestic disturbance, and usually slow in councils, had not been induced by the revolt of Megara, nor by the sufferings of so close an ally as Corinth, added to the inimical measures before taken by Athens, to come to a rupture with that rising rival. But the division of Greece into so many little states, precluded the possibility of secure peace through the country; and hostilities, begun in any obscure corner, always endangered the tranquility of the whole. The rugged province of Doris, the mother-country of the greater part of the Peloponnesians, destitute of any considerable city, had three small towns, Bœon, Cytineon, Erineon (names hardly elsewhere occurring in Grecian history) in which the little public business of so poor and thinly peopled a territory was transacted. The Phocians invading Doris, took one of those towns. The Lacedæmonians, who always bore a religious regard for their mother-country, were no sooner informed of its distress than they prepared to relieve it. Fifteen hundred heavy-armed of their own people, with no less than ten thousand of their allies, which with the light-armed slaves attending, would make an army of perhaps twenty-five thousand men, marched toward Phocis. Nicomedes son of Cleombrotus commanded, as regent during the minority of his nephew Pleistoanax son of Pausanias, to whom the scepter of Sparta had fallen by the premature death of Pleistarchus son of Leonidas. The Phocians, unable to resist such a force, surrendered the Dorian town, and submitted to the conditions imposed by the Lacedæmonians.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 107.

B. C. 457. Ol. 80 $\frac{4}{4}$. Ann. Thu.

There were at this time some of the aristocratical party at Athens so far from considering Lacedæmon as a hostile state, that they looked toward it for relief from the oppression which they suffered under the present administration of their country, and for the restoration of that constitution under which Athens had become great, and without which they thought it could not long florish. Accordingly they opened a secret correspondence with Nicomedes. But the same circumstances, which led the partizans of aristocracy to desire a friendly connection with Sparta, induced the leaders of the democratical interest, who now governed the republic, to confirm and inflame the animosity of the people against that state, and to persuade them of its determined enmity to Athens. It was therefore resolved to oppose the return of the Peloponnesian army into the peninsula, and means were much in their power: for possessing the strong places of Megara on one side of the isthmus, and Pegæ on the other, and keeping a guard on mount Geraneia, they completely commanded the passes by land; and the port of Pegæ, together with an interest which they possessed among the towns of the Achaian coast, inabled them to keep a fleet in the Corinthian gulph, which would prevent an army from crossing it. Nicomedes was in consequence much at a loss what measures to take; but some political intrigues at Thebes, together with the overtures received from the aristocratical party at Athens, determined him to wait and watch opportunities; and he wintered in Bœotia[9]. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 107.

This was highly suspicious to the Athenian administration. They had expected that the approach of the severe season, and the impatience of his troops, would have urged Nicomedes to the hazardous attempt of forcing the passage of the mountains: but observing no appearance of a disposition to move from his present situation, and suspecting intrigue, they resolved in the spring to attack him in the plain. A body of cavalry, which they obtained from their allies of Thessaly, they hoped would inable them to do this with certain advantage. Collect- B. C. 456. Ol. 80. 4.

[9] The chronology of Diodorus here so accords with, and illustrates the summary narrative of Thucydides, that we may give him credit for this circumstance, which Thucydides has not specified.

ing therefore what other auxiliary troops they readily could, among which were a thousand from Argos, they formed, with their own forces, a body of fourteen thousand heavy-armed foot. These, with the cavalry and the attending slaves, would make an army of scarcely less than thirty thousand men, with which they marched into Bœotia. Nicomedes met them at Tanagra, and a severe action insued, so equally maintained, that neither side could claim the victory. It was renewed on the following day, when the treachery of the Thessalian horse compelled the Athenians, after great slaughter on both sides, to leave the Peloponnesians masters of the field. Nicomedes then, without attempting to make any other use of his victory, except to plunder and waste the Megarian territory as he passed it, returned into Peloponnesus.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 108. Diod. l. 11. c. 80. Pausan. l. 1. c. 29.

The Thebans, always claiming rights of sovereinty over the other towns of Bœotia, but humbled by the event of the Persian war, had judged the opportunity favorable, while the Peloponnesian army lay in their neighborhood, to attempt the recovery of their antient authority. With this view they had ingaged in a treaty with the Spartans; who readily acceded to the purpose of raising a city, without Peloponnesus, to a capacity of balancing the power and curbing the ambition of Athens. Thus most of the Bœotian towns seem to have been terrified into a composition: they were admitted to the honor and advantages of the Peloponnesian confederacy, as dependants of Thebes; acknowleging the supremacy of that city for superintending the general protection, and, for that purpose, directing the military affairs of all the Bœotian people[10]. Whatever within Bœotia was immoveably adverse to their proposal, and particularly the heroïc little commonwealth of Platæa, the antient and faithful ally of Athens, was of course to be oppressed. Phocis and the Opuntian Locrians joined in their alliance.

Diod. l. 11. c. 80. Herod. l. 6. c. 108. Thucyd. l. 3. c. 61.

Neither the force however nor the spirit of Athens were broken

[10] Ἡγεμονέυεσθαι ὑπ' ἀυλῶν, according to the expression which Thucydides puts into the mouth of a Theban orator (b. 3. c. 61). The value of this term is in some degree to be collected from a following passage (c. 67.), in the speech of the same orator, addressing himself to the Lacedæmonians Ἡγεμόνες ὥσπερ νῦν ὑμεῖς.

by

by the check received at Tanagra. As soon as the motions in Bœotia were known, it was determined to obviate their effects. Myronides was appointed general of the Athenian forces. On the sixty-second day after the unfortunate action of Tanagra, he met the Bœotian army, much more numerous than his own, at Œnophyta, and gained a complete victory. Tanagra was taken and dismantled; through all the towns incouragement was communicated to the democratical party, everywhere adverse to the Lacedæmonian connection, and all Bœotia, except Thebes, was rapidly brought into alliance with Athens, which was, in effect, to be under its dominion. B. C. 456. Ol. 81. 1.[11] Thucyd. l. 1. c. 108.

The democratical party was strong in the neighboring country of Phocis, yet the oligarchal, supported by Thebes and Lacedæmon, still prevailed there. Myronides without loss of time entered that province, and overbearing opposition, put the power in all the towns into the hands of those whose interest would keep them dependent on Athens; and thus Phocis, like Bœotia, became an appendage of the Athenian empire. The Opuntian Locrians, more attached to their oligarchal government and the Lacedæmonian alliance, but dreading the attack with which they next were threatened, delivered a hundred of their principal men as hostages to insure the compliance of their state with terms imposed. This campain of Myronides, tho no detail of it Thucyd. l. 3. c. 95.

[11] I think Dodwell clearly right in placing this event one year later than Diodorus, who has crowded together transactions that could not have passed within the year. Allowing this, the account of Diodorus will assist to illustrate that of Thucydides. The battle of Tanagra was fought in the spring of the year 456 before Christ, toward the conclusion of the fourth year of the eighteenth Olympiad; for the Olympian year began a little after midsummer. The battle of Œnophyta was fought in the beginning of the first year of the eighty-first Olympiad, in the autumn of the same year before Christ 456.

Thucydides says that the Peloponnesian army, in passing through the Megaris, after the battle of Tanagra, cut down the trees. Smith, in his translation of Thucydides, interprets διυδροτομήσαντες by the expression, *having cut down the woods*. The mistake is of a kind that an Englishman, who never travelled in more southern countries, might easily fall into, if he did not consider how little it could answer the Spartan general's purpose, to delay his march by such laborious waste as that of cutting down, what in English is properly called, *woods*. Thucydides has intended only, or almost only fruit-trees, principally olives and vines. He mentions no other waste, the corn having been probably not forward enough to be readily destroyed.

remained even in the time of Diodorus, was esteemed equal to the most brilliant atchievements of the Athenian arms [12].

It was no small addition to the joy, which the important conquests of Myronides gave at Athens, that, about the same time, Leocrates returned victorious over the little barren iland of Ægina. Cut off from all relief, through the command which the Athenians possessed of the sea, the Æginetans had at length capitulated: their ships of war were surrendered, their fortifications were demolished, and they bound themselves to the payment of a perpetual tribute.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 108.

B. C. 456. Ol. 81. 1.

The Greeks, it has already occurred to remark, and will again occur, both coveted and dreaded maritime situation. Solicitous for communication with the sea, they nevertheless generally avoided to place their towns, but especially a town the seat of a government, immediately on the shore. Athens was five miles from its port. But thus while one danger was obviated another was incurred. An enemy superior in the field, tho unable to force either city or port, might put both in danger, and especially distress the city, by stopping communication between them. Athens was peculiarly liable to this inconvenience since it was become an imperial city; because, to maintain empire, a large part of the strength of the city must be often on distant service,

[12] Thucydides in his concise mention of the expedition under Myronides, tho he particularizes that the battle of Œnophyta was fought on the sixty-second day after the battle of Tanagra, does not name Thebes. I have been very cautious of following any other writer, in relating the transactions of these times, when not in some degree supported by him. Diodorus tells of many glorious and very surprizing feats of Grecian arms, utterly unknown to Thucydides; of which his account of the expeditions to Cyprus and to Egypt afford some remarkable instances. They may however be nearly paralleled out of Livy; who tells of many victories gained by the Roman arms against the forces of Hannibal in Italy, and leaves us to wonder why they had no consequences, till, upon looking into Polybius, we find the greatest reason to believe that they never had more than an imaginary existence. There is seldom equal temptation to romance concerning circumstances meerly political. The narrative of Thucydides, in the part in question, tho it may have sufficed for his cotemporaries, and for his particular view in the prefatory part of his work, leaves us totally uninformed of the motives to the Bœotian war. These however may be gathered from some passages which afterward occur in his History (l. 3. c. 62. & 95.), and from what we find in Plato on the subject (Menex. p. 242. t. 2.); and thus what is here supplied from Diodorus, in itself probable, and consistent with every authenticated fact, appears sufficiently established.

and

and always ready for it, and the remainder, it had been found now by experience, hardly sufficed for remaining probable occasions.

But, for a long course of years after the banishment, and even after the death of Themistocles, the spirit of that great man seemed to animate the Athenian councils. In all the changes of administration, measures were in a great degree directed by the political principles which he first conceived, and of which he so forcibly demonstrated the advantage in practice: his ideäs for insuring safety, for acquiring power, for extending dominion, continued to be carried into execution. In prosecution of them, and with a spirit which distinguishes this age of Greece, and particularly of Athens, a very great and very costly work had been some time since begun; no less than to unite the city with its ports by strong fortifications, which might secure the communication against any interruption from an enemy. A wall was conducted to Phalerum, the distance about four miles, and another to Peiræus, five miles, with towers at proper intervals. Thus Athens and Peiræus came to be often distinguished by the names of the upper and the lower town, as two parts only of the same city. This great work was completed in the same summer in which the empire of the Athenian people was extended so widely over the northern continent of Greece, by the conquests of Myronides, and their maritime superiority was assured by the surrender of Ægina to the armament under Leocrates.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 107. & l. 2. c. 13.

B. C. 456. Ol. 81. 1. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 108.

Confident now in their strength, the Athenian government resolved to prosecute offensive operations against their Peloponnesian enemies. Tolmides, with a strong squadron under his command, sailing round Peloponnesus, burnt the Lacedæmonian naval arsenal at Gythium, and proceeding into the Corinthian gulph, debarked his forces, defeated the Sicyonians in an action by land, and took the town of Chalcis, a Corinthian settlement on the coast of Ætolia. It was not till the tenth year of the blockade of Ithomë that the Helots there had been induced to capitulate; and they obtained, at last, liberty for themselves and their families; upon condition, however, that they should finally quit Peloponnesus. Tolmides collected those fugitives, and settled them at Naupactus, on the northern shore of the Corinthian gulph, which he conquered from the Ozolian Locrians. There with the revived name

Thucyd. ib. B. C. 455. Ol. 81 ½. Ann. Thu.

of

of Messenians, which they had never intirely lost, forming a free republic, or at least a republic of free citizens, under the protection of Athens, they became once more numbered among the Grecian people.

While success was so generally attending the Athenians within Greece, their forces ingaged in the distant operations in Egypt, were experiencing a variety of fortune. Grecian valor and Grecian discipline at first so overbore the efforts of oriental arms, that the Persian government was at a loss what to oppose to them. The measure taken marks very strongly what may be the weakness of despotic empire, while its territory and population are immense. Megabazus was sent with a large sum of money to Lacedæmon, to endevor to obtain by bribes the alliance of that little republic, and procure the invasion of Attica by a Peloponnesian army. It tells very highly to the honor of the Spartan government of the time, from an Athenian writer almost cotemporary, that Sparta was not to be bribed to a measure to which resentment, ambition, and political interest contributed so powerfully to incite. Megabazus, after having spent a part of his treasures uselessly, in ways which Thucydides does not explain, returned with the remainder into Asia, without having in any degree accomplished his purpose.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 109. Diod. l. 11. c. 74.

Then at last measures more consonant to the former dignity of the empire were taken for the recovery of Egypt. A very numerous army was assembled on the confines of Cilicia and Syria; and a fleet was prepared in Phenicia and the other maritime provinces. Megabazus, or Megabyzus, son of Zopyrus, head of one of the six great families of Persia, was appointed to the command in chief. The spring and summer were employed in collecting troops; the autumn and winter in the endevor to restore discipline and skill in arms among them: in the following spring Megabyzus led them into Egypt. His measures appear to have been judicious, and correspondent success followed. The Egyptians venturing a battle were defeated. The little army of Greeks, compelled to raise the siege of the White-castle of Memphis, retired into an iland of the Nile called Prosopitis, where their fleet joined them. In this strong situation their valor and discipline defied the Persian assaults. Wealth and numbers, however, under

B. C. 457. Ol. 80 $\frac{3}{4}$. Thucyd. ib. Diod. l. 11. c. 75.

B. C. 456. Ol. $\frac{80}{81}$. $\frac{4}{1}$.

under able management, may supply great deficiencies. Forming dikes and cutting water-courses, Megabyzus drained the channel in which the Athenian galleys lay; and while he thus made the fleet useless, which had been hitherto a great annoyance to him, he laid the army open to wide attack. Thus, after a siege of eighteen months, he took Prosopitis: a part of the Grecian troops, forcing their way through Libya, escaped to Cyrenë; but the greater part perished. Inarus, the mover of the war, betrayed by his followers, was put to death by crucifixion; and all Egypt, except the marshes, held by a chief named Amyrtæus, submitted again to the Persian dominion. B. C. 454. Ol. 81 ⅔. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 110.

The misfortunes of the Athenian arms in this part of the world did not close thus. Fifty trireme galleys, going to Egypt, to relieve an equal number of the fleet there, entered the Mendesian mouth of the Nile, ignorant of what had happened. The Phenician fleet attacked them with superior force in the river, while the Persian army assisted from the shore: a few ships forced their way to sea and escaped, but the greater part were destroyed or taken. Such was the conclusion of the Athenian enterprize against Egypt, when it had been carried on six years. Thucyd. ib.

Circumstances meanwhile were arising still to extend the devastation of war within Greece. Orestes, son of Echecratides king of Thessaly, such is the title given him by Thucydides, being compelled to fly his country, implored assistance from Athens. The Athenian people, exasperated against the Thessalian government for the treachery of their troops in the affair of Tanagra, and the Athenian chiefs, hoping to secure an effectual interest in that rich and populous province, concurred in zeal for the cause of the young prince. An army, composed of the newly-acquired auxiliary force of Bœotia and Phocis, together with a body of Athenian troops, was placed under the command of Myronides. He entered Thessaly, and penetrated as far as Pharsalus. But with the usual deficiency of the southern Greek armies in cavalry, he was unable to do anything against the Thessalian horse, and in the Thessalian plains, worthy of his former fame. In the field, wherever he turned his force, nothing ventured to resist him; but he could detach nothing, and, according to the expression of Thucydides, beyond Thucyd. l. 1. c. 111. B. C. 454. Ol. 81 ⅔.

the

the immediate reach of his arms he could keep nothing. After an ineffectual attempt, therefore, upon the city of Pharsalus, he withdrew his army from Thessaly, and returned to Athens.

Meanwhile the leading men in the Athenian councils were still directing their attention to extend the power of the republic on all sides. Masters of the Ægean sea, with the greater part of its shores and ilands, and commanding a large proportion of the continent of Greece, they had great influence even in Peloponnesus. Argos was connected with them by its own necessary interest: the greater part of Achaia was in their dependency; and, possessing Naupactus near the entrance, and Pegæ at the bottom, of the Corinthian gulph, they commanded its navigation. With the general view, apparently, to protect their allies, molest their enemies, and extend their authority and influence, as opportunity might offer, a thousand Athenian soldiers were put aboard the squadron lying at Pegæ, and the command was committed to Pericles. Crossing the gulph, the troops were landed on the territory of Sicyon; and, the Sicyonians quitting their walls to protect their fields, Pericles gave them battle and defeated them. Then taking aboard a reinforcement of Achaians, he proceeded to the Acarnanian coast, and after an unsuccessful attempt upon Œniadæ, but not without a large collection of booty, always a great object of antient warfare, he conducted his squadron home.

Thucyd l. 1. c. 111 & 115. & l. 4. c. 21. Plut. vit. Peric.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 111. Diod. l. 11. c. 84 & 87. Plut. vit. Peric.

SECTION IV.

Coälition of Parties at Athens, and Recall of Cimon: Truce of Five Years with Peloponnesus. Long Walls of Athens. Restoration of the Order of Knights, or Cavalry. Expedition to Cyprus: Death of Cimon.

THE Athenian leaders thus, among some reverses, altogether greatly successful, had however a most arduous office to sustain; the administration of what has been called an empire, but an empire without any regular constitution; held together partly by force, partly by accidental circumstances; the capricious populace of Athens being the soverein;

a large majority of the principal men in opposition; and a war to be conducted against a confederacy, whose landforce far exceeded theirs. The very conquests, already made, distressed them; they were at a loss for means to keep what they had acquired. Feeling then that some respite from war was necessary, they knew that the most powerful enemies, the Lacedæmonians and Corinthians, would be highly averse to any negotiation with them, but would readily treat with their opponents of the aristocratical party, and especially with Cimon. Pressed thus, they were perhaps farther stimulated by some ebullitions of democratical extravagance, disturbing or threatening their measures, to desire a coälition with the aristocratical leaders. The opposition, which looked to Cimon, tho in exile, as its chief, was certainly powerful; and the circumstances of a story related by Plutarch, however of a romantic cast, if founded, as it may have been, in truth, would not a little increase its weight. When the Athenians marched to meet the Lacedæmonian forces at Tanagra, Cimon, according to that writer, joined them where they passed the Attic border; and, the law of his exile not absolutely forbidding, desired to act with the troops of his ward as a volunteer. His request was denied, and he was ordered to quit the camp; but, before he departed, he had opportunity to communicate with his friends, whom he earnestly exhorted to prove, by their behavior in the battle to insue, the falsehood of the charge in which they were in some degree involved with him. Accordingly a band of a hundred pledged themselves to one-another not to fly; and when the army was routed, they continued to fight around the panoply of Cimon, which they had carried into the field as their banner, till they were killed to a man. It would be difficult then any longer to contend that Cimon or the friends of Cimon were enemies to their country. But, whatever may have been the motives, a coälition of the principal men, it is evident, was effected, and Pericles himself moved the decree for the recal of Cimon, after the expiration of only five years of the term of his banishment [13].

Plut. Cimon.

[13] Plutarch relates more circumstances than any other writer, yet his account is unsatisfactory in itself, and ill accords with the course of events marked in the summary of Thucydides, to which I refer as a standard for authenticating other information. The reader who will take the trouble to compare the accounts of the battle of Tanagra and its consequences, in Plutarch's lives of Cimon and Pericles, with the 107th to the 112th chapter of the first book of Thucydides, may judge for himself.

Andoc. de pace, p. 91. t. 4. or. Gr. Reiske.

Cimon was, at the time, living on the lordship, his paternal inheritance, in the Thracian Chersonese. Whether more at ease there, where a fortified dwelling and an armed train would be requisite for security against the neighboring barbarians, or in Athens, amid the turbulence of a factious and jealous democracy, may be doubtful; but he did not refuse himself to the call of his country. Nor was the expectation of advantage from his return disappointed. His liberality seems to have been met with corresponding liberality by the chiefs of those who had been his political adversaries, and a calm insued in the administration of the commonwealth. Cimon was connected by hospitality with the Lacedæmonian state. The lead in the negotiation, on the part of Athens, being committed to him, a cessation of hostilities was quickly agreed upon. But all interests, among the numerous republics concerned as allies of Lacedæmon, were not to be easily reconciled. Three years of intermitted war elapsed before any treaty was concluded, and then nothing more was effected than a truce for five years.

Andoc. ut ant.

B. C. 453. Ol. 81 ¾.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 112.

B. C. 450. Ol. 82 ¾.

Such a pause, however, used wisely and diligently, was very advantageous for Athens. To prepare in peace for the exigencies of war is a maxim that must be universally approved, and yet is rarely acted upon, unless with ambitious views; the peaceful being seldom to be persuaded to the trouble and expence, till danger becomes alarming. In the leisure of the five-years truce, however, whether indeed more with peaceful or ambitious purposes among some of the leaders perhaps may be questioned, a third long wall was added to the former two, passing between them to the middle harbor Munychia. Thenceforward, should an enemy force either of the outer walls, the city would still have secure communication with one of its harbors, either the northermost, Phalerum, or the greater and far more important one on the south, Peiræus. Pericles was the orator who undertook to persuade the people to pass the decree directing this laborious and expensive work, as we are informed by Plato, who says that his master, Socrates, then a youth, was present when the successful speech was delivered.

Plat. Gorg. p. 455. t. 2.

The deficiency of the commonwealth in cavalry was also taken into consideration. The order of knights, or horse-soldiers, was old at Athens: it had been retained in the constitution of Solon, and florished under Peisistratus; but, as a military establishment, evidently it had fallen

fallen into insignificancy. Perhaps, for its attachment to the Peisistratids, it was abolished, or at least depressed, by the constitution of Cleisthenes. No mention is found of Athenian cavalry either at Marathon or at Platæa. Under the joint administration of Cimon and Pericles the order was restored to credit and efficacy: a body of three hundred horse was established, and the Athenian cavalry acquired estimation as among the best of Greece. Peaceful views might lead to this measure; for, among the Greeks, cavalry was valued especially as a defensive weapon, for its superior efficacy in giving protection to the fields, against the plunder and waste, which were so commonly principal objects of Grecian invading armies. But possibly the coälesced leaders, in restoring the order of knights, had moreover a view to its fitness for awing and repressing civil turbulence, so apt to break out where every individual of the people flattered himself that he was a soverein.

Andoc. de pace, p. 92.

Nearly at the same time another addition was made to the military strength of the republic, perhaps not wholly without also a similar political view. It is remarkable how many circumstances occur, in the course of Grecian history, showing the truth of that observation of Aristotle, which might appear on first view a paradox, that democracy and tyranny are very nearly related. Among the Greeks it was reckoned a common distinction between legitimate monarchy and tyranny, that kings had subjects for the guard of their person, tyrants preferred foreiners. But we have formerly observed that the armed attendants of the magistrates of Athens were forein slaves, generally Scythians, whence Scythian came to be the common title of those armed attendants. Three hundred Scythian bowmen were now bought (such precisely is the expression in the original) for the use of the republic. A valuable addition probably to the military force, they would however perhaps still more strengthen the arm of the civil magistrate [14].

Andoc. ibid.

But

[14] The oration on peace, transmitted under the name of Andocides, passed, it appears, to the Augustan age as a speech of that orator; but Dionysius of Halicarnassus believed it wrongly attributed to him. It was however in that critic's time, antient, and probably of the age of Andocides. That it has suffered from injury to copies or carelessness of transcribers, is evident. The five-years truce is spoken of in

But so large a proportion of the Athenian people had now been so long accustomed to subsist by war, whether from pay or from plunder; that the cessation of hostilities filled the city with a very inconvenient number of men little disposed, and most of them little able, to earn a comfortable livelihood by peaceful industry; all however proud of the dignity of Athenian citizens, proud of their services to their country, and ready to claim support and reward suitable to that imaginary dignity and to those services which they would not estimate below their worth. The inconvenience, or at least some degree of it, was common among the Grecian states; and the ordinary resource, of the powerful, was to send out colonies. Cimon's Thracian lordship in the Chersonese afforded opportunity, advantageous at the same time perhaps to the republic and to himself. Of particulars however we are no farther informed than that a squadron of fifty trireme galleys, under the command of Pericles, convoyed a thousand families of Athenian citizens, to whom lands were allotted in that rich peninsula. Tolmides conducted an equal number, whether of Athenians to Naxos, or of Naxians to Eubœa, does not clearly appear.

But such was become the constitution of the Athenian commonwealth, such the temper of the people, and such the consequent difficulties to be contended with in the endevor to preserve quiet at home, that, as soon as present peace was established by the conclusion of the five-years truce, Cimon concurred in the purpose of turning the spirit of enterprize once more toward forein conquest, and exertion against the common enemy; in the hope so to prevent brooding faction at Athens, and brooding war within Greece. With this view he resumed the design of adding Cyprus to that dominion, which, under the title of Confederacy, the Athenian commonwealth held over so large a portion of the Greek nation. A fleet of two hundred trireme galleys was equipped, of which himself took the command. At the request of Amyrtæus, chief of the Egyptians of the marshes, who still maintained

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 112.

in it as lasting thirteen years. But we have satisfactory assurance, from Thucydides, that Athens was ingaged in war again before the end of the five years, and that it was another truce, afterward made for thirty years, which was broken in the fourteenth. It seems beyond question also that the names of Miltiades and Cimon have been inverted, so that, for Μιλτιάδην τὸν Κίμωνος, we should read Κίμωνα τὸν Μιλτιάδου.

the

the war against Persia, he detached sixty to Egypt; having in view, apparently, to distract the attention of the Persian government, and perhaps to collect some booty, rather than to pursue any romantic purpose of conquest there. With his remaining force he laid siege to Citium in Cyprus; but, in the camp before that place, to the great misfortune of Athens and of Greece, he died. Foreseeing, it is said, both his own end, and the necessity of abandoning the enterprize, which, as we learn from Thucydides, arose immediately from want of provisions, he gave suitable directions to those in trust about him, with a requisition that his death should be concealed, and orders still issued in his name as if he was living. In passing Salamis the fleet was attacked by the Persian fleet, composed of squadrons from Phenicia, Cilicia, and Cyprus, which it defeated. The army, breaking up its camp before Citium, and marching along the coast to meet the fleet at a more commodious place for imbarkation, was also attacked, and also gained the victory. Imbarking then without molestation, and being joined by the squadron from Egypt, the whole armament returned to Attica. The relics of Cimon, carried to Athens, were buried there; and a magnificent monument was erected to his memory, which remained, with the name of the Cimoneia, to Plutarch's time.

Diod. l. 12. c. 3. Plut. vit. Cim.

B. C. 449. Ol. 82 ¾. Ann. Thu. Plut. ut sup.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 112.

Great as the military character of Cimon was, his wisdom, his integrity, his moderation, his conciliating temper, and the influence which inabled him to lead his fellowcountrymen in the paths of wisdom, integrity, and moderation, were found to be the qualities for which his loss was most to be regretted. Others could command fleets and armies, but others could not equally divert that compound, in the Grecian temper, of military spirit with the spirit of faction, from civil feud and domestic war. After Cimon, as Plutarch has justly observed, for a long time, nothing great was done, or even attempted against the barbarians; but the Greeks turned their arms against oneanother, to the great advantage of Persia, and to the unspeakable injury of Greece.

Plut. vit. Cim.

SECTION V.

Contest for Command of the Temple of Delphi. Athens at the Summit of her Greatness. State of Parties: Pericles; Thucydides. Policy of the Grecian Republics for holding the weaker Republics in Subjection. Revolt of Bœotia; of Eubœa; of Megara; Invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesians. Thirty-Years Truce. Power of Pericles.

DIVIDED among so many little republics, each necessarily jealous of the others, public rights and private in constant danger, and every citizen therefore always ready with arms, the Greek nation was singularly framed to be formidable to all around, if it could be united in steddy confederacy, and otherwise to be always lacerating and preying upon itself. In Lacedæmon, under the consideration of her diminished authority and lowered rank among the Grecian people, some uneasiness of the public mind would be natural and not wholly unreasonable; and this could not but be heightened by a view of the rapid progress Athens had made in power, with indications of ambition holding correspondent growth. In these circumstances, a dispute arose among some communities of little weight themselves, involving nevertheless matter of such deep national interest, as imperiously to require the interposition of the more powerful states.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 112. Strab. l. 9. p. 423. Plut. Peric.

The common federal government of the several towns of the province of Phocis, had long been, as we have formerly seen, the guardian of the temple and oracle and treasury of Delphi. The Delphian citizens now claimed that important office, to the exclusion of the other Phocians, and resort to arms was threatened. It might become the Lacedæmonians to interfere; and they did so, but not under wise or apparently just counsel. Instead of calling for the common support of the Greeks, and assuming their wonted lead with a dignified moderation, they took upon themselves to decide all by themselves; and, sending a military force into Phocis, they put the Delphians into possession of the temple. The Delphians then, with ready gratitude, passed a decree, granting to Lacedæmon the honors of the promanteia, or precedency in the consultation

B. C. 448. Ol. $\frac{82}{83}$ $\frac{4}{1}$.

tation of the oracle, and caused it to be ingraved on the forehead of a brazen statue of a wolf consecrated in the temple.

So arbitrary an exertion of exclusive authority by the Lacedæmonian government, in what was esteemed, beyond all things, a common concern of the Greek nation, could not fail to excite indignation at Athens; and the more, as the power of that state had recently been so extended in northern Greece, and as Phocis was among its allies. An army was ordered to march, and the command was committed to Pericles. Thus what the Greeks called a Sacred war was kindled: but the Lacedæmonian troops being gone, the Delphians felt their inability to resist, and no bloodshed seems to have insued. Pericles restored the supremacy of the temple and its appendages to the Phocian people; who immediately passed a decree, giving the promanteia to Athens, and caused it to be ingraved on the side of the same brazen wolf, whose forehead bore the decree of the Delphian citizens in favor of Lacedæmon. Whether the command which the Athenians, through their possession of the Megarian territory, held of the isthmus, or, what seems not improbable, civil dissension in Lacedæmon, and the prevalence of a party adverse to that which had directed the ill-judged expedition to Delphi, prevailed, no measures of resentment seem to have followed.

We may fix upon this point as the era of the most extensive power of the Athenian commonwealth. On the continent of Greece it commanded Megaris, Bœotia, Locris, Phocis, and the territory of Naupactus. In Peloponnesus, an Athenian garrison held Trœzen; Athenian influence governed all Achaia, properly so called; and even Argos was but a subordinate ally. The large and fruitful iland of Eubœa, separated only by a narrow strait, had long been an appendage of Attica; and all the other ilands of the Ægean sea, except Melus and Thera and part of Crete, most of the Grecian cities of Asia Minor, and all those of Thrace, the Hellespont, and the Propontis, acknowleged the sovereinty of the Athenian people.

Had Athens had a government so constituted as to be capable of a wise and steddy administration, men were not wanting, qualified by abilities and by information, to direct the business of an empire. While Cimon lived, Pericles was contented to be the second person of the republic;

republic; and, harmony subsisting between them, the disposition to party violence among inferior men was restrained by their influence, and the aristocratical and democratical interests were held in unusual union. But all would not be equally pleased with the suspension of party-distinctions, which of necessity admitted some to situations that would have been the lot of others, had either party ruled alone. On Cimon's death some of his principal adherents could ill brook the ascendancy which superior talents, superior popularity, an accumulation of advantages, gave at once to Pericles: they would have one of their own party still at the head of the republic's affairs. Thucydides son of Melesias, brother-in-law of Cimon, to whom they looked in preference, was indeed a person well intitled to high consideration. His birth, his family alliances, his conduct through life, his public estimation, all were advantageous; and he was not without military reputation, tho more known as an experienced statesman and an able speaker. Apparently he was of himself disposed to liberality in politics; but unfortunately without sufficiently possessing Cimon's firmness to resist, or influence to repress, the imprudent heat or interested ambition of political associates. A war of oratory insued, of which little account remains, beyond an anecdote marking the extraordinary powers of Pericles, and the candid acknowlegement of them by Thucydides: 'When I wrestle with Pericles,' he said, 'if I throw him ever so deci-'dedly, he can persuade the spectators that he threw me.' The aristocratical and democratical interests were thus anew divided, never equally, as under the joint lead of Pericles and Cimon, again to coälesce.

Plat. Laches, p. 179. t. 2.

The breach however appears to have been gradual: Pericles did not at once set himself in direct opposition to the friends of Cimon. Meanwhile, tho there was a powerful aristocratical party, there was no acknowleged constitutional balance to the democratical power, which was truly despotic. Never was liberality in administration more wanted than now; for holding the many states which owned subjection to Athens, in any degree attached. For the Athenian people, less than thirty thousand families, to coërce all by their own strength, was obviously impossible. But every untempered

government must be jealous; and democracy is, even beyond other untempered governments, naturally selfish. The inlarged policy of the mixed constitution of Rome, which inabled her to become mistress of the world, associating conquered people, could not even be safely mentioned at Athens; and indeed there was very generally, among the Grecian republics, a strong prejudice against it. The policy for maintaining sovereinty, common to all Grecian republics, which acquired dominion over other Grecian republics, rested on that division into parties, to which we have so often had occasion to advert. In the ordinary course of things, when, after a critical contest in any republic, the aristocratical party prevailed, they expelled only the leaders of the lower people, with a few of the more turbulent of their followers, whom they sometimes sold into forein countries for slaves; and the rest they held under a severe subjection. But if the democratical party obtained the superiority, they often expelled all the men of rank and property, whom they did not kill, and shared among themselves their houses, estates, slaves, and whatever other effects they could seize. In all the many republics, where Athenian influence now extended, the democratical party was supported by Athenian patronage, and held all the powers of government. The prevalence then of that party, and especially the welfare of its chiefs, depending upon the connection with Athens, the citizens of that party were themselves the garrison to hold their state in obedience to the Athenian commonwealth. Thus alone they could hope to maintain themselves in possession of the houses, the estates, and the honors of those whom they had killed, or driven into banishment; toward whom they looked with the abhorrence natural for those who dreaded, at the same time, the loss of such advantages, and revenge for having usurped them. In Athens itself, not the principles of democracy only, but more especially those by which democratical empire might best be promoted, would be sedulously inculcated, and would become popular topics; and hence, apparently, what has been called, by later writers, the conquest of Bœotia by Myronides, was sometimes spoken of, among cotemporaries, as the deliverance of the country and the establishment of its freedom. On this pretence, and Plat. Menex. p. 242. t. 2.

apparently to promote ambitious purposes, the Athenian citizens, killed in that expedition, had, first after those who fell in the Persian invasion, the honor of a public funeral.

Through such circumstances Greece always swarmed with exiles; and those unhappy men were perpetually watching opportunities for a revolution, which might restore them to their country. The impossibility of exact discrimination always left them some friends in their respective cities; and thus the foundation of sedition was ever ready. Those Bœotians who had been banished in consequence of the Athenian conquest, through opportunity and exertion, of which no particulars remain reported, made themselves masters of Orchomenus, Chæroneia, and some smaller towns. Hopeless of being permitted to retain quiet possession, necessity not less than inclination incited them to push for farther advantages. The Athenian government prepared an army to reduce them, composed chiefly of allies, with only one thousand heavy-armed Athenians. Tolmides, already renowned for his atchievements in the circumnavigation of Peloponnesus, was appointed to the command. Apparently the party of Thucydides had been gaining ground, and Tolmides was of that party; for Pericles, as Plutarch informs us, disapproved the appointment of Tolmides, and augured ill of the expedition. Chæroneia was however taken, those men of the best families and principal influence in Bœotia, who had held it, were condemned to slavery, and a garrison was put in the place. But, in the meantime, exiles from various parts, Bœotians and others [15], had assembled in large numbers at Orchomenus: the Locrians, who, by timely submission and giving hostages, had prevented any expulsion of their people, joined them with their whole strength: a powerful army was thus collected: the Athenian forces, returning toward Attica, were attacked near Coroneia. Tolmides was killed, his army was completely defeated, and almost every surviving Athenian was made prisoner.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 113. Diod. l. 12. c. 6. Plut. vit. Peric.

B. C. 447. Ol. 83 ½.

The consequence of this misfortune is one among many instances of an inherent weakness in the governments of the little Grecian republics, which was not lessened at Athens by the extent of its command.

[15] Οἱ φεύγοντες Βοιωτῶν κατειλέοντες, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες. Thucyd. We want information who *all the others* were.

Few

Few Athenian families were wholly uninterested in the prisoners taken at Coroneia; and the administration could ill avoid sacrificing public advantage to private feelings. But, in addition to the fermentation within the state, circumstances were threatening without. The Bœotians, now strong of themselves, would scarcely fail of assistance from Peloponnesus; for the enmity of Lacedæmon, tho smothered on occasion of the affair of Delphi, could not but be apprehended when any incouraging opportunity might offer. At the same time therefore to gratify the people with the recovery of their captive relations and friends, and to prevent, as far as possible, a combination of enemies which might indanger the remaining dependencies of the commonwealth, the Athenian administration hastily concluded a treaty with the Bœotians; according to which they evacuated immediately whatever they still held in Bœotia, and surrendered all claim upon that rich bordering province, apparently the most desirable of all possible additions to the Athenian dominion.

The event showed the urgency for acceding to conditions seemingly so disadvantageous; for even thus the apprehended evils were not intirely obviated. The success of the Bœotians had incouraged others to follow their example. Eubœa, the nearest of the transmarine dependencies of Athens, and the most important, revolted. An army, now put under the command of Pericles, hastened to that iland. It was scarcely landed there, when intelligence arrived at Athens that the Megarians, having renewed their connection with Corinth, had risen upon the Athenian garrison in Megara, overpowered it, and put all to the sword, except those who could make their retreat into Nisæa; and this information was quickly followed by the still more alarming news, that the Lacedæmonians were preparing for an invasion of Attica with the whole force of their confederacy. The death of Tolmides, and the distress of the commonwealth, concurred to put all the powers of

B. C. 446. Ol. 83 4. [16] Ann. Thu. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 114. Diod. l. 12. c. 5 & 7.

[16] Diodorus places the revolt of Megara in the first year of the 83d Olympiad, the battle of Coroneia in the second, and the revolt of Eubœa in the third. But Thucydides asserts expressly, that the news of the revolt of Megara arrived just as Pericles had debarked his forces in Eubœa to suppress the revolt there; which happened, he says, not long after the conclusion of the treaty with the Bœotians, that followed the battle of Coroneia.

government into the hands of Pericles. That able statesman and general immediately led back his forces from Eubœa, and defeating the Megarians, with their allies, who rashly attempted to protect their fields against his ravages, compelled them to confine themselves within their walls.

B. C. 445. Ol. 83. 4. The Peloponnesian invasion did not take place till the following spring[17]. A very formidable army then marched. The command was committed, not to the mature age and tried abilities of Archidamus, whether because he was the personal friend of Pericles, or meer Lacedæmonian party interest decided, but to the king of the Eurysthenеid house, Pleistoanax, who was so young that another, Cleandridas, was joined with him as the adviser of his inexperience. The army entered Attica, ravaged the Thriasian plain, and incamped near Eleusis. Pericles, with the whole force of Athens, took a station overagainst it: but, considering that a battle lost might, in existing circumstances, be fatal to the commonwealth, and delay the ordinary resource of defensive war, would indanger all its dependencies, he had recourse to policy; and he succeeded, it was commonly supposed, in an attempt to bribe Cleandridas. Without any apparent cause, the Peloponnesian army retreated into the peninsula; and the allies were dismissed, as if the purpose of the expedition had been accomplished. Such dissatisfaction insued in Lacedæmon, that Cleandridas took alarm and fled. In his absence capital condemnation was pronounced against him; and the young king himself being called into judgement, a fine was imposed upon him, to such an amount, that, being unable to discharge it, he also quitted his country. Pericles, in the usual report of the expences of his command, stated ten talents, about two thousand five hundred pounds sterling, as employed for a necessary purpose, without expressing what. Secret-service money was not, it seems, commonly allowed to Athenian generals; and it is mentioned as an instance of singular confidence in Pericles, that the Athenian people permitted that article to pass unquestioned.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 114 & l. 2. c. 21. Plut. vit. Peric.

Plut. vit. Peric.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 114. The Peloponnesian army being gone, Pericles again transported his forces into Eubœa, and quickly reduced the whole iland. The

[17] Thus Dodwell, upon a comparison of authorities and circumstances, has apparently well determined. Ann. Thu. ad ann. 445.

Histiæans were expelled, and their territory was apportioned among Athenian families; who, according to the usual method of the Greeks, became the garrison, while their slaves cultivated the lands. The rest of the Eubœans were admitted to a capitulation, by which their estates and the municipal administration of their towns were preserved to them.

The experienced insecurity of that command which the Athenian people held over so many other little republics, now induced their leaders to seek an accommodation with the Peloponnesians. Callias and Chares were, according to Diodorus, the managers of the treaty on the part of the Athenians; and, before the end of the winter after the invasion of Attica, a truce was concluded for the term of thirty years. The conditions, which remain reported by the historian Thucydides, appear very disadvantageous to Athens. Bœotia was already lost; the city of Megara was lost; but the Athenians yet held the Megarian ports of Nisæa and Pegæ; they had still a garrison in the Peloponnesian city of Trœzen; and the Peloponnesian province of Achaia was in their interest. All these were given up: garrisons were withdrawn; and where, as in the Achaian towns, the democratical party, among the people themselves, were as the garrison for Athens, no support from Athens was in future to be given to that party. The aristocratical interest then rece[illegible]ng predominant power, but wanting for its security the patronage of Lacedæmon, Achaia would return of course to the Lacedæmonian alliance[18]. Such concessions, without any equivalent, sufficiently mark the sense which the Athenian administration had of the tottering fabric of the empire, and of the necessity for the leisure of peace to confirm that command which remained to the commonwealth, over so many ilands and so many transmarine states and colonies.

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 115. Diod. l. 12. c. 7. Plut. vit. Peric. Ann. Tho. ad ann. A. C. 445.

[18] Quæ fuerit illa Ach[illegible]a, juxta cum ignarissimis ignoro. Nam de tota provincia quæ Achaia dicitur, locum intelligere, absurdum foret. Not. 5. c. 115. l. 1. Thuc. ed. Duk. I must confess I am at a loss to guess at the difficulty. If any could arise upon the simple consideration of the passage in question, it appears fully cleared by what precedes and follows. See c. 3. b. 1. c. 9. b. 2. and c. 21. b. 1. On the contrary, the fancy of Palmer and Hudson, that an obscure Corinthian settlement in Ætolia, of the name of Chalcis, was intended, appears really wild.

The

The train of distressing circumstances, following the defeat of Tolmides, concurred with the various successes of the new general, to ruin the aristocratical interest at Athens; and, the opposite interest obtaining a decisive superiority in the popular assembly, Thucydides was banished by ostracism. Thus the opposition, which compelled Pericles to resume the lead of the democratical interest against the aristocratical, contributed to his power and glory, making him in a manner prince of Athens. But as it was a power that could only be maintained by still cultivating the democratical interest, to the utter overthrow of the aristocratical, and the destruction of all balance in the constitution, the result was ultimately most pernicious to the commonwealth, and involved no small amount of evils for all Greece.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

Printed by Luke Hansard & Sons,
near Lincoln's-Inn Fields.

00036724

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018